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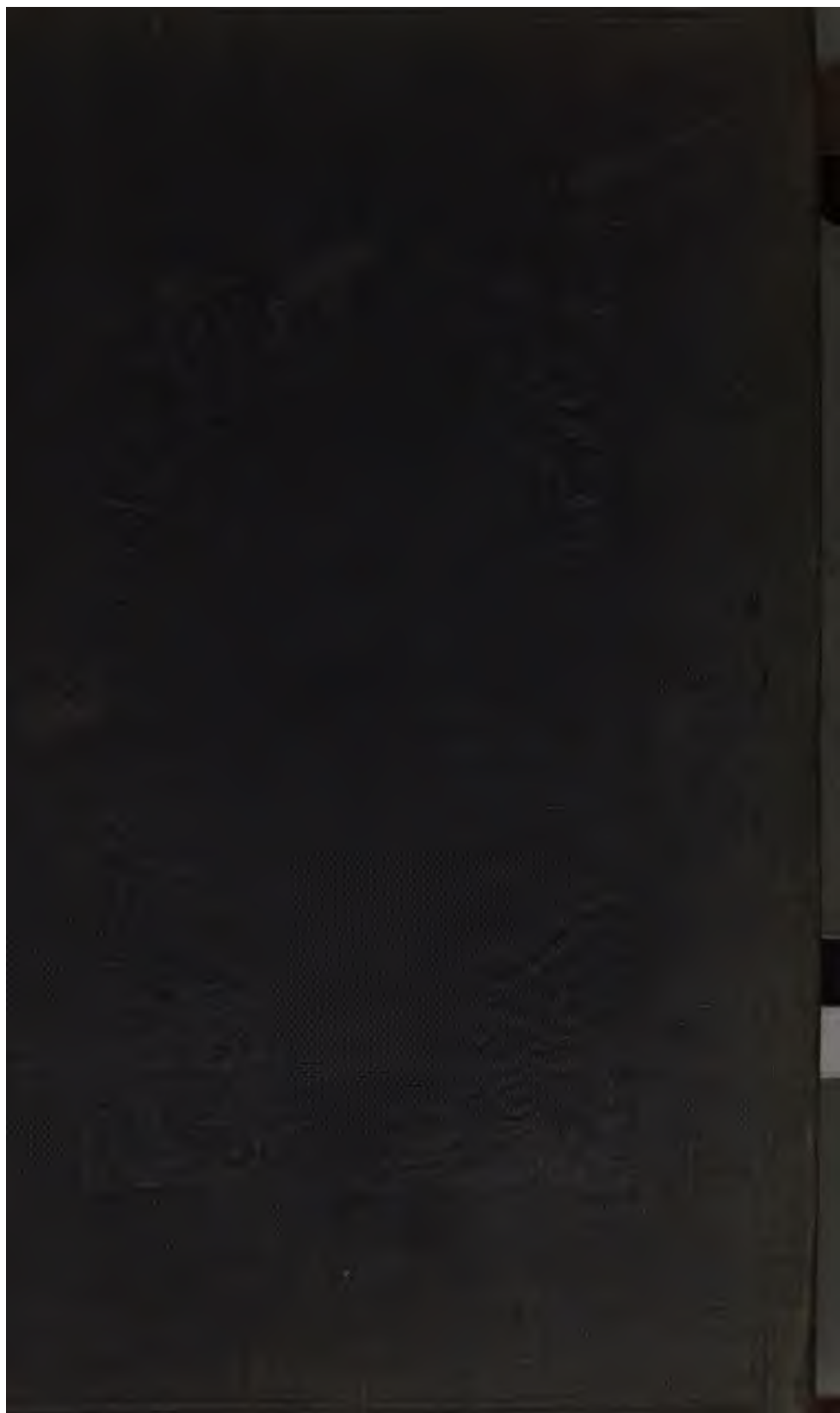
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THE  
PRIMACY  
OF  
THE APOSTOLIC SEE  
VINDICATED.

---

BY  
FRANCIS PATRICK KENRICK,  
BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA.

---



*Ipsa est petra quam non vincunt superbae inferorum portae.*—ST. AUGUSTIN.

PHILADELPHIA:  
PUBLISHED BY M. FITHIAN, 72 N. SECOND ST.  
1845.

110. i. 103.

Entered according to the Act of Congress in the year 1845, by  
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TO  
THE HON. ROGER B. TANEY,  
CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
AS A SMALL TRIBUTE  
TO HIS EMINENT STATION, PROFOUND KNOWLEDGE, INCORRUPTIBLE  
INTEGRITY, PURE PATRIOTISM, AND DEVOTED AT-  
TACHMENT TO THE CATHOLIC FAITH,

THE FOLLOWING WORK  
IS  
RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED  
BY

THE AUTHOR.

PHILADELPHIA,  
*January 6th, 1845.*



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE publication, in the year 1837, of a work addressed to the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, by the Right Rev. John Henry Hopkins, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of Vermont, induced me, towards the close of that year, to address to the author a series of letters "on the Primacy of the Apostolic See, and the authority of General Councils." I never have been honored with a reply; but having, in June, 1841, emulated his zeal, by addressing the Protestant Episcopal bishops generally, urging them to promote the great cause of Catholic unity, as he had pathetically exhorted us, he took occasion, some nineteen months afterwards, to notice my former letters, which he strangely fancied had been suppressed, and to invite me to examine the actual position of his communion, in a public oral discussion. This I declined as indecorous, offering, however, to open a regular correspondence in two religious papers, and amicably to review all matters of controversy between us. My proposition was not accepted, and our temporary correspondence was broken off rather abruptly, with some intimation from him that he would follow up his original design of enlightening the public mind on the topics in dispute in such form as suited his own taste and convenience. Not long afterwards, appeared a course of lectures, on the Reformation, *intended* to have been delivered in some Churches in this city; but which contained no reference to my letters, although the lectures might be considered as supplementary to his former treatise. Our controversy was, of course, previously closed; nor is my present work at all designed to re-open it. The edition of my letters being exhausted, I was advised to throw the materials into a new mould, leaving Dr. Hopkins entirely out of view. I have not had his writings before me during the composition of this treatise, except for a moment, to verify one or two quotations. There can be little advantage to the cause of truth, or unity, from controversy, when personal feelings become enlisted, and it is safer to abstract altogether from the advocates of the cause, lest a grave and important discussion should degenerate into trivial personalities.

My former work being strictly a reply, I avoided the introduction of topics which were not presented for discussion by Dr. Hopkins ; whilst in the present I have allowed myself free scope, and treated of whatever appeared to me useful for the elucidation of my subject. It would have been more in accordance with my own wishes to confine myself to the vindication of the dogma, and leave the reader to entertain his own views as to those acts of the Popes, which are least in accordance with the polity and public opinion of our age ; but on perusing the work of Barrow, on the Supremacy, I perceived that the skill of the adversaries of the Apostolic See was displayed in holding up to view the temporal supremacy which was once exercised by the Popes, and confounding it with the spiritual attributes of their office ; and that every vindication of the dogma must be unsatisfactory, which left the impression unremoved, that it had been abused for ages, to raise on it a system of usurpation, extortion and cruelty. On the other hand, I felt the difficulty of conveying to the public mind a clear view of the social position which the Popes occupied in the middle ages, and of the accidental attributes wherewith the circumstances of the times invested them. I resolved, nevertheless, to attempt the correction of some of the grossest misconceptions, which generally prevail, and to give some insight into the principles and motives of the actors in scenes which are revolting to modern sentiment and feeling. Accordingly I have examined the documents, and endeavored to ascertain the facts, and to trace them to their sources. In justice to those concerned, I state their views, and the public opinion of the age by which they were supported, and without asking my readers to approve of what was done, or to adopt the sentiments which were then entertained, I would fain screen from censure men who honestly acted in accordance with general opinion. If censure must fall on them, I point to circumstances of an extenuating character, and deny that men should be considered monsters, because they were not wiser, or more humane, than their fellow-men generally. I am not anxious that my readers should admire the chivalry of the crusaders, or respect the severity of the Inquisition, but I lay before them a candid statement of facts, that they may form their own judgment. Whatever they may think of the share which the Popes had in them, the main question of the Primacy is not to be affected by it, since this is to be determined by the proofs of its divine institution, not by the use which has been made of it, much less by the abuses which have grown out of its exercise. It is not to be wondered that in the changes and convulsions of society, the power of the Chief Bishop should have been so employed as to place it in an odious light, or

that it should have been occasionally abused through individual weakness or depravity : but an impartial judge will not mistake accidental aberrations for the natural characteristics of the authority itself. My object has been to shew its general tendency.

Wherever in the course of these pages any views are presented which are peculiarly my own, their entire responsibility rests of course with me : nor do I mean to urge their adoption. The dogma of the Primacy—the Papal prerogatives solemnly recognized by the Universal Church—are the only objects of my solicitude. It matters but little what judgment may be formed of facts of history, and of by-gone institutions, or of disputable theories, provided the authority instituted by Christ for the maintenance of unity be sincerely and practically admitted. Holding the common faith, I value freedom of opinion on all matters on which the Church herself has not authoritatively pronounced, and in judging of historical facts and of local and temporary institutions, I feel no restraint but that which is imposed by a sacred regard for truth and justice.

It may be proper to remark that this work was put to press long before the melancholy outbreaks of May and July of last year, which have greatly retarded its publication. As it has no reference to them, I have not hesitated to lay it before the public, now that tranquillity seems permanently restored. It is my desire to consign those scenes to oblivion, and to dissipate the vain fears of Papal influence, by which the public mind was excited. If I have not utterly misunderstood the philosophy of the history of the Popes, their authority, so far from being dangerous to civil liberty, or republican institutions, is the bulwark of Society in all its legitimate forms, and the best moral security for individual and public rights. It is plainly the only effectual means for maintaining the integrity of faith, and religious communion.



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## ERRATA.

Page 53	line 3	hope	lege	faith
" 66	" 18	insert	not	
" 97	" 6	sketch	stretch	
" 117	" 28	whereas	when	
" 202	" 36	from	to	
" 399	" 21	eloquent	elegant	
" 411	" 9	dele	in 1617	
" 419	" 33	dele	and	
" 495	" 33	insert	"Thus" before	"the liberty"

# THE PRIMACY.

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## CHAPTER I.

### PROMISE OF THE PRIMACY.

It is denied by many, at the present day, that Christ, our Lord, gave any peculiar form, or organization, to His Church. They believe Him to have taught the way of life, and directed His apostles to proclaim it, but to have left it at the option of believers to organize themselves into societies acting on the principles which He laid down, and governing themselves by conventional rules for order and discipline. The Catholic Church, on the contrary, holds that Christ is her Founder, to whom, accordingly, she refers her essential organization, which in nothing is more apparent, than in the pre-eminence and authority of her chief bishop, governing the entire flock, in the name of Christ. Her hierarchy, consisting of bishops, priests, and ministers, is divinely ordained; among the bishops one presides over the rest to preserve faith in its integrity, to maintain order, and unite all in the bonds of religious communion. It is not pretended that all the details of Church organization were arranged by the immediate authority of Christ, or that the authority of the chief pastor was at once developed; but it is believed that Christ delegated to Peter a governing authority to be exercised for the benefit of the Church at large, according as the variety of times and places may require.

With regard to the extent and limits of this power various questions may be raised, which it is premature to examine before the authority itself is admitted. A primacy of *jurisdiction*, or government, is acknowledged by the Church in the chief pastor—not mere precedence without any binding authority. His dignity gives him real power for the purposes of his office, that is, to maintain and propagate revealed truth, and to preserve unity. Many Anglican divines have admitted a primacy of *order*, or rank, to have been conferred on St. Peter, which they generally hold to have been a mere personal prerogative; whilst they deny all superior authority in him above the other apostles.

In the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, we are instructed that Christ "called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power over unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of diseases, and all manner of sickness." "Now the names of the twelve apostles are these: THE FIRST Simon who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother."\* Then follow the names of the others, and their commission to preach to the lost sheep of the house of Israel is recorded. We are naturally led to consider in what sense Peter is called THE FIRST: ὁ πρῶτος; whether merely as occurring first to the memory of the sacred writer on this occasion; or because he was leader and head of the others. The first supposition is excluded by the very remark that he was THE FIRST, which would have been superfluous, if the order of registering the names, in this instance, were merely meant, especially since the others have no number attached to them. Besides, the constant custom of all the Evangelists, who invariably place the name of Peter first, proves that this place was assigned him for a special reason, since the names of the rest are put in various order, with the exception of Judas, who, on account of his perfidy, is always placed last. We cannot suppose that Peter is put first, merely on account of the excellence of his personal qualities, when we remember his weakness in the hour of temptation. He is first, evidently as leader and head. Whilst our Lord was on earth, He alone was head of His Church, and Peter had not positive authority over his brethren. At that time his precedence was rather of order, or rank, than of jurisdiction and government; but it was wisely so ordained, that by this position he might be prepared for the high office to which he was to be elevated. In this sense I assent to Barrow, who remarks: "Constantly in all the catalogues of the apostles, St. Peter's name is set in the front, and when actions are reported in which he was concerned jointly with others, he is usually mentioned first, *which seemeth not done without careful design, or special reason*. Upon such grounds it may be reasonable to allow St. Peter a primacy of order."† I cannot, however, admit the illustration of this primacy given by this writer: "such a one as the ring-leader hath in a dance"! Neither can I agree that an authoritative primacy was not afterwards conferred on St. Peter, since this is not affirmed on the mere ground of this order of names, but on strong and positive testimonies of Scripture.

In the sixteenth chapter of St. Matthew, we learn that "Jesus came into the confines of Cesarea Philippi: and He asked His disciples say-

\* Mat. x. 2.

† A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, Supposition 1. n. 5.

ing: Whom do men say that the Son of Man is? And they said: Some John the Baptist, and others Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets. He saith to them: But whom do you say that I am? Simon Peter answering, said: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God.\* It was not an idle inquiry, proceeding from curiosity to ascertain the current opinions of men, for Jesus "knew all men," and "He needed not that any man should give testimony of man: for He knew what was in man."† He asks, in order to afford an opportunity to Simon to state the various human conjectures, and to declare aloud his own faith. From the beginning He had changed the name of this disciple. When Andrew "brought him to Jesus, Jesus looking upon him, said: Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas: which is interpreted Peter."‡ He called him Cephas,§ a Syro-Chaldaic term, equivalent to the Greek term Πέτρος, and to the English term Rock. He does not seem to have intimated, at that time, why He thus designated him: but He made him a leader among the apostles; and reserved for the occasion mentioned by St. Matthew, the declaration of the import of the name, and the authority of the office.

On the question being put as to the belief of the apostles themselves, Peter answered without hesitation: "Thou art Christ the Son of the living God." This strong and explicit declaration of the divinity of Jesus was followed by a confirmation on His part of the name previously given to Simon, and by the unfolding of its mysterious meaning, and of the high office with which he should be invested: "Jesus answering said to him: Blessed art thou Simon Bar-jona: because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven."|| Never did Christ speak with greater emphasis and plainness. Simon Peter confessed him to be the Son of God, not in the general acceptance of this appellation, as given to every just man, for this would have called forth no extraordinary praise, but as the true and natural Son of His Eternal Father, by a communication to Him of the Divine Nature, by an ineffable generation. Jesus declares him blessed in having this faith in His Divinity, since, not mortal man could have

\* Matt. xvi. 13—16.

† John ii. 24.

‡ Ib. i. 42.

§ In Syriac pronounced *Kipha* or *Kipho*. In Chaldaic קִפָּא in Hebrew קֶפֶז

|| Matt. xvi. 15—20.



suggested or inspired it, but God alone. Thus gifted by the Father with divine faith in the Son of God incarnate, Simon becomes a fit instrument in the hands of Christ for the building of His Church, a secure foundation whereon it may rest. His name is confirmed: "I say to thee, that thou art Peter." As Jacob was called Israel, because in the mysterious conflict he prevailed over the angel of God;—as Abram was called Abraham, because chosen to be the father of a countless multitude;—so Simon is called Cephas, or Peter, because made by divine grace, a rock of faith. Nor is the firmness of his faith a mere personal endowment; he is to become the foundation-stone of the Church of Christ. "Upon this rock I will build my Church:" that is: THOU ART A ROCK, AND UPON THIS ROCK I WILL BUILD MY CHURCH.\* The strength of this rock,—its immovable firmness—is declared by the impregnable character of the Church, built thereon: "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Because Christ builds on a rock, the powers of darkness cannot overcome His Church. He is the wise man, who chooses a solid foundation for His building. "The rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell not; for it was founded upon a rock."† The stability of the building is ascribed to the solidity of the foundation. Christ in choosing Simon for the foundation of His Church, gives him strength and firmness, whereby the building itself is secure. Peter becomes the support of the Church, which, like a strong fortress, is in vain assailed by adverse powers. They cannot undermine it, nor can they effect a breach in its walls. Such is the import of the name given by Christ to Simon; such is the close and necessary relation of Peter to the Church.

Some have imagined that Peter is so called, as being the first to profess the divinity of Christ, and consequently that all who thenceforward acknowledged the same truth, were added to and built on him as a foundation. This does not correspond with the words of our Redeemer. Peter is called a rock, not so much in the act of professing the faith, as in recompense of it. Because he has made this divinely inspired profession, Christ declares him a rock on which He will build His Church. It is fair to give to a figurative expression the force which its use by the same writer, or speaker, authorizes. Christ our Lord having used the similitude of a house built on a rock, to illustrate

\* In English the force of the allusion is not perceived, but in French it is preserved: "*Tu es Pierre, et sur cette pierre je bâtirai mon église.*" The Greek, Latin, Italian, and Spanish imperfectly exhibit it. The German, as well as the English, conceals it.

† Mat. vii. 25.

the wisdom of the man, who builds his hopes of salvation on the practice of the divine lessons, as on a solid foundation, we must regard the rock as the image of the solidity and strength of the foundation, rather than as expressive of a mere commencement. The support of the building is the idea which the rock suggests.

This observation equally shews the futility of the attempt to explain this figure as employed merely to mark the instrumentality of Peter in admitting Jews and Gentiles to the Church, by proclaiming the resurrection to the assembled multitude on the day of Pentecost, and exhorting them to receive baptism, and by ordering Cornelius and his family to be baptized.\* The figure implies more than a commencement. It obviously represents strength, immobility, and consequent support afforded to the building. Peter, as a rock of strength, is placed by the Divine Architect in the foundation, in order that the Church may stand for ever, despite of the storms of persecution and temptation, and of all the assaults of the infernal forces.

It may appear strange to infer hence that Peter was constituted the head of the Church. The rock is the foundation, lying beneath the entire building: how, then, can it be alleged to prove that Peter was placed above all? It is a figure employed obviously to prove the strength to be imparted to this Apostle, and the support thence derived to the Church, and the necessary and permanent connexion of both. This is all we need insist on as plainly flowing from the text. The sequel will shew the nature of the relation established between Peter and the Church.

It is often said that the rock on which Christ promised to build His Church is no other than Christ Himself, the rock of ages. Such persons plainly violate all rules of just interpretation, and calculate largely on the prejudices of their readers. Since Cephas signifies rock, and Christ says to Simon: "Thou art Cephas, and upon this rock I will build my Church;" the relative leaves no room for ambiguity. Besides, there would

\* Bishop Pearson says: "It will be necessary to take notice, that our Saviour, speaking of it (*the Church*), mentioneth it as that which then was not, but afterwards was to be; as when he spake unto the GREAT APOSTLE: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church;' but when he ascended into heaven, and the Holy Ghost came down, when Peter had converted three thousand souls, which were added to the hundred and twenty disciples, then was there a Church, (AND THAT BUILT UPON PETER, ACCORDING TO OUR SAVIOUR'S PROMISE) for after that we read: 'The Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved.'"—*Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Article IX. p. 506.*

be a confusion of metaphors and ideas if Christ, the Divine Builder, should in the same breath speak of Himself as builder and foundation. Both figures may be applied to Him separately, under different points of view; but it were incongruous, not to say absurd, to apply both at one and the same time. God is called frequently a rock, on account of his insuperable and everlasting power: Christ may be styled the rock of ages, because He is at all times the strength and refuge of all who flee to Him. He is the spiritual rock, from which the waters of salvation issue, whereof the material rock was a type. Thus St. Paul, speaking of the Israelites, says, that "they all drank of the spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ;"\* but it is absurd to infer hence that the rock spoken of by Christ, when he said: "upon this rock I will build my Church," is Christ Himself.†

The attempt to explain "this rock" of Christ is nowise countenanced by the difference of gender observed in the text: *ὁ ὁ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ*. Peter is called *Πέτρος*, because the Greeks never apply a feminine noun to a man, except in derision:‡ the rock is called *πέτρα*, because this term more properly designates a rock, although the other term is nearly synonymous. The relative plainly identifies the subject, and excludes all distinction. It is true that the great Augustine, struck by the difference of gender, hesitated, and partially withdrew the explanation which he had before given, and which was in conformity with the context and the general interpretation of Catholic writers:§ but the hesitation of so illustrious a writer, who left it at the option of his readers to adopt either exposition, cannot induce a doubt, when the context is considered, and the text critically examined, especially with the light borrowed from the language in which our Saviour spoke, which admits no distinction of gender, but uses the same term in both places.|| Bloomfield, a recent Anglican commentator, observes that every modern expositor of note has abandoned the dis-

\* 1 Cor. x. 4.

† The rule prescribed by the Protestant critic, Gerard, should here be attended to, 456: "Every term should be considered as it stands, in the proposition of which it makes a part, and explained, not by itself, but so as to bring out the real sense of that whole proposition." He shows the violation of this rule by an Antinomian, who should understand the rock on which the wise man builds his house, Matt. vii. 24, to be Christ, the Rock of Ages. The rule is equally violated, when the rock, of which Christ speaks, Matt. xvi. 18, is understood to be Himself. See Gerard's Institutes, p. 134.

‡ Synopsis Critic. in locum.

§ L. 1 Retract. c. xxi.

|| The Syriac version of the New Testament is deservedly of high repute, on account of its early date, and of the near affinity between the Syriac lan-

inction between Peter and rock as untenable.\* Bishop Marsh, quoted by him, says, that "it would be a desperate undertaking to prove that Christ meant any other person than Peter."† Rosenmüller, the German rationalist, coincides in his critical judgment: "The rock," says he, "is neither the confession of Peter, nor Christ, pointing out Himself by His finger, or by a shake of the head (which interpretations the context does not admit), but Peter himself. The Lord, speaking in Syriac, used no diversity of name, but in both places said Cephas, as the French word *pierre* is said both of a proper and appellative noun. He pointed out Peter therefore either by his finger, or nod; for that gesture suited His purpose to explain the reason of giving him this name. So it was said of Abraham: 'Thy name shall be Abraham, because I have made thee father of many nations:' of Jacob: 'Israel shall be thy name, for thou actest as a prince with angels and men.' So Christ says: 'Thou art called by me Peter, because thou wilt be as a rock.' And He promises that He will build His Church on Peter. Allusion is made to the custom prevailing in Palestine of building houses that are exposed to floods and whirlwinds, on a rocky soil, that they may be able to resist the violence of waters and winds. Mat. vii. 24, 25. Therefore whosoever thinks of building a durable house, should above all look around for a rock, or firm ground: the rock is the first thing whence the work is to be begun."‡

guage, and the Syro-Chaldaic, which our Lord used, and in which, according to the most probable opinion, St. Matthew wrote his Gospel. In this version, the words "Peter" and "Rock" are expressed by the same characters:

Anath CHIPHA, vehall hada CHIPHA.

In the Arabic version, which, from its connexion with the language in which Christ spoke, is well calculated to elucidate the present subject, we read

Anath ALSACHRA, wahal hada ALSACHRA.

Another Arabic version translates Peter and rock by a different word from that used in the above quotation, but in both instances the same word *alsapha*, is put for Peter and the rock.

A most ancient Chaldee manuscript of St. Matthew's gospel, in the collection formerly belonging to Cardinal Barberini, written in characters long obsolete, and professing to have been made in Mesopotamia in the year 330, uses but one word to express Peter and the Rock, *sciuha*. See the learned treatise of Ecchelensis, a Maronite, *de origine nominis Papæ, &c.* Romæ, MDCLX.

\* In locum.

† Comparative view. App. p. 217.

‡ Scholia in Novum Test., Tom I, p. 336. Norumb. an. 1815.

In "Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism" is contained the following just observation—Canon 511: "The most obvious and natural sense is to be set aside only when it is absolutely contradictory to something plainly taught in Scripture." He then remarks that "the opposite way has been taken by all sects;" and quotes the 18th verse of the 16th chapter of St. Matthew. "Thou, &c. Building on Peter, is explained by some, as contrary to the faith that Christ is the only foundation (1 Cor. iii. 2), and as favouring the succession of Peter and his successors; but the connexion shows that PETER IS HERE PLAINLY MEANT." Such is the language of this text-book of many Protestant Colleges and Theological Institutions, both in this country and in England.

The Reverend Mr. Thompson of Glasgow, in his *Monatessaron*, on this text, gives three interpretations. He thinks the two first unfounded, and thus quotes the third:

"The third opinion is, that both the words *petros* and *petra* are here used as appellations of the apostle; and, consequently, Peter was the rock on which Christ said His Church should be built. To this the connexion and scope of the passage agree. There seems to be something forced in every other construction, and an inaptitude in the language and figure of the text in every attempt to construct the words otherwise. Protestants have betrayed unnecessary fears, and have, therefore, used all the HARDIHOOD of LAWLESS CRITICISM in their attempts to reason away the Catholic interpretation."\*

This perversion of Scripture, to suit party purposes, is deeply to be deplored. Those who have made the humiliating acknowledgments which I have placed under the eyes of the reader, have not failed to torture the text after their own fashion, to eschew the consequences of their involuntary concessions. Bishop Marsh explains it of the preaching of Peter: "upon thy preaching, as upon a rock, shall the foundation of the Church be laid." There is certainly nothing in the text to warrant this reference to the preaching of Peter, rather than to himself.

The Apostle addressing the Corinthians, whom he had brought to the knowledge of Christian faith, says: "You are God's building. According to the grace of God that is given me, as a wise architect, I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon. For no man can lay another foundation, but that which is laid—which is Christ Jesus."† These words

\* Balt. edit. p. 194.

† 1 Cor. iii. 9.

are often alleged to shew that Christ Himself is the fundamental rock on which the church is built: but the meaning of the Apostle manifestly is, that Christ—His doctrine and law—His atonement and grace; are the only foundation on which our hopes for salvation can rest: nor is there salvation in any other: for “there is no other name under heaven given to men, whereby we must be saved.”\* This does not exclude the relation of Peter to the Church as established by Christ Himself, since he is the rock placed by the hands of the Divine Architect, from whom his strength is wholly derived. It would indeed be impious to call Peter the foundation, independently of Christ. His office has been instituted by the Saviour, and is ministerial and instrumental. The faithful are said to be “built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone.”† Thus it is clear that the apostles and prophets may be represented under the image of the foundation, without any disparagement of the authority of Christ, since the preaching of the apostles and the predictions of the prophets lead men to Him. They are ministers, agents, heralds of the Great King. So may the term be applied to Peter in a special sense, as being His chief minister and representative, without detracting from His sovereignty. Bloomfield avows that the expression as applied to Peter is easily reconcileable with the application of it to Christ, “since the two expressions are employed in two very different senses.‡” St. Leo, the Great, who filled the chair of St. Peter in the middle of the fifth century, beautifully exhibits the harmony of the sacred texts, whilst he paraphrases the address of Christ to Peter: “As my Father has manifested my divinity to thee, I make known to thee thy excellency: for thou art PETER, that is, as I am the inviolable rock, the corner-stone, who make both one, I the foundation other than that which no one can lay—nevertheless, thou also art a Rock, because, thou art strengthened by my power, so that those things which belong to me by nature, are common to thee with me by participation.”§

The figure of the keys of the kingdom, which our Lord adds, confirms and develops the idea of power and authority contained in the preceding metaphor: “I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, it shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.” The keys are the known emblem of authority.

\* Acts iv. 12.

† Eph. ii. 20.

‡ In Mat. xvi. 18, 19.

§ *Serm. iv. de assumpt. sua ad Pontificatum.*

Of Eliacim who was to be substituted to Sobna in the high priesthood, it is said: "I will lay the key of the house of David upon his shoulder; and he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut and none shall open."\* The key was hung on the shoulder in token of power, wherefore it is said of Christ: "the government is upon his shoulder."† Potter, the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, says: "Our Lord received from God the keys of heaven; and by virtue of this grant had power to remit sins on earth: the same keys, with the power which accompanied them, were first promised to Peter, as the foreman of the apostolic college."‡ Since our Lord communicated to Peter the keys which He Himself received from the Father, supreme power was clearly delegated by Him, as may be gathered from the same writer. "Our blessed Lord, as the king of this household, who has the supreme power to admit and exclude whomsoever He pleaseth, is said to have the keys of David.—The supreme power of the keys, that is, the authority of admitting and excluding belongs to Christ, the King; but the same is exercised by His apostles and their successors, whom He has appointed to govern the Church, as His stewards, or vicegerents."§ The force of the emblem is here admitted, although an attempt is vainly made to render common to all the apostles the power which was so distinctly given to Peter alone: "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven."|| In the New Testament the kingdom of heaven generally denotes the Church of Christ, which is heavenly in its principles, means, and tendency. To give the keys of this kingdom is to communicate supreme power—to make Peter His special vicegerent. To loose and to bind is the exercise of that power, but the keys signify a pre-eminent power of binding and loosing. The remission of sins or their retention may be effected in virtue of this authority, as may be inferred from a comparison of this text with the commission recorded in John xx. 23, but other acts are included in this broad commission. To resolve the difficulties of the law, and decide religious controversies, to enact laws binding the members of the Church, and to dispense from their observance, to inflict censures on the refractory, and release the penitent

\* Isaiah xxii. 22.

† Ib. ix. 6.

‡ On Church Government p. 60.

§ Ibid p. 300.

|| "As to the expression 'the keys,' it may also refer to the power and authority for the said work; especially as a key was anciently an usual symbol of authority, and presenting with a key was a common form of investing with authority, inasmuch that it was afterwards worn as a badge of office."—Bloomfield. *In locum*.

from their bonds, may all be signified by these terms. To all the apostles the power of binding and loosing was afterwards promised, but not without special design it was promised to Peter first, and alone, that his high authority might be manifested.

These sublime promises are nowise weakened by the rebuke given on the same occasion to Peter, for opposing the divine counsels. Our Lord charged His disciples to tell no one that He was the Christ, and disclosed to them His approaching death : but Peter could not bear the thought of the sufferings of his Divine Master : “ Lord, (he said,) be it far from thee : this shall not be unto thee. But He, turning, said to Peter : Go after me, Satan, thou art a scandal unto me : because thou dost not relish the things that are of God, but the things that are of men.”\* By this severe reproof our Lord would teach us that the humiliating mystery of His sufferings must be adored with the same faith wherewith His glory is believed. Simon was blessed in the divinely inspired faith wherewith he acknowledged Christ to be the Son of God ; but he became a *Satan*, that is an adversary, when he opposed the divine counsels for the redemption of mankind by the sufferings and death of his Lord. The promise made him is not recalled, although his earthly views are corrected and reprovèd. The enemies of the primacy have availed themselves of the popular acceptance of this term, to obscure the eulogy previously pronounced, and the promise made to Peter. Severe as the reproof undoubtedly is, it does not suppose any sin on the part of the apostle, but a human error of judgment, proceeding from the ardor of his affection, and deriving a colouring of truth from the faith of the divinity of Christ.

In the solemn circumstance of the approaching passion of Christ, the apostles did not cease to entertain the petty rivalry and jealousy which during their attendance on Him they had often manifested. He had occasion more than once to rebuke them for their disputes about superiority, and yet they were still contending which of them was greater. The many marks of His special favor to Peter, and the position of leader which this apostle uniformly occupied, and the promise made to him especially, seemed to leave no room for doubting ; but the tender love shewn to John, and the kindness and affection exhibited to all, led them to question, whether the actual headship of Peter, or the promised office, rendered him absolutely greater than his brethren. Christ had, on a former occasion, brought forward a child to insinuate humility, and animated the apostles to its exercise by the hope of

\* Mat. xvi. 22.



heavenly exaltation:\* in this instance He contrasts the spirit which should animate them with the domineering pride of earthly princes, and offers Himself as the model which they should copy. "The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them, and they that have power over them, are called beneficent. But you not so: but he who is the greatest among you, let him be as the least: and he that is the leader as he that serveth. For which is greater, he that sitteth at table, or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at table? but I am in the midst of you as he that serveth."† He will not have them act in the lordly spirit of the rulers of this world, or content themselves with flattering titles. The difference of rank among them He plainly recognises, but wishes the greatest to sustain his dignity by the humility of his deportment, even as He had descended to act as a servant to them all. He then proceeds to intimate the high dignity of all, and the special prerogative and duty of Peter. "You are they who have continued with me in my temptations: And I appoint to you, as my Father hath appointed to me a kingdom. That you may eat and drink at my table, and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Thus, in reward of their fidelity and attachment, He bestows on them a kingdom, even as His Father had made Him king. His kingdom is not, indeed, of this world, but of a far sublimer order, and the apostles are made priests and kings to their God, partaking of the mysterious banquet, and sitting on thrones of judgment. These honors are common to all: to Peter peculiar privileges are promised. Satan has sought to overthrow their thrones, and altars, and to sift them, even as the wheat is winnowed, to cast them as chaff to the wind, and in the impenetrable but just counsels of the Deity, he is left to realize partially his wishes: but Christ interposes with His Father to rescue the throne of Peter, and through him to secure all from ruin. "And the Lord said: Simon, Simon, behold, Satan has desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I HAVE PRAYED FOR THEE THAT THY FAITH FAIL NOT: AND THOU BEING ONCE CONVERTED, CONFIRM THY BRETHREN."‡ He had just spoken of the kingdom and thrones of the apostles: He now discloses the dark designs of hell against them: and addresses Peter especially, and emphatically assures him that He had prayed for him in particular, that his faith might not fail. Against him the powers of hell shall not prevail, as they cannot prevail against the Church founded on him. He foretells, a moment afterwards, his fall, but His prayer is specially offered up for him, as the

\* Luke ix. 48.

† Ib. xxii. 25—28. See also Mat. xx. 25.

‡ Luke xxii. 31, 32.

head of his brethren, and He charges him to confirm them, that is to strengthen them in that faith which cannot fail. "The danger arising from the temptation of fear," St. Leo remarks, "was common to all the apostles, and they likewise needed the aid of the divine protection, since the devil was desirous of harassing them all, and of destroying them all; and yet special care is taken of Peter by the Lord, and supplication is made especially for the faith of Peter, as if the state of the others is likely to be more secure, if the mind of the prince be not overcome."\*

The fall of Peter is often objected as a proof that he was not the head of the Church: which is true, since at that time, although the promise of Christ had been made, and His prayer offered up for Peter, the office of chief pastor had not been conferred. It was only after His resurrection that our Lord, being about to withdraw His visible presence, gave Peter charge of His lambs and sheep. The weakness, then, of one chosen for so high an office must lead us to admire the Divine power by which the weak are strengthened, and the Divine mercy, which pardons enormous transgressions, and elevates the penitent to dignities, to which the innocent themselves have no title.

\* Serm. 3, in anniversario assumptionis sue.

## CHAPTER II.

### INSTITUTION OF THE PRIMACY.

THE promise made by Christ to Peter, that He would make him the fundamental rock of His Church, and give him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the solemn charge given him to confirm his brethren, prepare us for the collation of extraordinary power. The denial of his Divine Master, might, however, seem to be an insuperable obstacle to the elevation of this frail apostle: but his tears, which were bitter and abundant, washed away his prevarication, and Christ after His resurrection, appearing to him with other disciples, Thomas, John and James, and two others, besides Nathaniel, of Cana in Galilee, was pleased to fulfil His promise, after He had first elicited repeated protestations of special love. He first presented Himself to Peter and the others as they were fishing, and directed them to cast the net on the right side of the ship, assuring them that they would find fish. The verification of this assurance led John to recognise Him, and Peter apprized of the presence of his Master, hastened to cast around Him his coat. Then, as the other disciples came in the ship, drawing the net with fishes, and reached the shore, "Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land, full of great fishes, one hundred and fifty-three. And although there were so many, the net was not broken."\* It cannot be doubted, that by this miraculous draught was typified the wonderful conversion of nations by the apostles, with Peter at their head, acting under the command of Jesus. The occasion was most opportune for declaring the office of Peter. "When, therefore, they had dined, Jesus said to Simon Peter: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me more than these?" Some have absurdly explained this question, as if Peter were asked whether he loved his Lord more than the fish; but this cannot be seriously advanced. The comparison is evidently referred to the persons present. Peter declares his affection: "He saith to Him: yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee." This declaration was followed by the pastoral commission: "feed my lambs."† This regards the

\* John xxi. 11.

† *βίους τα ἀγρία μου.*

tenderest, weakest portion of the flock, the little ones in Christ, the faithful who are as lambs in regard to those who have begotten them, or brought them forth in Christ. The question is renewed: "He saith to him again: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? He saith to him: yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: feed my lambs."\* The commission is repeated, in a new form, as appears by the Greek text. The former injunction regarded *feeding*, the present comprises the whole pastoral care: to tend, to watch over, to restrain, to bring back the stray sheep, to cast away the contagious, and to do all that a shepherd may do for his flock. "He saith to him the third time: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved, because He saith to him the third time, lovest thou me? And he said to Him: Lord, Thou knowest all things: Thou knowest that I love Thee. He said to him: feed my sheep."† Thus on the manifestation of his tender love, and enlightened faith, Peter receives the commission to feed the sheep of Christ, those who are to the faithful as sheep to lambs, their parents in Christ. Thus does Peter receive, in the presence of the beloved disciple, and of James, Thomas and others, a commission, the highest that could be given, whereby he becomes, in the place of Christ, the shepherd of the flock. The declaration of special love, which was demanded of him, shews that special power was to be imparted: the repetition of the injunction in various forms shews the intention of our Lord to communicate all necessary power for feeding, tending and governing all His flock; so that he who doubts of the primacy of Peter, must pay but little attention to the words of Christ, and the circumstances in which they were uttered.

The justice of the reasoning of St. Bernard on the sacred text must strike every unprejudiced mind. Addressing Pope Eugenius he thus speaks: "You are he to whom the keys were given; to whom the sheep were entrusted. There are indeed likewise other gate-keepers of heaven, and pastors of the flocks; but you have inherited both titles in a sense far different and more sublime. They have each of them, their respective flocks, severally assigned to them: all have been entrusted to you, one flock to one man. Nor are you the shepherd of the sheep alone, but of the shepherds also; the one pastor of all. Do you ask me how I prove this? From the word of the Lord. For to which, I do not say of the bishops, but of the apostles themselves, were all the

\* ποιμαίνει τα πρόβατα μου. The Vulgate read *regis*. The Greek term is taken for governing, as kings were called shepherds of the people: ποιμνεις λαων. See Homer, *passim*.

† βίβωσι τα πρόβατα μου.

sheep committed so absolutely and unreservedly? 'If thou lovest me, Peter, feed my sheep.' What sheep? The people of this or that district, city or kingdom? 'My sheep,' he says. Who does not manifestly see that He did not designate any, but assigned them all to him? None are excepted where no distinction is made. The other disciples were perchance present, when entrusting all to one, He recommended unity to all, in one flock and one shepherd: according to that passage: 'My dove is one, my beautiful one, my perfect one.'\*

Our Lord had foretold the union of Gentiles and Jews in His Church. "Other sheep I have," said He, "that are not of this fold: them also I must bring; and they shall hear my voice: and there shall be made one fold and one shepherd."† This was not to be accomplished by Himself personally, since He was not sent by His Father unless to the sheep that had strayed away of the house of Israel. By the ministry of His apostles this great work was to be effected, and all his sheep were to be united in one fold under the charge of Peter.

Apart from all tradition, and on the strictest principles of critical *exegesis* the superior authority of Peter is proved from the Scripture. We cannot suppose the keys of the kingdom, the confirmation of the brethren, the feeding of lambs and sheep, to denote no special authority. We cannot capriciously extend to the other apostles a promise, charge, and commission addressed especially to him alone. Christ is the good shepherd: He charges Peter to act in His stead. Thus in withdrawing His sensible presence, He leaves Peter clothed with His authority, and insinuates its tender and kind character by an image the most affecting.

I omit to mention the many circumstances wherein our Lord by His actions signified the special power of Peter. From his bark he teaches the multitude: to him He gives the command to let down the net, and He rewards his obedience by a miraculous draught of fishes: to him He promises that he shall henceforth catch men. He commands him to walk to Him on the waters, and stretches forth His hand to support him, when the weakness of his faith causes him to begin to sink. He pays tribute for him, as well as for Himself. All these facts are, nevertheless, not without special import, and have forced themselves on the attention of the declared enemies of the Primacy.

Barrow supposes the excellent qualities of Peter for leadership to have disposed our Lord to grant him the precedency. "They," he observes, "probably might move our Lord Himself to settle, or at least to

\* L. II. de Consid. c. viii.

† John x. 16.

insinuate this order ; assigning the first place to him, whom He knew most willing to serve Him, and most able to lead on the rest in His service. It is indeed observable, that upon all occasions our Lord signified a particular respect to him, before the rest of his colleagues ; for to him more frequently than to any of them He directed His discourse ; unto him, by a kind of anticipation, He granted or promised those gifts and privileges, which He meant to confer on them all ; him He did assume as spectator and witness of His glorious transfiguration ; him He picked out as companion and attendant on Him in His grievous agony ; his feet He first washed ; to him He did first discover Himself after His resurrection, (as Saint Paul implieth) and with him then He did entertain most discourse ; in especial manner recommending to him the pastoral care of the Church ; by which manner of proceeding our Lord may seem to have constituted St. Peter the first in order among the apostles, or sufficiently to have hinted His mind for their direction, admonishing them by His example to render unto him a special deference.”\* After such admissions the reader must be surprised to find the writer denying all authoritative primacy. With greater consistency St. Francis de Sales exhibits the privileges of the prince of the apostles, as insinuated under various images in the divine writings :—“Is the Church likened unto a house ? It is placed on the foundation of a rock, which is Peter. Will you represent it under the figure of a family ? You behold our Redeemer paying the tribute as its master, and after Him comes Peter as His representative. Is the Church a bark ? Peter is its pilot ; and it is our Redeemer who instructs him. Is the doctrine by which we are drawn from the gulf of sin represented by a fisher’s net ? It is Peter who casts it ; it is Peter who draws it ; the other disciples lend their aid ; but it is Peter that presents the fishes to our Redeemer. Is the Church represented by an embassy ? Saint Peter is at its head. Do you prefer the figure of a kingdom ? Saint Peter carries its keys. In fine, will you have it shadowed under the symbol of a flock and a fold ? Saint Peter is the shepherd and universal pastor under Jesus Christ.”†

The occasion of promising this power was the confession which Peter made of the divinity of Christ, and the declaration of greater love than that of the other apostles was required before its collation, yet the office was not merely personal. The reward was the greater because it was to be perpetuated in his successors. St. Leo justly says :

\* Barrow, on the Supremacy.

† Controverses de S. Franc. de Sales, disc. 42.

"Whatever is done by us correctly, or is properly decreed, whatever is obtained from divine mercy by daily supplications, we owe to his works and merits, whose power abides, and whose authority is pre-eminent in his See. That confession, dearly beloved, which was inspired into the heart of the apostle by God the Father, and which rises far above all the uncertain opinions of men, obtained this favor, and received for its recompense the firmness of the rock, not to be shaken by any assault however violent."\* The image of a foundation presents the idea of permanent *support*: the fabric cannot subsist without a foundation: the kingdom of Christ must have always a ruler, bearing the keys, and exercising the sovereign powers under Christ; the brethren need always to be confirmed in faith: the lambs and sheep of Christ at all times need the care and guidance and protection of a pastor, who may keep them all in one sheepfold. Since the powers of hell cannot prevail against the Church, the fundamental authority of Peter can never cease: since the kingdom of Christ shall endure for ever, there must be always a viceroy: since the prayer of Christ is always heard for His reverence, the faith of Peter can never fail: since there shall be always one fold, there shall be likewise one shepherd. If there be any thing clear in Scripture, it is the promise of the primacy and its institution. "To thee," says Christ, "I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven." "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not: and thou being once converted confirm thy brethren." "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep." He distinguishes him from the rest: "Blessed art thou Simon Bar-jona." "Simon, Simon." "Dost thou love me more than these?" As the powers given to the apostles generally are believed to be continued in their successors; as the authority to teach, baptize, and otherwise concur to the salvation of men by ministerial functions, is perpetual; so must the peculiar privileges of Peter be recognized in his successors. A leader is still more necessary for a body so numerous as are the successors of the apostles: a ruler is indispensable for a kingdom so extensive as the Church actually diffused throughout all nations, lest being divided, it be brought to desolation: a pastor for the whole flock is essential at all times that the unity of the sheepfold may be maintained. Thus by the very same line of argument whereby we infer the perpetuity of the apostolic ministry, we are led to acknowledge the headship, or primacy, as a permanent institution of Christ.

What, then, is the nature of this primacy? Limiting myself for the present to the sacred text, I answer, that it is a fundamental principle

\* Serm III. in anniv. assumpt. ejusdem.

of church organization, having the same relation to the universal church as the foundation has to the building: it is a central authority uniting all the parts of the sacred edifice, which rest on it necessarily and inseparably. Peter was constituted the vicegerent of Christ, having received from Him the keys of the kingdom, and consequently a plenitude of authority, delegated however, and subordinate to that of Christ; and the successor of Peter inherits the like power. The primate of the Church is bound to confirm his brethren in the faith, and must maintain the faith once delivered to the saints, and oppose, by all the weight of his authority, every error adverse to its integrity. He is powerful for the truth: powerless against the truth. He must feed the lambs and sheep of Christ with salutary pastures: he must use pastoral vigilance, lest they stray away, and must employ due care to reconduct to the fold those that have actually strayed. Under the image of a good shepherd Christ was pleased to represent Himself, and in giving to Peter the command to feed His lambs and sheep, He imparts the highest authority under the most tender image. In Scripture I discover no limits to this power, other than those which arise from its nature. It cannot be arbitrary and despotic, since it is founded on a divine commission, and is to be exercised in support of truth, and of piety. Every act of this authority must be performed in dependence on Christ, and in strict subordination to Him.

It is not difficult thus to reconcile the headship of Peter with that of Christ. The apostle tells us that Christ has instituted the ministry, "that performing the truth in charity, we may in all things grow up in Him who is the head, Christ; from whom the whole body, compacted and fitly joined together, by whatever joint supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in charity."\* Christ is clearly styled the Head in this place in a way that Peter cannot be so designated. Every grace by which the mind is enlightened, and the will moved, and the Church built up in faith and charity, is derived from Christ, not from Peter, whose office is ministerial and external, and totally dependant on the Supreme invisible Head. "Christ is the Head of the Church. He is the Saviour of His body."† Who has ever thought to ascribe to Peter headship of this nature? Who has ever regarded him as the Saviour of the Church? God the Father hath made Christ "head over all the Church, which is His body, and the fulness of Him, who is filled all in all."‡ No one recognises Peter as head in this

\* Eph. iv. 15.

† Ibid. v. 23.

‡ Ibid. i. 22.



sense. Christ is "above all principality, and power, and virtue, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come."\* Peter, under Christ, was the visible head of the Church on earth, governing it according to the principles which Christ taught, and in virtue of the authority which He vouchsafed to delegate. Whoever deems such authority derogatory to the headship of Christ, must consider the viceroy of a monarch an antagonist to sovereignty.

The wisdom of Christ in appointing a ruler and pastor under Himself, to confirm and unite the brethren, is obvious. Order can be maintained in a body of men only by some authority exercised by one, whatever be its origin, or its limits: and that authority should be proportioned to the importance of the objects to be attained, and the number of persons to be directed, or governed. A certain precedency of rank may suffice in a body, where objects dependent on the will of the members are at stake: but where high interests, independent of the fluctuating views of men, are in question, a binding authority divinely constituted and guarded is necessary. Even among the apostles there was evidently a certain precedency exercised by Peter, whilst our Lord was present. When He had withdrawn from earth, and the apostolic band was augmented by a large number of bishops, and the Church was spread throughout many nations, every appearance of unity would soon have vanished, had there not been a central authority around which all might gather. This became still more necessary, when the apostles closed their career, and their successors were multiplied, and scattered to the utmost bounds of civilization, and beyond it. The confusion of tongues would have ensued, had there not been a divinely-constituted leader. The professed subjection of all to Christ would not have restrained the vagaries of human opinion, or preserved the harmony of believers. Without an infinitude of miracles, in proportion to the number of professors, and the diffusion of religion, there would be no order, no unity, no faith, and the evidence which our Lord referred to, for convincing the world that He was sent by the Father, namely the union of His disciples in the profession of revealed truth, would have been utterly wanting. Whilst Christ was visibly present, the disciples gathered around Him, and were one family, He being the Head: when He was about to withdraw His visible presence, He left Peter at the head of his brethren, pastor of the fold, and ruler of the kingdom. To this Divine arrangement we owe the preservation of the revealed truths and the unity of the Church.

\* Eph. v. 21.

To all the apostles Christ promised the power of binding and loosing, which He conferred on all by authorizing them to remit, or retain sins. He gave to all a mission like that which He had received from His Father. He sent *all* of them to preach His gospel to every creature, and ordered them to teach all nations, all things whatsoever He had delivered, and promised them His effectual assistance even to the end of time. The apostolic power of each one was like that of Peter, co-extensive with the world : but Peter was pastor, ruler and superior. They were all equal in the episcopal character, and even in apostolic authority, with this difference that their power was subordinate to his, that even in their persons unity might be exhibited, and that his universal jurisdiction was a permanent attribute of his office as pastor and ruler, to descend and continue for ever in his successors, whilst theirs was a personal prerogative, whereof the bishops would partake, without enjoying severally its plenitude. This distinction is gathered from the marked manner in which Christ addressed Peter individually, whilst He promised and gave authority to the others in common. Bossuet beautifully observes : "The power divided among many imports its restriction : conferred on one alone, over all and without exception, it bears the evidence of its plenitude. All receive the same power, but not in the same degree, nor to the same extent. Jesus Christ commences by the chief, and in the person of the chief developes all his power—in order that we should learn that the ecclesiastical authority, being originally centred in one individual, has been diffused only on the condition that it should always be reflected back on the principle of its unity, and that all they who share in it should be inseparably connected with that See, which is the common centre of all Churches."\*

\* Discours sur l'unité de l'Eglise 1 par.

## CHAPTER III.

### EXERCISE OF THE PRIMACY BY ST. PETER.

It is impossible not to be struck by the prominent part which Peter acted in the establishment of the Church. Whilst his disciples were awaiting the fulfilment of the promise of Christ, and by prayer preparing for the coming of the Paraclete, Peter arose, and proposed to fill the vacancy which the fall of Judas had occasioned. He is already enlightened to discover the meaning of the sacred oracles, which predicted the treachery of this apostle, and ordered another to take his bishopric: he fixes the qualifications of the person to be chosen for this purpose: and if he does not himself choose the individual, it is from no defect of power, but to give a laudable example of its moderate exercise. This condescension is justly admired by the eloquent bishop of Constantinople:

“Being fervent,” St. Chrysostom observes, “and being entrusted by Christ with the care of the flock, and being the leader of the choir, he is always the first to speak.—Why did he not himself alone beseech Christ to give him some one in the place of Judas? Why do not the brethren of themselves undertake the election?—See how he does all things with the general consent, nothing authoritatively, nothing imperiously—*Men brethren*, he says. Since the Lord called his disciples *brethren*, still more should he style them such. Wherefore he addressed them, all being present: Behold the dignity of the Church, and its angelic condition.—Why does he communicate with them on this matter? Lest it become a subject of dispute and they fall into dissensions.—He permits the choice to the judgment of the multitude, thus securing their regard for the objects of their choice, and freeing himself from jealousy.—COULD NOT PETER HIMSELF HAVE CHOSEN THE INDIVIDUAL? BY ALL MEANS. But he abstains from doing it lest he should appear to indulge partiality.—He is the first to proceed in this matter, because ALL HAVE BEEN DELIVERED OVER INTO HIS HANDS: for to him Christ said: Thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.”\* It is pleasing to be able to show in what light this act

\* Hom. III. in 1 cap. Act.

was viewed by so bright an ornament of the Greek Church in the fourth century—one of the most illustrious men of antiquity—one occupying the chair of the rival city, the new Rome, who recognises a splendid instance of the moderate use of supreme power in the conduct of Peter on this occasion.

A still more illustrious exercise of his high office, as guardian of the faith, occurs in the history of the first Council of Jerusalem. Great excitement was caused at Antioch by certain Judaizing Christians, who insisted that the converts from the Gentiles should be subjected to circumcision and the legal observances. "Paul and Barnabas had no small contest with them,"\* but were unable to induce all to acquiesce in their judgment; wherefore it was determined that they "and certain others of the other side, should go up to the apostles and priests to Jerusalem about this question." "The apostles and ancients came together to consider of this matter, and when there was much disputing, Peter, rising up, said to them: Men brethren, you know that in former days God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the Gospel, and believe. And God, who knoweth the hearts, gave them testimony, giving to them the Holy Ghost as well as to us: and made no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. Now, therefore, why tempt you God to put a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we believe to be saved even as they." The result of this discourse is worthy of attention: "All the multitude held their peace."† Previously there had been at Antioch great opposition and contest, notwithstanding the reverence due to the apostolic character in Paul and Barnabas: the collision of sentiment had been renewed in the Council with considerable feeling. Peter authoritatively speaks, reminds them that he had been chosen to announce the Gospel to the Gentiles, that God had given evidences of his favour towards them, reproaches his brethren with seeking unnecessarily to burden them with the multifarious observances of the ceremonial law, and declares the great principle of faith in Jesus Christ as the only foundation of hope for Jew or Gentile. No sooner has he spoken than all acquiesce: no dissenting voice is heard, no murmur: all opposition ceases: and whoever rises to speak, only confirms, like Paul and Barnabas, by the narrative of miraculous facts, what Peter had declared of the favour shown by God to the Gentiles; or, like James, refers to the prophecies, adding

\* Acts xv. 2.

† Ibid xv. 12.

the suggestion\* of the measures to be decreed, that the principle might be carried into successful execution. I do not see how any man can read the simple history of this controversy, by the inspired writer, and not perceive the great weight of Peter's authority in its termination. The letter of the Council, drawn up in the name of the apostles and ancients, expressive of the principle laid down by Peter, and of the practical measure suggested by James, is declared to emanate from the Holy Ghost: "it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us."† The writers of antiquity speak of it as the sentence or decree of Peter. In the third century, Tertullian describes it as the exercise of his power of binding and loosing: "the decree of Peter loosed such things of the law as were set aside, and bound fast such as were retained."‡ St. Jerom says that Peter was the author of this decree;§ and the celebrated Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, speaks of the controversy, as a matter referred by Paul to Peter, that by his authority it might be definitely settled. "If Paul," says he in his letter to Pope Leo, "who was the herald of truth, the organ of the Holy Spirit, had recourse to the great Peter, in order to obtain a decision from him concerning the observances of the law for those who disputed at Antioch on this subject, with much greater reason we, who are abject and weak, have recourse to your Apostolic See, that we may receive from you remedies for the wounds of the churches. For it is fit that you in all things should be first, for your throne is adorned with many prerogatives."|| Cave explains the words of Paul, that "he went to Jerusalem to see Peter," of his going up on this occasion, Peter being the leading character in the council.¶

St. Chrysostom calls our attention to the wisdom with which he permitted the discussion, and then authoritatively interposed: "See," says he, "he permits the inquiry and dispute to go on, and then he himself speaks:"\*\*\* and he observes it as an evidence of the harmony

\* *scilicet* "I judge," is the simple expression of sentiment, whether authoritative, or void of authority. See Thucyd. iv. 60. It corresponds to the Latin *censuro*.

† Acts xv. 28.

‡ Tertullian, l. de pudicitia.

§ "Principem hujus fuisse decreti. S. Hieron. Aug. Ep. 45, alias xi., inter August. T. 8, col. 172. Tom II.

|| Theodoret. ad Leonem. Ep. cxiii.

¶ Petrum ibi convenit occasione, ut videtur, concilii Apostolici—cujus Petrus pars magna fuit." Sæc. Ap. p. 6.

\*\*\* S. Chrys. hom. xxii. in c. xv. Act. Ap. p. 259. Tom. III. Edit. Paris, 1687.

and condescension which prevailed, that Paul was allowed to speak after Peter had pronounced judgment : " See, Paul speaks after Peter, and no one closes his mouth."\* Even Barrow cannot dissemble the prominent part which St. Peter bore in the councils and in the public proceedings generally : " At the consultation," he observes, " about supplying the place of Judas, he rose up, proposed, and pressed the matter. At the convention of the apostles and elders, about resolving the debate concerning observance of Mosaical institutions, he first rose up, and declared his sense. In the promulgation of the Gospel, and defence thereof, before the Jewish rulers, he did assume the conduct, and constantly took upon him to be the speaker; the rest standing by him, implying assent, and ready to avow his word."† To establish the primacy of Peter, it is not necessary to prove that he exercised, at all times, and in every circumstance, his prerogative to its utmost extent : since moderation, condescension and humility, had been prescribed to him by his Divine Master ; and Chrysostom testifies, that in this spirit he abstained from appointing the apostle to fill the place of Judas, which, nevertheless, he was fully authorized to do. The performance however, of any act which supposes superior power, is a proof that he possessed it ; because an apostle of Christ was not likely to usurp a power not communicated by the Redeemer.

It has pleased the Holy Spirit to leave on record but a few of the circumstances connected with this model of councils : but these few sufficiently show that Peter was there, that he either called the council, or assented to its convocation, that he spoke with authority and effect, silencing all disputation by his discourse, and that the decree was in strict conformity with his judgment. The forms are of little importance where the authority is fully respected and admitted. To be Prince and Primate in the Church of God, it was not necessary that he should stand alone, separated from his colleagues in the apostleship and episcopacy, and resting solely on the prerogative of his station. It is delightful to see him in the council of his brethren, causing the ardour of disputation to subside by authoritative instruction, and enlightening the minds of his colleagues, and of the faithful, by unfolding to them the oracles of God. The decree which expresses his judgment, and that of his colleagues, and the faith of the whole Church, is no way derogatory to his high prerogative.

The eloquent bishop of Meaux presents, at one view, the various circumstances in which Peter appears foremost : " Peter," says he,

\* Hom. xxxiii. p. 260.

† A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy. Supposition I.

"appears the first on all occasions: the first to confess the faith; the first to express his obligation of love; the first of all the apostles who saw Christ after his resurrection, as he was the first to bear testimony to this fact before all the people. We find him first, when there was question of filling up the number of the apostles; the first who confirmed the faith by a miracle, the first to convert the Jews, the first to receive the Gentiles; in short, every thing occurs to establish his supremacy."<sup>a</sup>

Potter remarks: "Our Lord appeared to Peter after his resurrection, before the rest of the apostles; and, before this, He sent the message of His resurrection to him in particular." He relates the various acts of Peter after the ascension of our Lord, and concludes thus: "From these and other examples which occur in the Scriptures, it is EVIDENT THAT ST. PETER ACTED AS CHIEF OF THE COLLEGE OF APOSTLES, and so he is constantly described by the primitive writers of the Church, who call him the Head, the President, the Prolocutor, the Chief, the Foreman of the Apostles, with several other titles of distinction."<sup>†</sup>

Against facts so strongly marking the superior authority of Peter, a term of equivocal import used by the sacred historian is sometimes objected. "When the apostles who were in Jerusalem, had heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they *sent* to them Peter and John."<sup>‡</sup> To *send* ordinarily supposes superiority in him who sends; but the term is often used, where solicitation, counsel, and the expression of desire is only meant. When the tribes of Ruben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasses, had erected an altar near the Jordan, the children of Israel "sent to them into the land of Galaad, Phinees, the son of Eleazar the priest, and ten princes with him, one of every tribe."<sup>§</sup> This mission derogates in no degree from the high dignity of the priesthood, since it was doubtless a proposal made and accepted, rather than a command authoritatively given. When the dispute concerning the ceremonial law arose at Antioch, "they *determined* that Paul and Barnabas, and certain others of the other side, *should go up* to the apostles and priests to Jerusalem, about this question."<sup>||</sup> This language is certainly as strong at least as if it were said: "They sent Paul and Barnabas;" and yet no one infers thence that these apostles were inferior to the multitude at whose solicitation they undertook this journey. The apostles at Jerusalem sent Peter and John to Samaria, by urging

<sup>a</sup> Discours sur l'unité de l'Eglise.

<sup>†</sup> On Church Government, pp. 72, 74.

<sup>‡</sup> Acts viii. 14.

<sup>§</sup> Josue xxii. 13, 14.

<sup>||</sup> Acts xv. 2.

the expediency of the visit, not by a positive injunction: for no one pretends that these apostles were inferior in authority to the rest, as they certainly would be, if they acted under a positive command.

The condescension of St. Peter in explaining the motives of his conduct to the disciples who murmured against him, on account of his having admitted Cornelius and his family into the Church, is perfectly consistent with the supremacy of his office. Superiors cannot prevent the murmurs of their subjects, and cannot silence them effectually by an appeal to their own authority. Persuasion must be often employed to convince them that the exercise of power has been grounded on sufficient reasons, and has not been capricious, or ill-advised. But if the faithful knew Peter to be supreme ruler of the Church on earth, it is said they would not have dared question the wisdom of his acts. It did not, indeed, become them to question it: yet when the ancient Jews murmured against Moses, whose mission was proved by stupendous prodigies, need we wonder that some of the first believers ventured to dispute the propriety of a certain course of conduct pursued by Peter? The prejudices of nations do not always yield instantaneously to religious influences, and the distinction of castes is not easily forgotten. The Jews regarded the heathen with aversion bordering on abhorrence, and with the evidence before them of the communication of the gifts of the Holy Ghost to Cornelius and his family, they were filled with amazement. St. Gregory derives from this fact a lesson of humility: "When Peter was blamed by the faithful, had he regarded the authority which he had received in the Holy Church, he might have answered, that the sheep should not dare reprove their shepherd, to whom they had been entrusted. But if on the complaint of the faithful, he had made mention of his own power, he would not truly have been the teacher of meekness. He appeased them, therefore, in an humble manner, and in the case for which they blamed him, he even brought forward witnesses: 'These six brethren came also with me.' Since then the pastor of the Church, the prince of the apostles, he who performed in an extraordinary manner signs and miracles, did not disdain humbly to give an explanation of the conduct for which he was blamed, how much more should we who are sinners, when we are blamed for any thing, be ready to appease our censors by humble explanation."\*

The strongest objection adduced against the superior authority of Peter is the resistance made to him by Paul, and the rebuke given him

\* L. xi. ep. xlv.



on account of his receding from familiar intercourse with the converted Gentiles, through fear of offending the Jews, who had recently arrived at Antioch. I have elsewhere stated the doubts entertained by some learned men as to the identity of Cephas, the person referred to in this circumstance, with the apostle :\* but waiving this critical point, I see nothing in bold remonstrance, such as Paul used, inconsistent with the supremacy of him to whom it was addressed. The matter in question was of mere prudence and expediency, where offence was sure to be given, whichever course might be pursued, and Cephas having adopted a line of conduct offensive to the Gentiles, and prejudicial to the liberty which we have in Christ, from the yoke of the ceremonial law, Paul felt prompted by zeal for the Gentile converts to remonstrate in strong language, and in a public manner. "When Cephas was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was blameable—when I saw that they walked not uprightly unto the truth of the Gospel, I said to Cephas, before them all : If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not of the Jews, how dost thou compel the Gentiles to follow the way of the Jews?"† What the apostle here calls *walking not uprightly unto the truth of the Gospel*, he terms likewise *dissimulation*, meaning plainly a course inconsistent with the ingenuous and independent avowal of the great principle of Gospel liberty : not a betrayal of divine truth by teaching erroneous doctrine. No Christian pretends that either apostle deviated from the correct doctrine, or that Paul reproved Peter, as a superior checks an inferior. "Paul reproved Peter," says Tertullian, "for no other reason, however, than the change of his mode of living, which he varied according to the class of persons with whom he associated, not for any corruption of divine truth."‡ Augustin, speaking of this fact, admires the intrepidity of Paul and the humility of Peter : "a just liberty," he says, "is to be admired in Paul, and holy humility in Peter."§ Gregory, the Great, cries out : "Behold, he is reproved by his inferior, and he does not disdain the reproof : he does not call to mind that he has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven."||

The respect of Paul for Peter is evident from this same epistle, for, although, in order to convince the Galatians of the divine origin of the doctrine which he delivered, he states that those who appeared to be

\* See also Dissertazione 32 su Cefa ripreso da S. Paolo, nella raccolta del Padre F. A. Zaccaria.

† Gal. ii. 14.

‡ L. v. contra Marcion, c. III.

§ Ep. lxxxii. alias xxii.

|| L. II. in Ezech. hom. xviii.

pillars in the Church, contributed nothing to his instruction, and that on his conversion he had not gone to Jerusalem to the apostles who preceded him in faith, he adds : " three years after I came to Jerusalem to see Peter, and stayed with him fifteen days."\* This visit is considered by St. Chrysostom an evidence of the high regard of Paul for the official character of Peter. " Peter," he observes, " was the organ and prince of the Apostles : wherefore Paul went up to see him in preference to the rest."† Paul, indeed, did not go with a view to obtain information, for he had been favored with a divine revelation : he entertained no doubt whatever : he was equal in the apostolic dignity to Peter : and may have been greater in personal qualifications and merit, yet he went to him as a superior, honoring the office which he bore by divine appointment. Justly is his modesty admired by St. Chrysostom : " After so many illustrious actions, although he stood in no need of Peter, or of his instruction, being equal in dignity to him,‡ (for I shall say no more)§ he goes up to him as to a superior and elder, and he had no other motive for the visit, but merely to see Peter. Remark how he pays them due honor, and regards himself not only as no better, but not even as equal to them. This is evident from his journey ; for as many of our brethren now travel to visit holy men, so Paul likewise with similar disposition went up to Peter. This was even much more humble on his part : for men now travel for their own improvement, but this blessed apostle went to learn nothing, and to be set right on no point, but for this only motive, to see him, and honor him by his presence. He uses the term : *ιστορησας* ; to become acquainted with Peter, not *ιδειν* merely to see Peter. He went to become thoroughly acquainted with him, as visitors seek to know thoroughly great and splendid cities."||

St. Paul states, that to him " was committed the Gospel of the uncircumcision, as to Peter was that of the circumcision : "¶ whence it might be inferred that he had exclusive authority over the Gentiles, and Peter a similar authority over the Jews. This, however, cannot be admitted by any one who considers the commission to teach all nations granted to all the apostles, and the fact that Peter received Cornelius and his family into the Church. The apostle plainly means that his labors were chiefly among the Gentiles, as those of Peter were

\* Gal. i. 18.

† Hom. lxxxvii. in Joan.

‡ *ισοτιμος* equally honorable.

§ He insinuates that Paul may have been greater than Peter in merit, talent, virtue, or other personal qualifications.

‡ In c. i. ep. ad. Gal.

¶ Gal. ii 7.

among the Jews. "St. Peter," says Bloomfield, "was chiefly, but not entirely occupied by the Jews, and St. Paul chiefly, but not wholly, with the Gentiles."\* The universality of the mission of all the apostles is unquestionable: it was not confined to certain classes of men, or bounded by territorial limits: they were sent into the whole world, to preach the gospel to every creature. St. Paul, being called in an extraordinary manner to the apostleship, is admitted to have participated in the plenitude of the original commission, which is not at all inconsistent with the supervision, presidency, and chief government granted to Peter, who was charged to confirm his brethren.

The language of St. Peter himself addressing his colleagues in the sacred ministry, is alleged as indicative of perfect equality, and excluding all idea of superior control: "The ancients, therefore, that are among you, I beseech, who am myself also an ancient and a witness of Christ."† The term *πρεσβύτερος* *presbyters* here rendered *ancients* was then applied to bishops, whom St. Peter addressed, declaring himself their fellow-bishop *συμπρεσβύτερος*. Perfect equality cannot be meant by this expression, since as an apostle he was certainly superior to a local bishop. The character of bishop is undoubtedly the same; but the jurisdiction of an apostle, being universal, far exceeds that of him who is charged with a special flock, as all must acknowledge. There can be no doubt, then, that the text is consistent with the superior authority of the sacred writer. The very fact of his general address to the bishops, whom he exhorts, and entreats them to perform their pastoral duties in an humble, exemplary and disinterested manner, affords no slight presumption of his general superintendence and control. His exhortation suits the chief pastor of the flock: "Feed the flock of God which is among you: taking care *thereof* not by constraint, but willingly according to God: neither for the sake of filthy lucre, but voluntarily: neither as domineering over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart. And when the prince of pastors shall appear, you shall receive a never-fading crown of glory."‡ Grotius has well remarked that this epistle is worthy of the prince of the apostles.

Paul instructed Timothy and Titus, his own disciples, whom he had with his own hands consecrated bishops: at Miletus he addressed the bishops, who came from Ephesus, who were in like manner his special disciples: as an apostle he could direct his admonitions to any bishop: but it seems not without a special design of the Holy Ghost, that Pe-

\* *In locum.*

† 1 Pet. v. 1.

‡ *Ibidem* 2—4.

ter, writing to the strangers—proselytes to Judaism first, and then to Christianity, dispersed through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, should have given solemn injunctions to all the bishops of those countries, on the duties of their charge.

The exercise of the primacy in its most important functions is plainly proved from the Sacred Scriptures. To provide pastors for the Churches is the right and duty of the pastor of the whole flock, a right which is to be exercised temperately and prudently, with a sacred regard for the interests of the Universal Church. This was done by Peter in supplying the place of Judas. To see that the pastors perform their duties to their respective flocks, appertains to the same office, and was the object of that portion of the letter which I have quoted. To decide, or take a prominent part in deciding controversies, is the duty of the chief pastor, and was manifestly performed by Peter in the council of Jerusalem. He truly exercised an authoritative primacy, which shews that the commission given him was understood as imparting not mere precedence, but power and authority for maintaining faith and unity.

It is not necessary to shew that Peter actually exercised all and every one of the attributes of spiritual sovereignty, especially since we have no detailed history of the apostolic age, the Acts of the apostles being confined to a few leading facts, marking the commencement of the Church, with an account of the conversion and chief labors of St. Paul. Since the promise of Christ, His charge to Peter at the last supper, and His commission after His resurrection, present to us the idea of a vice-roy, superintendant, and pastor, and the prominent part taken by Peter corresponds with this idea, we are warranted in believing him to have possessed and exercised a true supremacy. I do not labor to prove what are the essential rights of the chief pastor: I ask only that his primacy so clearly established be admitted: I produce his commission with the seal of the Great King, and demand that it be respected.

## CHAPTER IV.

### INTERPRETATION OF THE FATHERS.

I HAVE hitherto relied on the obvious force of the Scriptural testimonies, although I have incidentally introduced some passages of the Fathers. The authority of the early Christian writers, to whom this honorable appellation is given, is now respected by numbers not of our communion, and their exposition is heard with special reverence. It is strange that it could ever have been otherwise, and that the passions of men should have led them to treat with disregard those venerable witnesses of the ancient faith, most of whom are commended to us by the eminence of their station, by their zeal, learning, and sanctity, as well as by their antiquity. What has often been alleged to destroy the weight of their interpretation, namely, that they neglected the literal meaning, must not be admitted; for although, after the example of the apostles themselves, they often dwelt on the allegorical meaning concealed under the facts of sacred history, nevertheless, they delivered, in strong and clear terms, the literal exposition likewise, especially when a divine doctrine, or the divine constitution of the Church was to be defended against the assaults of human temerity. It is easy to distinguish between the mystic reveries of Origen, and the literal expositions of Chrysostom; and again between these expositions, and the accommodation or application of the sacred text which this eloquent prelate makes to the practical duties of the Christian life.

It is proper to remark that the *testimony* of the Fathers is of far greater weight than their individual authority as expounders of Holy Writ. Individually they can have no claim on our assent beyond their personal qualifications, which, however high, cannot impose on us the necessity of adopting their peculiar views, or yielding our own judgment to their opinion. But as witnesses they inform us of facts, namely that certain doctrines were in their times professed in the Church, that certain interpretations of Scripture were then received; and these facts are of the utmost importance, since the faith of the Church has a divine guarantee, and the interpretations of Scripture generally received are not easily to be separated from the deposit of revelation. Wherever from their combined testimony, it is certain that

any doctrine was generally maintained as of faith in the early ages of the Church, we hold it as having come down from the apostles: whenever the Fathers generally offer the same interpretation of any texts of Scripture, in support of any doctrine, or principle of ecclesiastical government, we may fairly infer that such was the meaning as originally understood and delivered. In order to weaken the force of such testimony and interpretation, it is not sufficient to shew that individual Fathers occasionally hold other views, or gave other expositions, unless it be shewn that these expositions are incompatible with the general interpretation, and that the dissent of these Fathers disproves any authoritative tradition on the subject. The testimony is valuable even of writers who, in some respects, and at some period of life, deviated from the teachings of faith. Where they profess to give their own peculiar sentiments, or where they oppose the general doctrine of the Church, they can make no impression on Catholic minds, which are taught, not to bow to individual dictation, but to hold fast the doctrine of the Universal Church. Their opposition to a public doctrine is an evidence of its existence, and serves to strengthen us in our belief of it, inasmuch as we are assured of its having been delivered in ancient times, even from the testimony of its opponents.

TERTULLIAN lived at the close of the second and commencement of the third century, having died about the year 217. He was a priest of Carthage, long in communion with the Roman and Catholic Church, and an illustrious defender of the faith, which, however, in the latter years of his life he abandoned, being led by the severity of his disposition to embrace the tenets and admit the visions of Montanus. His works written before his fall are admired for the strength of reasoning which they display, and those of a subsequent period are not without value, since he testifies what the faith and practice of the Church then was, even whilst he assails it. As far as his testimony harmonizes with that of the other Fathers, it is of high importance.

In his time many of the Gnostics did not hesitate to boast of knowledge superior to that of the apostles, wherefore he indignantly demands: "WAS ANY THING CONCEALED FROM PETER, WHO WAS STYLED THE ROCK ON WHICH THE CHURCH WAS TO BE BUILT, WHO RECEIVED THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, AND THE POWER OF LOOSING AND BINDING IN HEAVEN AND ON EARTH?"\* Here he plainly identifies Peter with the rock, and recognises the authority with which he was invested.

His reasoning at a subsequent period, when the exercise of this power by the successors of Peter was in question, does not weaken the

\* *De Præscr.* §. xxii.

force of his testimony and interpretation when defending the doctrine of the Church, and pointing out the criterion by which divine truth may be distinguished from human error. Notwithstanding the sound principles which he had advanced, he suffered his mind to be led astray by the alleged visions of the Montanists, and their affected austerity, and he ventured to dispute the exercise of that power which he had so clearly recognised in the person of the apostle. When the Bishop of Rome, by a solemn decree opposed to the errors of Montanus, had declared penitent adulterers admissible to reconciliation and pardon, Tertullian scoffingly spoke of the edict, and denied that he inherited in this respect the powers of Peter. "I hear," said the austere African, "that an edict has been published, and, indeed, a peremptory one: namely, THE BISHOP OF BISHOPS, which is equivalent to the Sovereign Pontiff,\* proclaims: 'I pardon the sins of adultery and fornication to such as have performed penance.'† The titles by which he designates the author of the decree, were not certainly assumed by the Roman Bishop, who has invariably abstained from using any pompous and invidious titles, but Tertullian sarcastically employs them, because the presidency of the Roman Bishop over all others was a notorious fact, and the power which he exercised was plainly that of a superior, which the African would fain render odious, by saying that it amounted to the heathenish title of Sovereign Pontiff. This was at that time justly detested on account of the idolatrous functions which belonged to that office, although after the overthrow of idolatry, it has been applied, in an innocuous sense, to the High Priest of Christianity. Faber admits that the language of Tertullian implies that a high degree of authority was claimed and exercised by the Bishop of Rome. "In the time of Tertullian, whose life extended into the third century, a considerable advance had plainly been made by the See of Rome, in the claim of the Primacy, inasmuch as he calls the bishop of that Church the Supreme Pontiff, and distinguishes him with the title of Bishop of bishops."‡ The authoritative character of the decree is evident from its being styled *peremptory*, and from Tertullian's observing: "This is read in the Church, and is proclaimed in the Church." We have here an unexceptionable witness of the fact, that at that early period, about the close of the second century, the Bishop of Rome issued authoritative decrees which

\* "Pontifex scilicet Maximus, quod est Episcopus Episcoporum." The inverted style is familiar to Tertullian.

† *L. de pudicitia* c. 1.

‡ Faber's *Difficulties of Romanism*. Note p. 261. Phil. edit.

were publicly read in the Church, and were acknowledged by their opponents to emanate from the highest dignitary, claiming authority over the other bishops.

But it is as an interpreter that we are now to consider Tertullian. He is plainly with us so far as the term *rock* and the power of Peter are concerned; and before his fall, he recognised the authoritative teaching of the successors of Peter. His book *on Chastity* was expressly directed against the edict of the Roman Bishop; and he consequently labors to shew that the texts of Scripture, on which the authority thus exercised was grounded, could not be applied to any but Peter himself. So far he is against us; but his opposition shews the interpretation of these texts as then received in the Catholic Church, whose doctrine he sought to overturn. He maintains that personal offences may be pardoned, but that sins against God cannot be forgiven, unless miraculous evidence, such as the prophets and apostles exhibited, can be furnished of a divine commission. Addressing the Roman Bishop, and challenging him to prove the power of forgiveness which he claims, he styles him "Apostolic," recognising him as successor of Peter, even whilst he assails the exercise of his authority: "Shew me now, Apostolic man, examples like those of the prophets, and I will acknowledge the divinity (*divine power*); and claim for yourself the power of remitting sins of this kind. But if the duties with which you are charged are merely disciplinary, to preside, not imperiously, but ministerially, who, or how great are you to take on you to pardon, since, as you neither show yourself to be a prophet nor an apostle, you are destitute of the pardoning virtue?"\* The want of miraculous power is here assumed as an evidence that the power of forgiveness is likewise wanting: but as the Roman Bishop relied on the commission given to Peter, Tertullian proceeds to combat his argument. "I now ask your own sentiment, whence do you claim this power for the Church? If because the Lord said to Peter: 'on this rock I will build my Church: 'to thee I have given the keys of the kingdom of heaven: 'or, 'whatsoever thou shalt bind or loose upon earth, shall be bound or loosed in heaven,' you presume, on that account, that the power of loosing and binding has come down to you, that is to the whole Church allied to Peter,† who are you to overturn and change the manifest intention of the Lord, who conferred this on Peter personally: 'On THEE,' he says, 'I will build my Church, and to THEE I will give the keys,' not to the Church, 'and whatsoever THOU shalt bind or loose,

\* L. de Pudicitia c. xxi.

† "Ad omnem Ecclesiam Petri propinquam.



not what *they* shall bind or loose.”\* The testimony of Tertullian is here infinitely more valuable than his interpretation, if favorable to us, could be. He was then alienated from the Church, and strenuously opposing the power which her Chief Bishop claimed to remit sins. He points to the testimonies by which the power was vindicated, and he denies that they should be understood, as the Pontiff and the Church understood them. What care we for his denial, when we learn what was the understanding of the Bishop of Rome, and of the Church of Peter, and of the Catholic Church in communion with him, in the second century? Let it be remarked that Tertullian does not deny the succession of the Roman Bishop to Peter, which, on the contrary, he admits addressing him as APOSTOLIC, and declaring the Roman Church to be Peter’s Church. “He flatly denies,” says Faber, “that it (*the passage of Matthew*) can be construed as belonging to what then began to be esteemed as Peter’s Church.”† Tertullian does not speak of this as an opinion creeping in, but as a fact the most notorious, the succession being unquestionable, as he states in several places. He contends that Peter, and not the Church at large, nor his successors, received the commission: but his reasoning is equally opposed to the Protestant and Catholic interpretation, and cannot be sustained, since the power, although given personally to Peter, and as a special reward for his glorious confession, was communicated under symbols which denote its perpetuity, and can only cease with the Church, which rests on it as a fundamental and permanent principle.

It should not surprise us to find the same writer who, in the interests of heresy, confined to Peter, to the exclusion of his successors, the promise of the keys, extending it to every confessor and martyr of Christ, who, like Peter, acknowledges His divinity.” “If you think,” says he elsewhere, “that heaven is still shut, call to mind that the Lord here left its keys to Peter, and THROUGH HIM TO THE CHURCH, which keys every one who is here questioned, and who confesses the faith, will bring along with him.”‡ Thus it is that individuals capriciously enlarge or restrict the sacred text, whilst the Church herself retains its obvious meaning, and acknowledges in the successors of Peter the power granted to him for the benefit of the whole flock of Christ.

Tertullian displayed much ingenuity to no effect, in explaining away the obvious signification of the text, as understood by Peter alone,

\* L. de pudicitia c. xxi.

† Difficulties of Romanism. Note p. 261.

‡ Scorpiace.

being unwilling to admit that even he received the power of forgiving sins. Protestants may feel gratified in finding that so early a writer expounded the passages in question in a manner like that adopted by many of their own authors; but it is not for their advantage, or honor, since he was evidently opposing the authoritative interpretation of the Church. Besides, he did not offer this exposition with a view to disprove the Primacy, which he acknowledged, though he held it to be ministerial, rather than authoritative, and appertaining to external government, rather than to the remission of sins. His object was widely different, and his interpretation in many respects unlike; but he opposed the exercise of the authority, whose existence they utterly deny, and he wrested the sacred text capriciously, in which he has had many imitators.

"The event," says he, "shews the meaning. The Church was built on him (*Peter*); that is, through him. He received the key. See what key: 'Ye men of Israel,' he says, 'receive with your ears my words: Jesus of Nazareth a man destined for you by God,' and so forth. He in fact was the first who by Christian baptism threw open the entrance to the heavenly kingdom, whereby the offences, before bound fast, are loosed, and such as were not loosed, according to true salvation, are bound fast: and he bound Ananias with the chain of death, and he loosed the cripple from his infirmity. Likewise, in the dispute concerning the observance of the law, Peter, first of all, inspired by the Spirit, and having first mentioned the call of the nations, said: 'Now, why do you tempt the Lord, by imposing a yoke on the brethren, which neither we, nor our fathers were able to bear? But by the grace of Jesus we believe that we shall obtain salvation, as they likewise.' This sentence loosed the legal observances which were set aside, and bound such as were continued. So the power of loosing and binding granted to Peter has no reference to capital sins of the faithful."\* The many distinguished writers of the Anglican and Episcopalian communions, who admit that the Church has received the power of forgiving sins, must at once reject the whole exposition of Tertullian: and all who examine the sacred text, and interpret it dispassionately, must see that the above is the effort of a partisan, not the simple declaration of an interpreter.

I need scarcely say, that the interpretation which changes the phrase and figure used by our Lord is not worthy of attention. Our Lord declares that He will build His Church on Peter: Tertullian

\* L. de Pudicitia c. xxi.

says, that He means *through* him. We receive the declaration of the Divine Architect, and reject the fanciful exposition of the Montanist. Our Lord promises to Peter the keys of the heavenly kingdom, the symbol of sovereign authority : Tertullian expounds them of the words of instruction, whereby the entrance to the Church is prepared, and of the baptismal laver, whereby the sins of unbelievers are loosed. Who does not perceive that this is a restriction of a promise most ample in its terms and import, and embracing every act of spiritual sovereignty ? The sudden death of Ananias, in punishment of his hypocrisy, is for Tertullian a chain cast by Peter on the offender ; the miraculous cure of the cripple is the releasing of a bondsman. No one will pretend that this is the literal meaning of the power to bind and loose. The judgment of Peter in the Council may be termed in some respects a binding and loosing, but it cannot be considered to be such according to the obvious and entire meaning of the terms.

Origen, a man of sublime genius and vast learning, who taught in the famous school of Alexandria, in the early part of the third century, oftentimes indulged his fancy in mystic flights, not without prejudice to the integrity of his faith. His expositions, consequently, have no authority wherever they are peculiar to himself, and discordant from the general interpretation of the Fathers, since we are not to be guided by individual caprice, but by universal testimony. In speaking of the Canonical epistles, he has left however clear and unambiguous evidence of the obvious meaning presented to his mind by the sacred text, and Eusebius has recorded his words with a view to prove by his testimony what sacred books were always admitted. As neither the witness, nor the historian designed to establish the meaning of the text, this incidental proof is the stronger, being the unstudied expression of the writer's mind. "Peter," he says, "ON WHOM THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS BUILT, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, left one epistle generally admitted."\* In his mystical interpretation Origen sometimes applies this text, not only to all the apostles, but to every believer in Christ, calling each disciple a rock, and claiming for all the perfect servants of God the keys of heaven. As each one is a rock he maintains that the powers of hell cannot overcome them : "FOR NEITHER AGAINST THE ROCK ON WHICH CHRIST BUILDS THE CHURCH, NOR AGAINST THE CHURCH, SHALL THE GATES OF HELL PREVAIL."† Hence he argues, that whoever is overcome by Satan is not a rock, nor part of

\* Apud Euseb. l. vi. c. xxv. hist. Ecc.

† In Matt. tom xii. p. 518.

the Church. I need not stop to canvass this sentiment ; but it is clear, that, even in the application of the text to each perfect man, Origen does not forget the force of the figure employed by our Lord, and the relation between the foundation and the building—the rock and the Church, and that he connects the impregnable character of the Church with the immoveable nature of the rock. He insensibly returns to the literal meaning, and represents the vain efforts of heretics to destroy the divine institution : “Every author of a perverse sentiment is a builder of a gate of hell ;—and the co-operators in the doctrine of the author of such things, are ministers and dispensers of the perverse teaching, the source of the impiety. But many and numberless as are the gates of hell, no gate of hell will prevail against the rock, or the Church which Christ builds upon the rock. And truly, each of the heterodox, who brings forth any knowledge falsely so called, has built a gate of hell. Marcion has erected one, Basilides another, and Valentine another.”\* He notices the application made of the sacred text to all the acts of episcopal authority, as appertaining to the power of the keys, and he limits it by insisting that each bishop must be a Peter, to apply to himself the promise ; meaning, as would appear, that he must be a perfect man, or, at least, use the power judiciously and rightly. In these various expositions the literal meaning, which shews the authority of Peter, is presupposed, as is proved from the passage quoted by Eusebius, and from another found in the works of Origen still extant. Speaking of the excellence of charity, he remarks that Christ required it especially of Peter, when about to invest him with the supreme authority in His Church. “WHEN THE SUPREME POWER TO FEED THE SHEEP WAS GIVEN TO PETER, AND THE CHURCH WAS FOUNDED ON HIM, as *on the earth*, the declaration of no other virtue but of charity, is required of him.”†

The interpretation of the passages of Scripture which prove the Primacy, found in the writings of St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, derives additional interest from the attitude of opposition which he assumed to St. Stephen, bishop of Rome, on the subject of baptism administered by heretics, concerning which controversy I shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter. His name is among the most illustrious prelates of the Church, on account of the eminence of his genius, ardor of his zeal, and the martyrdom which closed his career.

\* In Matt. t. xii. p. 523.

† In Ep. ad Rom. i. v. n. 10. In some manuscripts, it is : *super petram ; on the rock.*

He flourished not long after Origen, having occupied the See of Carthage from the year 248 until the 14th September 258. He very frequently makes reference to the promise of Christ to build His Church upon a rock, and invariably understands Peter to be the rock, and recognises in the address to Peter the principle of unity, which he most strongly affirms to be the essential characteristic of the true Church. He uses it to shew the necessity of the union of the flock and clergy with the bishop in each diocese ; but this must be considered as a consequence of the general unity which results from the commission to Peter, inasmuch as Christ having shewed His will that His Church should be one, by giving to Peter the relation of foundation to a building, and of ruler to a kingdom, each portion of the Church must be compact and united, that it may rest on that foundation, and be a part of that kingdom.

In the time of St. Cyprian persecution raged at intervals, and many Christians weakly and basely denied the faith, practising idolatrous rites, or purchasing from the magistrates certificates of having fulfilled the laws, or imperial edicts by such acts. The African prelates tempered severity with clemency in regard to such as had thus betrayed the faith, and refused them communion, unless in danger of death, or when a new persecution impended : in which two circumstances the manifestation of compunction obtained their restoration to all the privileges of the Church. Without regard to these restrictions, five priests of the Church of Carthage, adherents of Felicissimus, an excommunicated priest, who sought to separate the flock from the shepherd, offered communion to all penitents. In these circumstances, St. Cyprian wrote to his people to guard them against the delusive promises of the schismatics, who had themselves forfeited all the privileges of the Church. "They now offer peace," he says, "who themselves have not peace : they promise to bring back and recall to the Church those that are fallen, who themselves have left the Church. THERE IS ONE GOD, AND ONE CHRIST, AND ONE CHURCH, AND ONE CHAIR FOUNDED BY THE VOICE OF THE LORD UPON PETER. That any other altar should be erected, or a new priesthood established, besides that one altar and one priesthood, is impossible. Whoever gathers elsewhere scatters. Whatever is devised by human frenzy in violation of the divine ordinance is adulterous, impious, sacrilegious."\* This reasoning is immediately directed against local schismatics, who resist the authority of their lawful prelate, and disregard his laws ; but its force depends on the argument drawn from the unity of the Church, and of the chair

\* Ad plebem ep. xliii.

founded upon Peter. It evidently refers to the promise of the Lord that He would found His Church on the rock, which in the mind of Cyprian, shewed manifestly that the Church is one and the chair is one; whence he infers, that in each diocese the authority of the bishop must be admitted and obeyed by all, since there cannot be a rival altar, or adverse priesthood, as there cannot be more than one chair and one Church. The justice of this conclusion is fully apparent, when it is admitted that each bishop is bound to be subordinate to Peter and his successors, whereby all bishops with their respective flocks form one great flock under one shepherd, and are all under one bishop, whose chair is the one ruling chair, by means whereof all form one Church. There is coherency and force in this mode of expounding the sacred text, whereas every effort to deduce from it the independent and absolute authority of each bishop, will destroy the unity of the chair and of the Church, which is so strongly affirmed by Cyprian.

In his admirable treatise on the unity of the Church, Cyprian expounds the sacred text in like manner, and whilst declaring the equality of all the apostles in dignity, affirms that unity was provided for by the special commission to Peter. Speaking of the efforts of Satan to corrupt and destroy by heresy and schism those whom he may not tempt to deny Christ, he says: "He snatches men from the bosom of the Church, and whilst they seem to themselves to have approached the light, and come forth from the night of the world, he involves them unconsciously in other darkness, so that whilst they do not hold the Gospel of Christ, and do not persevere in its observance, and in the law, they call themselves Christians, and walking in darkness they fancy that they enjoy light, through the flattery and illusion of the adversary, who, according to the words of the apostles, transforms himself into an angel of light, and puts forward his ministers as ministers of justice, putting night for day, destruction for salvation, despair in the guise of hope, perfidy in the name of hope, antichrist as Christ, so that by plausible subtleties they destroy truth. This comes to pass, beloved brethren, because recourse is not had to the source of truth, and the head is not sought after, and the doctrine of the Heavenly Teacher is not regarded. If any one consider and examine these things, there is no need of a lengthy treatise, and of arguments. The proof of faith is easy and compendious, because true. The Lord speaks to Peter: 'I say to thee,' He says, 'that thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven:

and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.' And again he says to him after His resurrection: 'Feed my sheep.' *Upon that one individual He builds His Church, and to him He commits His sheep to be fed.* And although after His resurrection He gives to all the apostles equal power, and says: 'As the Father hath sent me, I also send you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall forgive, they shall be forgiven them: whose sins you shall retain, they shall be retained;' yet to manifest unity, He disposed, by His authority, the origin of the same unity, which begins from One. Even the other apostles were certainly what Peter was, being endowed with equal participation, of honor and power, but the beginning proceeds from unity, *and the primacy is given to Peter*, that the Church of Christ may be shown to be one, and *the chair one*. All are pastors, and the flock is shewn to be one, which is fed by the apostles, with one accord, that the Church of God may be shewn to be one. Which one Church the Holy Ghost also speaking in the person of our Lord, in the Canticle of canticles, designates, saying: 'My dove is one, my perfect one, she is one for her mother, the chosen one of her who bore her.' Does he who does not hold the unity of the Church, imagine that he holds the faith? Does he who opposes and resists the Church,—*who deserts the chair of Peter on whom the Church was founded*—presume that he is in the Church, whilst the blessed apostle Paul teaches this same thing, and shews the sacrament of unity, saying: "One body and one Spirit, one hope of your vocation, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God?"\*

The words marked in italics were omitted by Erasmus in his edition of the works of St. Cyprian, published in 1521: but restored by Paul Manutius in an edition from manuscripts of great value, in 1563. They were quoted so far back as the year 582, by Pope Pelagius II. in his second epistle to the bishops of Istria, and they accord with the scope of the writer, and with his language on several other occasions.

The scope of this whole work is to prove the inviolable unity of the Church, and in the very long quotation which I have just made, St. Cyprian shews how the efforts of Satan to estrange men from the Church, by corrupting their faith, or engaging them in schism, may be promptly and effectually defeated. He refers to these texts wherein our Lord addresses Peter, and makes him special promises. He admits that to all the apostles like promises were made in other circumstances, and equal power was given: "yet to manifest unity He disposed, by

\* *L. de Unit. Eccl.*

His authority, the origin of the same unity, which begins from one." This cannot mean that he merely insinuated and recommended unity by thus beginning with Peter: Cyprian insists, throughout, that unity is enjoined and is essential to the Church. It must mean that Christ established in Peter the principle and means of unity. "The other apostles were certainly what Peter was, being endowed with an equal participation of honor and power:" the apostolic office and dignity and jurisdiction were the same in all, but there was subordination for the securing of unity. I care not to insist on the passages which are wanting in some manuscripts, although I hold their authenticity to be fully established: the scope of the eminent writer, and the whole context shew that he recognised in Peter a central and connecting power, whereby truth should be preserved in its integrity, and order maintained.

Barrow himself admits that St. Cyprian and other African doctors considered St. Peter to have received from Christ a primacy of order, which he styles a *womanish privilege*, as in truth it might be styled were mere precedence in rank given him, but this is to blaspheme Christ, who cannot, without impiety, be supposed to have bestowed an idle distinction. It is strange how this learned opponent of the Supremacy should have allowed himself to speak disrespectfully of St. Cyprian, Optatus, Augustin and other luminaries of the African Church. "St. Cyprian," he says, "hath a reason for it somewhat more subtle and mystical, supposing our Lord did confer on him a preference of this kind to his brethren (who otherwise in power and authority were equal to him) that he might intimate and recommend unity to us; and the other African doctors (Optatus and St. Austin) do commonly harp on the same notion!"\* He adds that the Fathers generally seem to countenance this Primacy!

In his letter to those who had fallen in persecution St. Cyprian again presents the same interpretation. Some of the prevaricators had presumed to address him, in the name of the Church. The holy bishop commences his reply by showing them, from the words of our Lord to Peter, that the pastor, with his clergy and flock, are the Church; and that this name cannot be usurped by a band of deserters from its faith: "Our Lord," he says, "whose precepts and admonitions we ought to observe, establishing the honor of the bishop, and the order of His Church, speaks in the Gospel, and says to Peter: 'I say to thee, that thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and to thee I will give the keys of

\* A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, Suppos. i.



the kingdom of heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.' Thence through the series of times and successions, the order of bishops and the system of the Church flows on ; so that the Church is established upon the bishops, and every act of the Church is governed by the same prelates. Since, therefore, this is the case, I am surprised that some, with audacious temerity, have ventured to write to me in the name of the Church, whilst the Church consists of the bishop, clergy, and all the hearers."\* It is clear that he takes Peter in this circumstance as the bishop, the representative of unity, through whom the Church speaks, and declares her faith. At the time our Lord addressed the apostles, Peter was not clothed with this authority ; but St. Cyprian considers that his having replied, when all were questioned, and our Lord having directed His promises to him alone, were significant of the inviolable unity that must be found in the Church, and that the government of the Church is lodged in the bishop, whom the clergy and the people follow, so that these, when separated from him, and acting in opposition to him, cannot have any claim to the name of Church. This is the obvious force of the reasoning of the illustrious prelate ; which shews that he considered Peter as the head and organ of the apostles and the faithful, who with him are the Church, and that without him, and in opposition to him, the term cannot be applied.

The like explanation of the texts in question constantly recurs in the works of this eloquent prelate. In his book on the Virginal state he observes : "PETER TO WHOM THE LORD RECOMMENDS THE FEEDING AND PROTECTION OF HIS SHEEP, ON WHOM HE PLACED AND FOUNDED THE CHURCH, denies that he has silver or gold, but he says that he is rich in the grace of Christ."† Addressing Pope Cornelius, bishop of Rome, he writes : "PETER, ON WHOM THE CHURCH HAD BEEN BUILT BY THE LORD, speaking one for all, and answering in the name of the Church, says : ' Lord, to whom shall we go ? ' "‡ In reference to this same circumstance he remarks in his letter to Florentius : " Peter, on WHOM THE CHURCH WAS TO BE BUILT, speaks there in the name of the Church."§ To add quotations is superfluous. It is plain that the great bishop of Carthage knew no distinction between the rock and Peter, and that he considered the unity of the Church to be firmly secured by the power which was originally and principally lodged in this apostle.

\* Ep. de lapsis xxxiii.

† Epist. lv. ad. Cornelium.

† L. de habitu virginum §. x.

§ Ep. lxiix ad Florentium.

The name of St. James, bishop of Nisibis in Mesopotamia, is not so well known among us as that of the great bishop of Carthage, whose exposition of the sacred text we have been hearing, but it is illustrious in the annals of the Church of Syria, which venerates him as one of her greatest doctors. He proved the strength of his faith by his fearless confession of it in the persecution of Maximin, and he was one of the 318 champions of faith, who, like the band of faithful Abraham, routed Arius and his hosts, in the great council of Nice. Of his works we have but a small remnant, in which is found this passage: "Simon, who was called the rock, on account of his faith, was justly styled rock."\*

St. Cyril was raised to the See of Jerusalem, in the year 340, and shed a bright lustre around him, which is still reflected in his most precious writings. His discourses delivered to catechumens, and to neophytes, contain numerous passages expressive of the meaning of the texts regarding Peter, and the incidental character of the exposition shews that it was their obvious meaning, as generally understood. Speaking of the confession of the divinity of Christ by Peter, and of the keys bestowed in recompense of it, he plainly recognises the high privileges and station of this apostle: "All of them," he says, "remaining silent, for the doctrine was beyond the reach of man, Peter, THE PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES, AND THE SUPREME HERALD OF THE CHURCH, not following his own inventions, nor persuaded by human reasoning, but enlightened in his mind by the Father, says to Him: 'Thou art Christ,' not simply this, but 'the Son of the living God.'† In proving the resurrection, St. Cyril appeals to the witnesses of it, "Peter, and John, and Thomas, and all the other apostles;" . . . "Peter testifies it, who before, indeed, denied Him, but having thrice confessed Him, was ordered to feed his spiritual sheep."‡ The high prerogatives of Peter are affirmed by him, in his comparison of the apostles with the prophets. "Be not ashamed of thy apostles," he says to each Christian, "they are not inferior to Moses, nor second to the prophets, but they are as good as the good, and better than the good: for Elias was taken up into heaven, but Peter has the keys of the kingdom of heaven, since he heard: 'whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed in heaven.' "§ He relates the wonderful overthrow of Simon

\* Apud Galland. t. v. p. 3. n. 13.

† Cat. xi. §. 1. Πέτρος ὁ πρωτοστάτης τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσημαίος κήρυξ.

‡ Cat. xiv.

§ Ibid.

Magus at Rome by Peter, and to render it credible, he dwells on the extraordinary powers wherewith he was clothed: "Let it not appear wonderful," he cries, "however wonderful it be in itself; for PETER WAS HE WHO CARRIED AROUND THE KEYS OF HEAVEN."\* Again he says elsewhere: "In the same power of the Holy Ghost, Peter, also, THE PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES, AND THE KEY-BEARER OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, cured Æneas, a palsied man, in the name of Christ, at Lydda, now called Diospolis."† Explaining the article of the creed: "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church," he says: "She is also styled a Church, or convocation, on account of the calling and assembling of all in her. The Psalmist says: 'I will confess to Thee in the great Church: I will praise Thee in the numerous people.' Before, it was sung in the Psalms: 'In the Churches bless ye the Lord God from the fountains of Israel:' but after the Jews fell from grace, in consequence of the snares laid for the Saviour, He instituted another Society, formed of the Gentiles, our holy Christian Church: of which he said to Peter: 'On this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'‡ These testimonies leave no room for doubting of the high prerogatives of Peter, and his relation to the Church, and shew the ancient faith and tradition of the See of Jerusalem on these important points, whilst they exhibit the received exposition of the sacred text.

St. Basil the Great, archbishop of Cesarea, is another illustrious witness of the faith of the Churches of the East, in the fourth century, as handed down from the beginning. He calls Peter THE BLESSED ONE, WHO WAS PREFERRED TO THE OTHER DISCIPLES, and who alone received a testimony above all the others, and was pronounced blessed, rather than all the others, and TO WHOM THE KEYS OF THE HEAVENLY KINGDOM WERE ENTRUSTED.§ He says that "on account of the excellence of his faith, he received on himself the building of the Church."|| These passages clearly shew that he acknowledged Peter to be the foundation of the Church, placed by Christ; and its ruler, entrusted by Christ with governing authority. Similar is the language of his brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa. He says: "The memory of Peter, who is the head of the apostles, and together with him the other members of the Church are glorified; but the Church of God is rendered solid in him: for he, according to the prerogative granted him by God, is the firm and most solid rock on which the Saviour built his Church."¶

\* Περὶ φέρων. Cat. vi.

† Cat. xvii.

‡ Cat. xviii.

§ Procem. de judicio Dei.

|| Adv. Eunom. l. 11.

¶ S. Greg. Nyss. laudatio altera S. Steph. protom.

St. Gregory of Nazianzum, the friend of Basil, says: "Do you see that among the disciples of Christ, all of whom were sublime and worthy of their election, ONE IS CALLED A ROCK, AND IS ENTRUSTED WITH THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE CHURCH; another is loved more, and rests on the breast of Jesus; and the others bear patiently the preference?"\* He calls him "the support of the Church,"† "the most honored of the disciples."‡

St. Chrysostom is most explicit in the exposition of the sacred text. In his work "On the Priesthood,"—by which he designates the episcopal office—he observes that Christ, "speaking with the prince of the apostles, says: 'Peter, lovest thou me?' and Peter answering affirmatively, He adds: 'If thou lovest me, feed my sheep.' The Master interrogates the disciple, whether He is loved by him: not that He may be informed—for how should He seek information, to whom the hearts of all men were open?—but to teach us how much He regards the government of his flock. . . . How great reward will He not bestow hereafter on the pastors and rulers of this flock? Wherefore, when the disciple had answered: 'Thou knowest, Lord, that I love thee;' and had appealed to Himself, who was loved, as the witness of this affection, the Saviour Jesus did not cease, but added also the proof of love. For He did not then wish a declaration of the great love which Peter bore Him, for that was already manifest to us by many proofs: but He had it in view to teach both Peter and the rest of us His own great benevolence and love for His Church: that by this means we also might cheerfully assume the care and charge of the same Church. For why did He shed his blood? Certainly, that He might purchase to Himself the sheep, the care of which He entrusted to Peter, and to the successors of Peter. Justly then Christ thus spoke: 'Who then is the faithful and prudent servant whom the Lord placed over His family?' § Peter is here styled the prince of the apostles, and receives immediately from Christ the charge of His flock: nor is the force of the expression weakened by the reasoning of Chrysostom, who infers, from the charge of Christ to Peter, that our love should be manifested in feeding His flock. This inference does not at all imply the extension of the words of Christ to others besides Peter and his successors in his

\* Or. xxvi. ὁ μὲν πέτρος καλεῖται, καὶ τοῦς θεμελίους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πιστεύεται.

† Πέτρον — τὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἡγούμενον. Apolog. ad Patrem Orat. vii.

‡ Πέτρον τοῦ τιμιωτάτου τῶν μαθητῶν. Orat. ix.

§ S. Joan. Chrys. l. ii. de Sacerdotio.

See;\* but inasmuch as the love of Peter was to be shewn in the charge of the flock of Christ, so those who are pastors and rulers of His flock must manifest their love, and may expect that a great reward is reserved for them hereafter. Peter alone, according to Chrysostom, was prince of the apostles, "endowed by Christ with special authority," and "far surpassing the other apostles. For he says: 'Peter, dost thou love me more than all these?'"†

"Why," asks Chrysostom, "does He address Peter concerning the sheep, passing by the others? He WAS THE CHIEF OF THE APOSTLES, AND MOUTH OF THE DISCIPLES, AND SUMMIT OF THAT BODY: WHEREFORE PAUL ALSO WENT UP TO SEE HIM, IN PREFERENCE TO THE OTHERS. Shewing him at the same time that he must have confidence hereafter, cancelling his denial, He GIVES HIM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE BRETHREN."‡ In the eighty-third homily on St. Matthew, he observes, that Christ "permitted THE VERY SUMMIT (*head*) OF THE APOSTLES to deny him."§ It is in relation to the prayer of Christ, that the faith of Peter might not fail, that Chrysostom observes: "As He is going to suffer, He speaks more humbly, that He may show His human nature: for He, who, on his confession so founded and fortified the Church, that no danger, nor death itself could overcome it; who granted him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and committed to him so great power, and who never needed to pray for them all,—how much less should He need it in this circumstance? For with supreme authority He said: 'I WILL BUILD ON THEE MY CHURCH, AND WILL GIVE TO THEE THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.'‖"—With this exposition of the text we may easily perceive what Chrysostom meant when he said, that on the confession of Peter the Church was founded and fortified,—namely, on Peter himself confessing Jesus Christ.

Such, also, is the obvious meaning of a passage in the fifty-fifth homily. In reference to the question of our Saviour, as to whom the apostles believed him to be, Chrysostom says:—"What then does Peter, THE MOUTH OF ALL THE APOSTLES, THE SUMMIT OF THE WHOLE COLLEGE? When all had been questioned, he alone answers. . . . What then does Christ say? 'Thou art Simon, the son of Jona, thou shalt be

\* τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνου. This properly means "successors," occupants of his See.

† I. II. de Sacerd.

‡ Επαρκετο ἢ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ὅμοια τῶν μάρτυρων καὶ κορυφαίον χειρὶ. ἐγκυριζομένην τὴν προσηγορίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν. S. Joan. Chrys. in c. xxi. Joan. hom. 87. Tom. III.

§ S. Joan. Chrys. hom. lxxxiii. in Matt.

‖ Ibidem.

called Cephas: for since thou hast proclaimed my Father, I also mention him who begot thee.' . . . But since he added: 'thou art the Son of God;' to show that He was 'the Son of God,' as he was son of Jona, of the same substance with His Father, therefore, He added: 'and I say to thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock, I will build my Church, that is, upon the faith of the confession.\* Here He manifestly foretold that the multitude of believers would be great, and He elevates the thoughts of Peter, and makes him the pastor of the Church.—'And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' If they shall not prevail against the Church,—much less shall they prevail against me. . . . 'And to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' What means—'I will give to thee?' As the Father has given to thee the knowledge of me, so I will give to thee. And He did not say: I will ask the Father to give thee: but, though the power was great, and the greatness of the gift ineffable, nevertheless, He says: 'I will give thee.' What I pray, dost thou give? 'The keys,' he says, 'of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.' How then is it not belonging to Him who says—'I will give to thee,'—to grant also to sit on the right hand and on the left? You perceive how He leads Peter to a more exalted idea of himself, and reveals, and shows Himself to be the Son of God by these two promises. For what God alone can grant, namely, the remission of sins, and that the Church, so many and so great waves violently rushing on it, should remain immoveable; whose head and shepherd, a lowly fisherman, should surpass adamant in strength, the whole world struggling against him—all things, I say, which God only can effect, He promises that He will give. Thus the Father also said to Jeremiah: 'I have made thee a pillar of iron, and a wall of brass.' But the Father set him over one nation: CHRIST PLACED THIS MAN OVER THE ENTIRE WORLD.† Wherefore, I would willingly ask those who say that the dignity of the Son is less than that of the Father, which gifts appear to them greater, those which the Father, or those which the Son granted to Peter? The Father made to him the revelation of His Son; but the Son spread every where throughout the world the revelation both of the Father and of the Son; and to a mortal man gave

\* τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας. That is, "on the faith which thou hast confessed."

† παντάρχου τῆς οἰκουμένης.

the power of all things in heaven, giving him the Church spread throughout the entire world, and showed that it is stronger than the firmament: 'for heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.' How is He inferior, who granted all these things—who accomplished these things? I do not speak thus, as thinking that the works of the Father and Son are distinct: 'for all things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing:' but I speak with a view to silence the shameless tongue of those who utter such things. See in all these things, how great is His power. 'I say to thee, thou art Peter; I will build my Church; I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'\* Thus Chrysostom often styled Peter,—“the summit of the whole apostolic band,”—magnified the power given him by Christ, as great, the gift as ineffable,—adduced it as an evidence of Christ's divinity, that “*a lowly fisherman* should be made the shepherd of the flock,—the head of the mystic body,”—and should surpass in strength adamant itself, so that the whole world should struggle in vain against him, placed, as he was by Christ, over the entire world. On him confessing the faith He built His Church.

I may be allowed to add some more passages of this father. In his panegyric on the martyr Ignatius, who was bishop of Antioch, where Peter had for a time resided, he dwells on the great honour thus bestowed by God on that city: “for He set over it PETER THE DOCTOR OF THE WHOLE WORLD, TO WHOM HE GAVE THE KEYS OF HEAVEN, TO WHOSE WILL AND POWER HE ENTRUSTED ALL THINGS.”† Panegyricizing both the apostles Peter and Paul, he thus carefully distinguishes the high prerogatives of Peter:—“Peter the leader of the apostles, Peter the commencement of the orthodox faith,—the great and illustrious priest of the Church,—the necessary counsellor of Christians, the depository of supernal powers,—the apostle honoured by the Lord. What shall we say of Peter? the delightful spectacle of the Church; the splendour of the entire world, the most chaste dove, the teacher of the apostles, the ardent apostle, fervent in spirit, angel and man, full of grace, the firm rock of faith, the mature wisdom of the Church,

\* S. Chrys. hom. 55.

† Barrow admits “the titles and eulogies given to St. Peter by the fathers; who call him ἡγεμον, (the prince) κυρὸν αἰῶνος, (the ring-leader) κεφαλὴν, (the head) πρόεδρος, (the president) ἀρχηγόν, (the captain) προηγούμενον, (the prolocutor) πρωτοστάτην, (the foreman) προστάτην, (the warden) ἐκκρίτου των ἀπεστόλων, (the choice or egregious apostle) *majorem*, (the greater or grandee among them) *primum*, (the first or prime apostle.)”—*A Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, Sup. i. §. vi.

who, on account of his purity, heard, from the mouth of the Lord, himself styled blessed, and son of the dove: who received from the Lord Himself the keys of the kingdom of heaven.—REJOICE, O PETER, ROCK OF FAITH! ”\* This is, indeed, the language of panegyric; but it would have been utterly unwarrantable, if Peter were not in fact the necessary counsellor of Christians, the teacher of the apostles, the rock of faith. It is not only when expressly engaged in panegyric that Chrysostom thus speaks of Peter. They are his favourite expressions, which every where occur in his writings: “Peter,” says he, “is the basis of the Church,—the fisherman who cast his net into the sea, and caught in it the whole world.†—He left his ship, and undertook the government of the Church; he was called the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven.‡—He was the *Coryphæus* who occupied the first place, and to whom the keys of the kingdom of heaven were entrusted.”§—He was “the pillar of the Church; the basis of faith, the head of the apostolic choir.”||—“TO HIM THE LORD GAVE THE PRESIDENCY OF THE CHURCH THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE EARTH.”¶ To these numerous and unequivocal passages of one among the most illustrious doctors of the Greek Church, I shall subjoin the testimony of a contemporary with whom he harmonized in faith, notwithstanding some unhappy misunderstanding in reference to matters of episcopal administration. St. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamina, in Cyprus, the prelate to whom I refer, calls Peter “the first of the apostles, the solid rock on which the Church was built.”\*\*\*

St. Asterius, bishop of Amasea, in Pontus, who flourished about the same time, and whose eloquence was scarcely inferior to the golden-mouthed bishop of Constantinople, although his fame is not so great, expounds the sacred text in harmony with his contemporaries: “When our Saviour,” he says, “was about to sanctify mankind, by subjecting Himself, of His own choice, to death, HE DELIVERS OVER TO THIS MAN THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH EVERY WHERE DIFFUSED, as a precious deposit, after having asked him thrice: ‘Dost thou love me?’ and as with great alacrity he replied to the questions by an equal number of protestations, HE RECEIVED THE WORLD IN CHARGE, AS ONE SHEPHERD, ONE

\* In SS. Petrum et Paulum. Tom. V. p. 690.

† De Verbis Isaie hom. 4, p. 609. Tom. I.

‡ In duodecim Apost. Tom. V. p. 691.

§ In Ep. ad Corinth. i. c. ix. hom. 21.

|| Hom. 2, de pœn. in Psalm L.

¶ Ad pop. Antioch. hom. 80, de pœnitentia.

\*\* In Ancorato.



FLOCK, having heard: 'feed my sheep;' and the Lord gave to those who should come to the faith, the most faithful disciple, ALMOST IN HIS OWN STEAD, AS A FATHER, AND LAWGIVER, AND INSTRUCTOR."\* This is at once the strongest and the most endearing view of the Primacy, as established by our Lord in the person of Peter.

St. Cyril, of Alexandria, is not to be misunderstood in his exposition of the sacred text: "He (*Christ*) was pleased to call him Peter by an apt similitude as the one on whom He was about to found the Church."†

Asia and Africa have borne ample testimony to the general belief of the Church as to the meaning of the sacred texts which we allege for the Primacy. Europe furnishes us with many illustrious witnesses, some of whom, together with other African doctors, we must now hear. St. Hilary filled the See of Poitiers, in Gaul, in the middle of the fourth century, and like Athanasius, stood forward the invincible champion of the divinity of Christ. In his treatise *on the Trinity* he apostrophises God the Father, and declares that he believes in the divinity of Jesus Christ on the testimony of Moses, and of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles. Were he in error, he affirms that his ruin should be laid to their charge. Giving the character of his teachers, he says: "Matthew, from a publican, chosen to be an apostle; John, through the familiarity of the Lord, made worthy of a revelation of heavenly mysteries; and *after his confession of the mystery*, BLESSED SIMON, LYING BENEATH, THAT THE CHURCH MIGHT BE BUILT ON HIM,‡ AND RECEIVING THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN; and all the others preaching by the Holy Spirit; and the vessel of thy election, Paul, from a persecutor made an apostle, living in the depth of the sea, a man raised to the third heaven, in paradise before martyrdom, the offering of perfect faith being accomplished in his martyrdom: by these I have been instructed in what I hold: with these doctrines I am unalterably imbued: and forgive me, O Almighty God, for adding, that in these doctrines I cannot improve, but I am able to die in their belief."§ He is not here labouring to prove the prerogatives of Peter, nor is he engaged in a formal exposition of the passages having reference to him; but whilst wholly intent on establishing the divinity of Christ, he incidentally describes Peter, as the foundation which lies beneath the Church, and supports it, and as the ruler of this celestial kingdom bearing the keys. He elsewhere addresses all the apostles as having received the keys,

\* Orat. in Petrum et Paulum, t. i. Auct. Græc. Pat.

† L. II. in c. xii. Joan.

‡ *Ædificationi Ecclesiæ subjacens.*

§ S. Hil. de Trini. l. vi. Tom. VIII. n. 20. Edit. Wireeb. p. 154.

because all received the power of binding and loosing;\* but when distinguishing Peter from Matthew, John, and Paul, he ascribes the keys as his peculiar characteristic. All may be said to have received them, as far as they are symbols of apostolic power, but to Peter only they were given expressly by Christ, as the apt symbol of delegated sovereignty.

When speaking of the confession made by Peter, Hilary shows that it was extolled by our Saviour, as divinely revealed, because it was an acknowledgment, not merely of His being the Messiah, or the adopted Son of God, but that He is his true and eternal Son: "For praise," says he, "was given to Peter, not merely on account of the confession of the honour (*due to Christ*), but on account of his acknowledgment of the mystery, because he confessed not merely Christ, but Christ the Son of God. The Father saying, '*This is my Son,*' revealed to Peter, that he might say, 'thou art the Son of God.' On this rock of confession, therefore, the Church is built. This faith is the foundation of the Church: through this faith the gates of hell are powerless against her. This faith has the keys of the heavenly kingdom. What this faith binds or looses on earth, is bound and loosed in heaven. This faith is the gift of the Father's revelation, not falsely to assert that Christ is a creature drawn forth from nothing, but to confess him to be the Son of God, according to his natural property. O! impious frenzy of wretched folly, that does not understand the martyr of blessed old age and faith, the martyr Peter, for whom the Father was prayed, that his faith might not fail in temptation—who, having twice repeated the profession of the love God demanded of him, sighed, on being a third time interrogated, as if his love were doubtful and uncertain, thereby also meriting to hear thrice from the Lord, after being purified of his weaknesses by this threefold trial: 'Feed my sheep:'—who, whilst all the other apostles remained silent, understanding, in a manner beyond human infirmity, from the revelation of the Father, that He was the Son of God, merited pre-eminent glory by the confession of his faith! To what necessity of interpreting his words are we now brought? He confessed Christ to be the Son of God: but you (*Arian*), the lying priesthood of a new apostleship, urge me to believe that Christ is a creature brought forth from nothing. What violence you offer to His glorious words! He confessed the Son of God: for this he is blessed. This is the revelation of the Father, this is the foundation of the Church, this is the se-

\* De Trinit. l. vi. p. 166.

curity for eternity. Hence he has the keys of the kingdom of heaven—hence his judgments on earth are ratified in heaven. He learned by revelation the mystery hidden from ages—he spoke the faith—he declared the nature—he confessed the Son of God. Whoever, rather acknowledging Him a creature, denies this, should first deny the apostleship of Peter, his faith, blessedness, priesthood, martyrdom; and then let him understand that he is estranged from Christ, because Peter, confessing Him to be the Son, merited these things. . . . Let there be a different faith, if there be different keys of heaven. Let there be a different faith, if there is to be another Church against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. Let there be another faith, if there will be another apostleship, binding and loosing in heaven what it binds and looses on earth. Let there be another faith, if Christ shall be preached a different Son of God than He is. But if this faith only that confessed Christ to be the Son of God, merited in Peter the glory of all beatitudes, that which acknowledges Him rather a creature from nothing, must necessarily be not the Church, nor of Christ, since it has obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and is contrary to the apostolic faith and power.”\*

I have been somewhat diffuse in my quotations from this father, that the reader may have a full and correct view of his sentiments. The object of St. Hilary is to show that the Arian heresy had no part or share in the power of the keys, or the privileges granted to Peter, because it had not the faith which obtained for Peter these privileges. There is not the least effort to establish a distinction between Peter and the confession of faith which he made: but the Arians are confounded by being told, that, as they deny Christ to be the Son of the living God, they have no power of the keys, and are not inheritors of the promises made to the Church. Peter, then, confessing the divinity of Christ, is the foundation: his is the apostleship, the acts whereof are confirmed in heaven: the Church connected with him is that against which the gates of hell cannot prevail: there can be no other faith, no other power, no other Church.

St. Hilary, speaking of the cure of the mother-in-law of Peter, says that Peter is “the prince of the apostolate,”† thus recognising him as prince of the order of apostles. In his commentary on the glorious confession of this apostle, he observes: “The confession of Peter obtained a suitable reward, because he saw the Son of God in the man.

\* S. Hil. de Trin. l. vi. p. 169.

† S. Hilar. in Matt. c. vii. “Primus credidit, et apostolatus est princeps.”

Blessed is he, who was praised for observing and seeing beyond what human eyes could see;—not beholding what was of flesh and blood, but discerning the Son of God by the revelation of the heavenly Father; and who was judged worthy to be the first to recognise in Christ his divine nature. *O thou foundation of the Church, happy in the new appellation which thou receivest; O! rock, worthy of that building which is to destroy the infernal laws, and the gates of hell, and all the bars of death! O! happy gate-keeper of heaven, to whose discretion the keys of the eternal porch are delivered, and whose judgment on earth is a prejudged authority in heaven, so that those things which are bound or loosed on earth, obtain in heaven a like condition and determination.*”\*—Any effort to illustrate this passage would be superfluous.

After this illustrious doctor of the Church of France, the order of time presents us Optatus, bishop of Mela, in Africa, who was among the most learned, eloquent and saintly prelates in the decline of the fourth century. Of him St. Augustin says, that if the Church depended on the virtue of her ministers, his life might serve as a proof of her authority. He wrote against the Donatists, whom he held to be inexcusable for assuming the name of Church, whilst they remained separated from that See, which, in the person of Peter, received the keys: “Christ,” he remarks, “in the Canticle of canticles, intimates that His dove is one, that she is a chosen spouse, an enclosed garden, and a sealed fountain; so that all heretics neither have THE KEYS WHICH PETER ALONE RECEIVED, nor the ring with which the fountain is said to be sealed: and to none of them the garden, in which God plants the shrubs, belongs.—What can you say to these things, you who secretly cherish and shamelessly defend schism, taking to yourselves the name of the Church?”†

Again we return to Europe to hear the eloquent bishop of Milan, whose lucid and powerful exposition of Catholic truth dissipated the prejudices and errors of Augustin, and prepared his heart for the triumph of divine grace over passion. In his commentary on the fortieth Psalm, Ambrose says: “This is that Peter to whom Christ said: ‘Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.’ THEREFORE, WHERE PETER IS, THERE IS THE CHURCH, there death is not, but life eternal: and therefore He added: ‘and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.’ Blessed Peter, against whom the gate of hell did not pre-

\* Comm. in Matt. c. xvi.

† Opt. Afric. l. 1.

vail, and the gate of heaven was not closed : but, on the contrary, he destroyed the porches of hell, and laid open those of heaven : therefore, whilst on earth, he opened heaven, and shut hell.”\* Saint Ambrose wrote thus when refuting the Arians. He speaks of the question put by our Redeemer to his disciples as to what opinions were current among men concerning him. He observes the silence of Peter in this circumstance ; but he calls our attention to his promptitude in answering the question as to their own belief. “ This, therefore, is Peter, who answered rather than the other apostles, yea, for the others, and he is therefore styled the foundation, because he knew how† to preserve not only that which was his own, but also which was common to all. To him Christ gave His approbation ; the Father revealed : for he, who speaks of the true generation of the Father, learned it not from flesh, but from the Father. Faith, therefore, is the foundation of the Church : for it was not said of the flesh of Peter, but of his faith, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it : but the confession overcame hell. And this confession does not exclude one heresy only : for since the Church, like a good ship, is lashed oftentimes by many waves, the foundation of the Church ought to prevail against all heresies. The day would close before I should have enumerated the names of the heretics and different sects : but against all of them that faith is general, that Christ is the Son of God, eternally proceeding from the Father, born in time of the Virgin.”‡ When Ambrose says, that faith is the foundation of the Church, he evidently speaks of that faith as professed by Peter, that is, of Peter professing the faith. He is, therefore, styled the foundation, in reward of his promptitude to confess Christ before the others, and in their name, because he showed his solicitude for their general welfare and happiness. The confession which he made of the divinity of Christ, was, indeed, the expression of his divinely inspired individual faith, but it was made by him in reply to a question that regarded all ; nor did he give it in as his own particular faith. Thus he knew how to preserve the common interest, and was worthy to be made the foundation, and principal member of the Church. St. Ambrose insists that the Church was not built on the flesh of Peter, but on his faith ; because it was no mere natural quality that gained for him this prerogative, but his faith in the divinity of

\* S. Ambros. in Psalm xl. enarr. §. 30.

† Hic est ergo Petrus, qui respondit præ cæteris Apostolis, imo pro cæteris, et ideo fundamentum dicitur, quia novit non solum proprium, sed etiam commune servare. Huic astipulatus est Christus, revelavit Pater.

‡ S. Ambros. de Incarn. c. 4 and 5.

Christ ; and this faith is ever to prove the bulwark of the Church against the endless varieties of heresy. As the saint wrote against the Arians, he particularly insisted on the necessity and efficacy of this divinely inspired belief. The text is obviously to be understood of the faith of Peter, not as distinct from him ; and numberless testimonies of Ambrose confirm this meaning. Thus, in his work on faith, he observes : " That you may know that what He asks as man, He ordains by His divine power, you have in the Gospel what He said to Peter : ' I have prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fail.' And when Peter said before : ' Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God,' He answered : ' Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' Could He not, therefore, strengthen the faith of him to whom he gave a kingdom of his own authority, and WHOM, IN CALLING A ROCK, HE MADE THE STRENGTH OF THE CHURCH ? Consider when it is that He prays—when it is that He commands. He prays when He is about to suffer ; He commands when He is believed to be the Son of God."\* Peter, then, according to this holy doctor, is the rock of strength on which the Church rests : he has received a kingdom from Christ. Elsewhere he says :—" In consequence of the solidity of his devotion, he is styled the rock of the Churches, as the Lord says : ' Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church : ' for he is called a rock, because he was the first to lay the foundations of faith among the nations, and like an immoveable stone HE HOLDS TOGETHER THE STRUCTURE AND MASS OF THE WHOLE CHRISTIAN FABRIC."†—Speaking of the cure of the lame man, he observes : " We have said frequently, that he was called Peter by the Lord, as He says : ' Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church.' Since, therefore, Peter is the rock on which the Church is built, it is meet that in the first instance he should heal the feet. . . . THE ROCK SUSTAINS AND RENDERS FIRM THE NATIONS, LEST THEY FALL."‡

It is manifest that St. Ambrose interpreted the texts of Scripture precisely as we interpret them, and recognised in Peter special powers and prerogatives not granted to the other apostles of Christ. He was the rock,—the foundation,—the strength and support of the Church,—sustaining all the parts of the vast fabric, holding them together in unity, and imparting to them strength and durability. He received a kingdom from Christ,—that heavenly kingdom whose keys were entrusted to him. Elsewhere he says : " Christ is a rock : ' for they

\* S. Ambros. de Fide. l. iv.

† " Tanquam saxum immobile totius operis Christiani compagem molemque continet." S. Ambros. Serm. 47.

‡ Serm. 63.

drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, and the rock was Christ.' He did not deny the favor of this appellation even to his disciple, that he may also be Peter, because from the rock he derives the solidity of constancy, and the firmness of faith."\* Thus far he retains the literal meaning of the text, and often and strongly inculcates it. Thence he takes occasion for exhortation, and passes to a mystical interpretation, similar to one found in Origen. Speaking of the name of rock as common to Christ and to Peter, Ambrose says: "Some believed the Lord to be Elias, some Jeremias, some John the Baptist. Peter alone confesses him to be Christ, the Son of God. There are certain gradations of faith, and he who believes more devoutly, confesses more religiously. In consequence of this devotion it is said to Peter: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee: thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church.' His name then being Simon, he was called Peter on account of this devotion. We read, in the apostle, of the Lord himself: 'they drank of the Spiritual Rock, and the Rock was Christ.' Justly, since Christ was a Rock, Simon was named Peter, that he who enjoyed the communion of faith with the Lord, might have, with the Lord also, the unity of the Lord's name; that as the Christian is called from Christ, so also the apostle Peter should derive his name from Christ the Rock."† Peter, then, is a rock in a peculiar sense, made such in reward of his faith, and that he might be the strength and support of the whole Church. "Peter," says he, elsewhere, "is therefore styled a rock for his devotion, and the Lord is styled a Rock for his power, as the apostle says: 'they drank of the Spiritual Rock that followed them, and the Rock was Christ.' He justly deserves the communication of the name, who is made worthy to partake of the work, for Peter in the same house laid the foundation. Peter plants, the Lord gives an increase, the Lord waters."‡

The last verse of the thirty-eighth Psalm reads thus, in our Vulgate translation:—"O forgive me, that I may be refreshed, before I go hence and be no more." On these words St. Ambrose writes—"Forgive me, that is, forgive me here where I have sinned. Unless you forgive me here, I shall not be able to find there the repose consequent on forgiveness: for what remains bound on earth, shall remain bound in heaven, what shall be loosed on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Therefore, the Lord gave to his apostles, what previously was reserved

\* S. Ambros. l. vi. Luc. c. ix.

† Ambr. Serm. 84. Tom. III.

‡ S. Ambros. l. v. §. 33.

to his own judgment, the discretionary power\* of remitting sins, lest what should be speedily loosed should remain bound for a long time. Finally, hear what he says: 'I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.' To thee, he says, I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that thou mayest loose and bind. Novatian did not hear this, but the Church of God heard it: therefore, he is in his fallen state; we are in the way of forgiveness: he is in a state of impenitence; we, of grace. What is said to Peter, is said to the apostles. We do not usurp the power, but we obey the command: lest, when the Lord shall afterwards come, and find those bound who should have been loosed, he be excited against the dispenser who kept the servants bound, whom the Lord had ordered to be loosed."† In this beautiful vindication of the power of forgiving sin, as exercised by the Catholic Church, there is nothing that destroys the distinction which Christ made in the powers of the apostles. The saint quotes the words addressed to Peter, to prove that the Church, founded on Peter, has the power of forgiving sins. He observes that this power was not confined to Peter, Christ having spoken in like manner to all the apostles. He does not say, that He spoke precisely the same words, or gave the same degree of power; but He says, that He gave to them, likewise, the power of forgiveness. He does not treat, here, of the governing power of the Church, as typified by the keys of the heavenly kingdom, which were peculiarly given to Peter, but of the power of forgiving sin, of binding and loosing, which was common to all. When speaking distinctly of the power of the keys, he ascribes it to Peter alone: "There went up to the mountain Peter, who RECEIVED THE KEYS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN, John, to whom His mother is entrusted: James, also, who first ascended the episcopal throne."‡ The reception of the keys of the heavenly kingdom was consequently his characteristic, as it was the peculiar privilege of John to receive in his charge the mother of the Lord, and of James to govern with episcopal authority the Church of Jerusalem. "Peter, James, and John, and Barnabas" are styled pillars, but Peter is called "an eternal gate, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail."§

The equality of Paul to Peter is asserted by Ambrose, not as to the power of office, but as to the merit of virtue; and this with a

\* *Æquitatem.*

† Enar. in Psalm xxxviii.

‡ S. Ambros. *Comm. in Lucam*, l. vii. c. 9. Tom. V. See also in Psalm cxviii. Serm. 20.

§ *De fide* l. iv. c. 1, §. 25.



view to prove that the choice of the Holy Spirit was full of wisdom. "You see," says Ambrose, "the command of Him who orders: considers the merit of those that minister. Paul believed; and, because he believed, he forsook the pursuits of a persecutor, and bore away the crown of justice. He who laid waste the Churches, believed; and, being converted to the faith, he preached in the Spirit what the Spirit commanded. The Spirit anointed his champion, and having shaken off from him the dust of impiety, presented to the various assaults of the impious, an invincible conqueror of unbelievers, and, by divers sufferings, prepared him for the prize of heavenly vocation in Christ Jesus. Barnabas also believed, and, because he believed, he obeyed. Therefore, being chosen by the command of the Holy Spirit, which is abundant evidence of the excellence of his merits, he was not unworthy of so great a college. For the same grace shone forth in those whom the same Spirit had chosen. Nor was Paul inferior to Peter, THOUGH THE ONE WAS THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH, and the other a wise architect, knowing how to establish the steps of the nations that believe. Paul, I say, was not unworthy of the college of the apostles, since he also may be compared with THE FIRST, and was second to none: for he who does not acknowledge himself inferior, makes himself equal."\* The meaning of the saint is obvious. He is careful to mark even here the distinguishing characteristic of Peter as *the foundation of the Church*, and *first* of the apostles, whilst he supposes Paul equal in merit, and, on that account, to be compared even with the first.

The pastoral and governing authority of Peter is clearly set forth by St. Ambrose in many places, wherein he treats of the commission given to him by Christ to feed His sheep. In his forty-sixth sermon he observes: "When he (Peter) was thrice questioned by the Lord: 'Simon, dost thou love me?' He answered thrice: 'Lord, thou knowest that I love thee.' The Lord says: 'Feed my sheep.' This was thrice, which, being thrice said, served to compensate for his former fault, for he who had denied the Lord thrice, confesses Him thrice, and as often as he had contracted guilt by his delinquency, he gains favor by his love. See, therefore, how profitable to Peter was his weeping! Before he wept, he fell; after he wept, he was chosen, and he who had been a prevaricator before his tears, after his tears was made Pastor, and he received the government of others, who before had not governed himself."† In his commentary on the one hundred and eighteenth Psalm, he says: "therefore did Christ commit to Peter to feed his

\* S. Ambros. l. de Sp. S. § 158.

† S. Amb. Serm. 46.

flock, and do the will of the Lord, because he knew his love.”\* In his commentary on Luke, he says of Peter: “He is afflicted, because he is questioned the third time: ‘Dost thou love me?’ But the Lord does not doubt: He interrogates him not to learn, but to teach him, whom, when He was about to be elevated to heaven, He left to us as the vicar of His love. For thus you have: ‘Simon, son of John, dost thou love me?’ ‘Thou knowest, Lord, that I love Thee.’ Jesus said to him: ‘Feed my lambs.’ And because he alone of all professes his love, He is preferred to all.”† Peter, then, was made pastor and governor, and vicar of Jesus Christ, to perform towards men the kind offices, which the love of our Redeemer inspired, and he was preferred to all in this pastoral office.

My quotations from this illustrious prelate have been copious, because some passages are occasionally abused to obscure his testimony to the primacy of Peter. Any one who considers them in their connexion, and compares the one with the other, cannot hesitate as to their meaning. Those places wherein he gives interpretations evidently mystical, need not be specially explained.

St. Jerom, the contemporary of Ambrose, is justly esteemed, not only for his excellent translation of the Scriptures, but also for his lucid exposition of their meaning. In his work against Iovinian, who assailed virginity, and objected that Peter, a married man, was chosen to be prince of the apostles, Jerom replied that his wife was probably deceased, a conjecture rendered probable by the omission of all mention of her in Scripture, and by the mother-in-law serving at the table when the fever had left her. He proceeded to show that John, on account of his virginity, enjoyed the special love of Christ, and was admitted to special familiarity. He then objects to himself, that Peter was chosen to be the foundation of the Church; and he meets it by observing that the other apostles likewise received similar powers, though he admits that, to prevent schism, Peter was chosen to be the head of all. He further inquires why the virgin, John, did not receive this distinction, and answers that the age of Peter was a reason for preferring him: “But, you say,” says he, “the Church is founded upon Peter: though the same thing is elsewhere done upon all the apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the strength of the Church is equally consolidated upon all: yet one is chosen amongst the twelve, that a head being established, the occasion of schism may be removed. But why was not the virgin John

\* *Serm.* 13.† In *Luc.* l. 1. c. x.

chosen? Regard was had to age, because Peter was the elder, lest a very young man should be preferred to men of advanced age.\* It is clear, that whilst the saint advocates so strongly the excellence of virginity, and its special prerogatives, he is careful, to lay down, in strong and precise terms, the primacy of Peter. All the apostles are, indeed, in a certain degree the foundations of the Church, since of the heavenly Jerusalem, which is the Church in glory, it is said: "the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb."† But Peter is strictly the foundation, since to him only, and not to the others, Christ said: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church." All of them have received the keys of the kingdom, inasmuch as all have received the power of binding and loosing; but to Peter alone was said: "To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom." He maintains that similar powers were granted to the others, wherefore, it may be justly said, that upon all of them the strength of the Church rests, and is consolidated: but Peter is the head, invested with all the authority necessary for maintaining order and unity; a head, by the appointment of whom all plausible pretext for schism is removed. Were not this his peculiar privilege, the saint would have had no occasion to explain why John was not chosen.

In his commentary upon the similitude of the wise man who built his house upon a rock, he observes: "On this rock the Lord founded the Church: from this rock Peter the Apostle derived his name. The foundation which the Apostolic architect laid, is our Lord Jesus Christ alone: on this stable and firm foundation, and of itself founded with a strong mass, the Church of Christ is built."‡ In reference to the similitude used by our Saviour in His sermon on the mount, it was most natural to observe, that He was the wise man who built His Church upon a rock, and that from this circumstance Peter was styled a rock: but it would be a strange phrase to say, that He built his Church upon Himself, thus confounding the architect with the foundation. Hear Jerome elsewhere: "As Plato was the prince of philosophers, so was Peter of the apostles: ON HIM THE CHURCH OF THE LORD, AN ENDURING STRUCTURE, WAS BUILT."§ In his letter to Marcellus he says of Peter: "UPON WHOM THE LORD BUILT HIS CHURCH."||

The allusion to the text of St. Paul presents a change of metaphor. In the former Christ was the architect, and Peter the foundation: in

\* S. Hier. Adv. Jov. l. 1, p. 16. Tom. III.

† Apoc xxi. 14.

‡ Comm. Mat. c. viii. f. 12.

§ S. Hier. l. 1, adv. Pelag. c. 4.

|| Class. 2, Ep. 4, n. 2.

this Paul is architect, and Christ the foundation. Metaphors and similitudes admit of this variety, and it would be unjust to transfer what regards one similitude to another somewhat different.

The commentary of Jerome on the promise of our Saviour to Peter, plainly establishes the relation between them. "What means," asks he, "'I say to thee?' Because thou hast said to me: 'Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God: I also say to thee;'<sup>\*</sup> not in vain discourse, void of effect, but I say to thee, because my word effects what it implies: 'that thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church.' As He gave light to the apostles, that they might be called the light of the world, and they received other appellations from the Lord: so also He bestowed the name of Peter on Simon, who believed in the rock Christ; and according to the metaphor of a rock, it is properly said to him: 'I will build my Church upon thee, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' I think that the gates of hell are the vices and sins of men; or certainly the doctrines of heretics, by which men being allured are led to hell. Let no one, therefore, imagine that it is said of death, as if the apostles, whose martyrdom he sees celebrated, were not subject to the condition of death."<sup>\*</sup> Here this learned interpreter applies to Peter the term rock, and explains the promise, as if it were said: I will build my Church on thee. Against this Church neither the vices and sins of men, nor the doctrines of heretics, will prevail. Scandals must come, and may obscure the lustre of the Church, but they cannot effect her overthrow: heresies may be broached even by those who were children of the Church, but they can never receive her sanction, because Christ teaches in her "all days even to the consummation of the world."

When commenting on the rebuke of Christ: "Go behind me, Satan," he supposes his reader to inquire, how this is compatible with the sublime address made him, and with the powers conferred on him. "If," he answers, "the inquirer reflect, he will perceive that the benediction, and beatitude, and power, and the building of the Church upon him, were promised to Peter for a future time, and were not granted at the present time: 'I *will* build (he says) on thee my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and to thee I *will* give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;'<sup>\*</sup>—all in the future tense. Which had he given immediately, the error of a perverse confession (*his denial*) would never have taken place in him."<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> S. Hieron. Com. in Matt. Tom. IX. f. 24, 25. Ed. Bas. an. 1516.

<sup>†</sup> Ibidem.

St. Jerome unhesitatingly explained the rock of Peter and his successors in the See of Rome. Addressing Pope Damasus, and seeking his instructions in regard to the use of the term *hypostases*, he says: "Let it not appear invidious: let the pomp of Roman majesty withdraw: I speak with the successor of the fisherman, and a disciple of the cross. I, who follow no one first except Christ, am united in communion with your Holiness, that is, WITH THE CHAIR OF PETER: ON THAT ROCK I KNOW THAT THE CHURCH IS BUILT. Whoever eats the lamb out of this house is profane. Whoever was not in the ark of Noe must perish in the deluge."\* Respectfully approaching the heir of Peter's faith, Jerome begs that his boldness may be excused, and reminds Damasus, encompassed with a splendor like that of imperial majesty, that his greatest dignity is that of successor of the fisherman. This is his imperishable title: his highest glory: as this authority is the fundamental and immovable principle of the Church. We have in this passage the obvious meaning of the text with its application in the most direct and positive manner.

Of Augustin, the brightest luminary of the African Church—perhaps of the Church at large since the days of the apostles, I have already admitted that he partially receded from the general interpretation of the rock on which Christ built His Church, without, however, abandoning it altogether. He must not on that account be thought to have called in question the primacy of Peter, or to have been doubtful as to the force of the various passages which regard it. On the contrary his testimony on these points is most unequivocal. Even when indulging somewhat in allegorical expositions, he does not forget the literal meaning.

"The Church," says he, "happy in hope, does this in this wretched life: of which Church Peter the apostle, ON ACCOUNT OF THE PRIMACY OF HIS APOSTLESHIP, sustained the person, in a figurative universality. For, as to what strictly regards himself, he was by nature an individual man, by grace an individual Christian; but, by more abundant grace, he was an apostle, and the FIRST: but when it was said to him: 'To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed also in heaven,'—he represented the whole Church, which in this world is agitated by various temptations, as by showers, floods, and tempests, and which does not fall, because it is founded on the rock, whence Peter derived his name."†

\* Ep. xv. Damasus.

† S. Aug. Tract. 194, in c. 21. Joan. Ev.

"Therefore," says he, "the Church, which is founded on Christ, received, through Peter, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that is, the power of binding and loosing sins. For what the Church is, strictly speaking,\* in Christ, Peter is the same mystically in the rock: according to which signification Christ is the rock, Peter the Church. This Church, therefore, which Peter represented, as long as she is in the midst of evils, is freed from evils, by loving and following Christ. And she follows him, especially by means of those who contend unto death, for the truth. But to the multitude is said, 'follow me;' for which multitude Christ suffered."† In pursuing this allegorical explanation, Augustin evidently presupposes that the keys were given to Peter, and that in him,‡ the Church received them, inasmuch as not for himself only—"an individual man, an individual Christian"—but for all the Church, he, who was "an apostle and first of the apostles" received this power.§ "For all the saints," says he, "inseparably belonging to the body of Christ, PETER, THE FIRST OF THE APOSTLES, received the keys of the kingdom, for its government in this most tempestuous life, to bind and loose sins ;|| and with reference to the same saints, John the Evangelist reclined on the bosom of Christ, to express the most tranquil repose of this most secret life" with God. John is said to represent or signify the Church triumphant, inasmuch as, reposing on the bosom of Jesus, he presents an image of the happiness of the saints. The representative character of Peter is clearly marked as *official* and *authoritative*, directed to the government of the Church militant in this stormy life. He is the pilot placed by Christ at the helm ;—he is the ruler, having received from Christ the keys of His kingdom.

I shall hereafter have occasion to adduce many other passages in which Augustin recognises Peter as the pastor to whom Christ entrusted His sheep, and extols his apostolic principality, and acknowledges the privileges of his chair. In the mean time I may be permitted to close

\* "Quod est enim per proprietatem in Christo Ecclesia, hoc est per significationem Petrus in petra, qua significatione intelligitur Christus petra, Petrus Ecclesia." Ib.

† "Sed universitati dicitur: sequere me." To all the Church the command is directed.

‡ "Ecclesia ergo, quæ fundatur in Christo, claves ab eo regni cœlorum accepit in Petro, id est potestatem ligandi solvendi que peccata." Tract cxxiv. in Joan.

§ "Abundantiore gratia unus idemque primus Apostolorum." Ibidem.

|| Ibidem.

the series of sacred interpreters with the great pontiff St. Leo, who occupied the chair of St. Peter towards the middle of the fifth century

He observes: "Christ having assumed him to a participation in His indivisible unity, was pleased that he should be styled what He Himself was, saying: 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church:' that the building of the eternal temple by the wonderful gift of the grace of God should rest on the solidity of the rock, strengthening His Church by this firmness, so that neither human temerity could affect it, nor the gates of hell prevail against it. But whosoever attempts to infringe on his power, indulges excessive and impious presumption, in seeking to violate the most sacred firmness of this rock, God, as we have said, being the builder."\* This exposition loses nothing of its weight from the fact that St. Leo filled, at the time, the chair of Peter. His learning and sanctity, and the high veneration in which he was held in the Church, and which still continues, do not suffer us to consider him as influenced by personal interest, or ambition, in expounding the sacred text. He spoke the truth in Christ, with no other view than that all should adore the divine wisdom and power manifested in the establishment of the Church. Throughout his writings many similar passages occur.

From the numerous and lengthy quotations which I have given, it is manifest that the general exposition of the texts in question, by the Christian writers of the first five centuries, teaches us that Peter is the rock on which Christ has built His Church, and the ruler to whom He has given, under the emblem of the keys, supreme authority in His kingdom. The fathers who say that the Church is built on the faith which Peter confessed, or on the confession of Peter, do not dissent from the former exposition, since their meaning plainly is, that the Church is built on Peter confessing the faith. The moral and allegorical interpretations or applications of the text, in which some have indulged, presuppose the literal meaning, so that we may fairly claim the general support of Christian antiquity for the meaning which we attach to the passages in question. This will be the more manifest from the many testimonies which I shall hereafter have occasion to bring forward. It will be seen that the interpretation of the sacred text was not merely theoretical, but illustrated in the very organization and government of the Church, which having commenced before the writing of any of the Gospels, has claims of priority not easily to be disregarded.

\* T. ii. op. col. 1315.

## CHAPTER V.

### PETER, BISHOP OF ROME.

HAVING proved from the sacred scripture, on strict principles of *exegesis*, and according to the general interpretation of the fathers of the first five centuries, that Peter received from Christ an authoritative Primacy, which must always continue in the Church, and be exercised by his successors, it becomes necessary to show who succeeds to his privileges. The task is an easy one, as the voice of all antiquity proclaims the Bishop of Rome to be the successor of Peter. There have been some bold men who have pushed scepticism so far as to deny that St. Peter ever was at Rome, as some unbelievers have questioned whether Jesus Christ ever existed ; but even Calvin, with every disposition to deny the fact, blushed to oppose the testimony of all the ancients ; and Cave, the learned Anglican critic, strongly and fearlessly affirms it. He says : " We intrepidly affirm with all intiquity, that Peter was at Rome, and for some time resided there." He adds : " All both ancient and modern, will, I think, agree with me that Peter may be called bishop of Rome in a less strict sense, inasmuch as he laid the foundations of this Church, and rendered it illustrious by his martyrdom."\* Babylon, from which the first letter of St. Peter was written, is understood by learned interpreters, Protestant as well as Catholic, to mean Rome ; the Christians being accustomed to designate it in this way, on account of its vices which resembled the corruption of the ancient city, and to avoid offence of the heathens. Thus St. John is generally understood to have pourtrayed the crimes and calamities of Pagan Rome in the mysterious descriptions of the Apocalypse.

For a matter of fact human testimony is entirely sufficient, whenever it is clothed with those qualities which remove all just fear of deception. If it were otherwise, Christianity itself would vanish from our grasp ; for its certain transmission to us implies a number of facts independent of any testimony of Scripture ; and the authenticity and integrity of the sacred books are dependent on human testimony, at least, for all who deny the authority of the Christian Church.

\* Sæc. Apostol. S. Petrus.



Clement, bishop of Rome, a contemporary of the apostles, mentioned with honor by St. Paul, and who was ordained by Peter, according to the testimony of Tertullian, and succeeded him, after Linus and Cle-tus, wrote to the Corinthians, before the close of the first century. In this letter he mentions Peter and Paul as suffering martyrdom at Rome under his eyes.\* Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, when led to martyrdom, about the year 105, wrote to the Romans, begging of them to place no obstacle by their prayers to the fulfilment of his ardent desire to die for Christ: "I do not command you," he says, "as Peter and Paul: they were apostles: I am a condemned man."† This shews that the Romans had been instructed by both apostles, and received their commands. Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, a disciple of John the apostle, or of another John, a contemporary of the apostle, states that Mark related in his Gospel what he heard from Peter at Rome, and that Peter wrote his first epistle from Rome, calling it Babylon.‡ Irenæus states that Peter and Paul preached the Gospel at Rome, and established the Church: and he calls this Church "greatest and most authoritative," (or *ancient*) "known to all, founded and established by the most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul," and he gives the list of bishops from the apostles down to his own time.§

Denys of Corinth, a writer of the second century, says that both apostles, Peter and Paul, instructed the Corinthians, and afterwards passing to Italy, having instructed the Romans, consummated their course by martyrdom in their city.|| Cajus, a Roman priest, who lived at the close of the second and beginning of the third century, says: "I can shew you the trophies of the apostles: for whether we go to the Vatican, or to the Ostien way, we shall meet with the trophies of the founders of this Church."¶ Origen also testifies that Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome.\*\*

That Paul was not the original founder of the Church at Rome, is evident from his epistle to the Romans, in which he states his earnest desire to see them, which up to that time he had not been able to gratify, and he praises their faith as celebrated throughout the whole world. We must, then hold Peter to have preached the faith, and established the Church in that city, since all antiquity recognises no

\* Cor. n. 5, 6.

† Ep. ad Rom.

‡ Apud Euseb. l. II. c. xv. hist. eccl.

§ L. III. hæc. c. i.

|| Apud Euseb. l. II. c. xxv.

¶ L. adv. Proculum apud Euseb. hist. eccl. l. II. c. xv.

\*\* Ib. l. III. c. i.

other founders of it but these two apostles. Eusebius, who gathered the most precious documents of the three first ages of the Church, and recorded the most important facts of those ages, says that Simon Magus, after the rebuke of Peter, and public exposure in Judea, went to Rome, and that "the all-bountiful and kind Providence which watches over all things, conducted thither the strongest and greatest of the apostles, Peter, who, on account of his virtue, was leader of all."\*

The catalogue of Liberius, which by Pearson and other learned men is believed to have been composed during his pontificate, about the year 354, assigns twenty-five years complete to the bishopric of Peter, which is confirmed by the chronology placed from ancient times under the images of the Popes in the basilic of St. Paul, according to which Peter held the See of Rome two months and seven days over twenty-five years. The conversion of Cornelius, the Roman centurion, may have led to the journey of the apostle, which, according to a probable calculation, took place in the fortieth year of the Christian era. He is thought to have returned to Palestine in the forty-second year, and to have continued to evangelize and organize the Churches of Asia, and in the forty-ninth year to have presided in the Council of Jerusalem, and to have returned to Rome in the year 55, where he consummated his career by martyrdom in 65.† Whatever difficulties or doubts may be raised as to the particular dates and circumstances, the main facts are attested by such respectable and concordant witnesses as cannot be fairly questioned.

The concurrence of both apostles in the foundation of the Church of Rome does not at all interfere with the special prerogative of Peter, its first founder, and its Bishop. Both apostles labored successfully in establishing it, and both consecrated it by their martyrdom; both are even styled its Bishops by Epiphanius; but, in the strictest acceptation of terms, Peter was peculiarly its founder and its Bishop. The Roman bishops are wont to unite the invocation of these glorious apostles, and to act as by their joint authority, because the apostolic power was in each, and the pre-eminence of Peter was no wise injured by the joint labors and martyrdom of Paul: yet Peter was specially the Bishop of Rome.

Cajus, already quoted, speaks of Victor, Bishop of Rome, as the thirteenth from Peter:‡ and a contemporary writer says that Peter ap-

\* Apud Euseb. l. II. c. xiv.

† See Dissertazione 34 del Bianchi, nella raccolta del Zaccaria.

‡ Hist. eccl. l. v. c. xxviii.

pointed Linus to succeed him in the chair of this great city, in which he himself had sat. "The Church of Rome," he adds, "organized by Peter, flourished in piety." Higinus is mentioned as his ninth successor in the chair of Peter. Pius after him.\* St. Cyprian calls the Roman See "the place of Peter." Eusebius speaks of Linus as first Bishop of the Church of the Romans, after the leader Peter.† Optatus of Mela speaks of the establishment of the episcopal chair at Rome by Peter, as an unquestionable fact, and that Peter himself, the prince of the apostles, was the first to occupy it.‡ Augustin begins the list from Peter, to whom Linus succeeded, and continues it down to his own time.§ That Peter was, strictly speaking, Bishop of Rome, is clearly established by these most ancient and respectable witnesses. That Paul was not united with him in the episcopal office, although he labored with him in his apostolic character, is plain from the marked distinction observed by all the ancients, who never give Paul alone the appellation, which they frequently give to Peter, and from the general most ancient tradition, that there cannot be two bishops of one church; which was so strongly impressed on the minds of the Roman people, that when Constantius proposed that Liberius and Felix should jointly administer the Church, the faithful protested against the novelty, and cried out: ONE GOD, ONE CHRIST, ONE BISHOP.

Leo, addressing the Romans, on the anniversary of his own consecration, observes: "For the celebration of our solemnity, not only the apostolic, but likewise the episcopal dignity of the most blessed Peter concurs, who does not cease to preside over his own See, and obtains its unfailing union with the Eternal Priest. For that solidity, which he himself being made a rock received from Christ, he transmitted to his heirs likewise."||

The alleged incompatibility of the apostleship with the episcopal office arises from a confusion of terms. If Peter were said to be Bishop of Rome in such a way as to confine his authority, and vigilance to this local Church, it would interfere with his apostolic office and Primacy, since he was charged with the care of all the Churches, and could not divest himself of this general government: but no one con-

\* *Contra Marcion. carm. inter opera Tertulliani,*

*Hac cathedra Petrus, qua sederat ipse, locatum*

*Maxima Roma Linum primum considerare jussit.*

† *In Chronico: "Primus post coryphæum Petrum, Romanorum ecclesiæ episcopus."* ‡ *L. II. c. iii.* § *Ep. ad Generos.*

|| *Serm. V. in anniversario assumpt.*

siders him Bishop in this sense. He took the special charge of the Church of Rome, without foregoing his general solicitude; and whilst he cherished the favored flock with peculiar care, he watched incessantly over all the sheep of Christ, wherever they were found, and urged the local pastors to the fulfilment of their duties, as appears from his admirable epistle. Most writers have identified James, bishop of Jerusalem, with the apostle of that name, and have not considered the episcopal charge incompatible with his apostolic character, although he would thereby appear exclusively devoted to a single flock; whilst the Roman bishopric of Peter does not imply any restriction of power or authority. Barrow virtually admits that James the apostle was the same as the bishop,\* and offers reasons, which, however, can have no weight, if the apostleship and episcopate be repugnant.

The silence of St. Paul concerning St. Peter in his letter to the Romans is no argument against the episcopacy of Peter, much less against the fact of his having been at Rome. The letter was written most probably at a time when Peter was not in the city, to silence by his authority the disputants whom Paul labours to enlighten. Besides a mere negative argument cannot be admitted against positive testimony of contemporary witnesses, sustained by public facts and general tradition.

\* Treatise on the Supremacy. Suppos. iv. n. 11, 2.

## CHAPTER VI.

### ROMAN CHURCH.

FROM the fact that St. Peter was Bishop of the Roman Church, and died such, his successors in that See are heirs of his apostolic authority. The powers given to all the apostles are perpetual in the Church ; but the bishops do not severally inherit the plenitude of those powers, each receiving charge of a special flock, and powers subordinate to those of the general ruler of the Church. Although all bishops are, in a qualified sense, successors of the apostles, no apostle, but Peter, has a successor in the strictest and fullest acceptance of the term, since he alone received the office of general governor, which is essential to the order and existence of the Church in all ages. The Primacy is of divine institution, as the words of our Lord plainly prove, and of divine right it is vested in Peter, and in his successors : and the fact of his occupancy of the Roman See has determined the succession to the Bishop of Rome. Hence we find all the ancient writers speaking of the Roman Church as the Apostolic See, the head of all the Churches.

St. Ignatius the Martyr, addressed his letter to the CHURCH WHICH PRESIDES in the country of the Romans : " Ignatius, also called Theophorus, to the Church that has obtained mercy through the magnificence of the most high Father, and of Jesus Christ his only begotten Son ; the Church, beloved and enlightened through his will, who wills all things that are according to the charity of Jesus Christ our God ; which PRESIDES in the place of the Roman region, being worthy of God, most comely, deservedly blessed, most celebrated, properly organized, most chaste, and PRESIDING in charity, having the law of Christ, bearing the name of the Father." This language clearly marks the divinely bestowed privileges and pre-eminence of THE CHURCH WHICH PRESIDES.

St. Irenæus, refuting the Gnostics, who boasted of some secret tradition more perfect than the public teaching of the Church, appeals to the public tradition of all Churches throughout the world, and offers the Roman Church as a competent, and convincing, and authoritative witness of this general tradition. " All," he says, " who wish to see the truth, may see in all the Church the tradition of the apostles, ma-

nifested throughout the whole world: and we can enumerate the bishops who have been ordained by the apostles, and their successors down to our time, who taught, or knew no such doctrine as they madly dream of.—But since it would be very tedious to enumerate in this work the succession of all the Churches, by pointing to the tradition of the greatest and most authoritative\* Church, known to all, founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul, and to her faith announced to men, coming down to us by the succession of bishops, we confound all those who in any improper manner gather together, either through self-complacency, or vain glory, or through blindness, and perverse disposition. For with this Church, on account of the more powerful principality, it is necessary that every Church, that is, the faithful, who are in every direction should agree,† in which the apostolic tradition has been always preserved by those who are in every direction.”‡ A better or more powerful principality is ascribed to this Church, since heavenly empire surpasses earthly dominion, and its influence in maintaining the integrity of Christian tradition is shewn from the necessity of harmony between all the local Churches and this ruling Church. The attempt to explain away this splendid testimony, by supposing the civil principality to be meant, is utterly futile: since this could be no reason why the Churches and faithful should agree with the Roman Church. Hence it is pretended that agreement in doctrine is not meant, although the professed object of the writer is to prove the general tradition of the Churches, and he

\* *Antiquissimæ*. It may mean *most ancient*, but I have rendered it *most authoritative*, because it is susceptible of this meaning, and the Roman Church was not, in fact, as ancient as that of Antioch, or of Jerusalem. The Greek term ἀρχαιότητα is equally ambiguous.

† “Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorē principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam.” The learned Calvinist Saumaïse admits that this is the force of the phrase, which is Hellenistic. *Convenire* as signifying motion, cannot be applied to a Church. It could not be said even of the faithful, that it was necessary for them to go to Rome.

‡ “Maximæ et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ eam quam habet ab apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos qui quoque modo, vel per sibi placencia, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet colligunt. Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter potentiorē principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles: in qua semper ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio.” S. Iren. l. iii. c. iii.

takes the tradition of the Roman Church as an example, the succession of its bishops being well known, and its relation to the other Churches implying the harmony of their faith. To suppose that the fortuitous visits to Rome of believers from various parts are referred to as affording evidence of general tradition, is manifestly inconsistent with the principles laid down by Irenæus, and indicated in the very passage itself, since it is of tradition descending through the succession of bishops that he speaks, and to their testimony and preaching he invariably ascribes all certain knowledge of revealed truth. Besides the frequency of the visits of believers to the capital of the empire is a gratuitous supposition, void of probability, when we consider the humble condition of most of the faithful, and their great distance from Rome. Irenæus plainly speaks, not of travellers who chance to visit the city, but of Churches which harmonize with this most glorious and Apostolic Church, on account of her more powerful principality.

We have already heard Tertullian contesting the power of forgiveness, which the Bishop of Rome exercised, but acknowledging that he was Apostolic, and that the Roman Church was the Church of Peter, and that Peter was the rock on which the Church was built. We shall now hear him speak reverentially of the authority of the Roman Church, and acknowledging it to be the depositary and guardian of the apostolic doctrine, and its incorrupt professor, in harmony with the African Churches, as well as with the other Churches throughout the world. The fact of the establishment of this Church by Peter and Paul, and the consequent authority of its teaching, are fully testified by Tertullian, whose testimony is not weakened by his subsequent fall, when deluded by Montanist reveries, since the ravings of a mad man do not detract from the wisdom or truth of what he may have uttered in his sound senses.

In the admirable work on *Prescriptions*, wherein Tertullian shews that the ancient doctrine must be alone true, because it comes down from the apostles, he thus invites the inquirer to pursue the investigation of truth, by listening to the teaching of the Churches founded by the apostles. "Come then," says he, "you who wish to exercise your curiosity to more advantage in the affair of salvation, go through the Apostolic Churches, in which the very chairs of the apostles continue aloft in their places, in which their very original letters are recited, sounding forth the voice, and representing the countenance of each one. Is Achaia near you? You have Corinth. If you are not far from Macedon, you have Philippi, you have Thessalonica. If you can go to Asia, you have Ephesus. If you are near Italy, you have

Rome, whence authority is at hand for us likewise. How happy is this Church to which the apostles poured forth their whole doctrine with their blood! where Peter is assimilated to the Lord in his martyrdom: where Paul is crowned with a death like that of John: where John the apostle, after he had been dipped in boiling oil without suffering injury, is banished to the island: let us see what she learned, what she taught, what she professed in her symbol in common with the African Churches.\* He passes rapidly over the other Churches founded by the apostles, preserving still their chairs, and their epistles, and when he has reached the Roman Church he pauses, exclaiming in rapture, how happy is she in possessing the abundant treasure of apostolic doctrine; and he appeals to her tradition, to her teaching, to her solemn profession of faith, in which she was the guide of the African Churches, her docile children. Could we say more in her praise? Need we claim for her higher prerogatives? She is the Church whose symbol is the great watchword of faith, and with which the Churches generally harmonize.

In urging the maxim of antiquity he says: "Since it is evident, that what is true is first, that what is first is from the beginning, that what is from the beginning is from the apostles, it also must be equally manifest, that what is held sacred in the Apostolic Churches must have been delivered by the apostles. Let us see with what milk the Corinthians were fed by Paul; according to what standard the Galatians were reformed; and what instructions were given to the Philippian, Thessalonian, and Ephesian; what also the Romans proclaim in our ears, they to whom Peter and Paul left the Gospel sealed with their blood.† The appeal to the other Churches chiefly regards the apostolic letters directed to them, whilst the faith of Rome, as loudly proclaimed, is specially referred to; for by its tradition coming down unchanged, by the succession of bishops, from its glorious founders, all errorists and sectarists are confounded.

\* "Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque autoritas præsto est. Ista quam felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt: ubi Petrus passioni Dominicæ adæquatur: ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur: ubi apostolus Joannes posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus, nihil passus est, in insulam relegatur: videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit, cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserat." De præser. hæ. c. xxxvi.

† Tertullian, l. iv. adv. Marcionem, p. 505. "Quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatam reliquerunt."



Tertullian boldly challenged sectarists to exhibit any thing bearing a like weight of authority: "Let them then give us the origin of their Churches: let them unfold the series of their bishops, coming down from the beginning in succession, so that the first bishop was appointed and preceded by any one of the apostles, or of apostolic men, provided he persevered in communion with the apostles. For in this way the Apostolic Churches exhibit their origin, as the Church of Smyrna relates that Polycarp was placed there by John; as the Church of Rome likewise relates that Clement was ordained by Peter; and in like manner the other Churches show those who were constituted bishops by the apostles, and made conservators of the apostolic seed. Let heretics feign any thing like this."\*

St. Cyprian, who, in so many passages, recognises Peter as the rock on which the Church is built, and the one apostle in whom unity was pointed out and established, is loud in his eulogies of the Roman Church, which he styles THE PLACE OF PETER, THE PRINCIPAL—that is, the ruling-CHURCH—THE ROOT AND MATRIX OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. He says that Cornelius was chosen Bishop, when "the place of Fabian, that is THE PLACE OF PETER, was vacant."\* In a letter to Cornelius he details the irregular proceedings of the schismatics, who had ordained Fortunatus bishop, and then despatched Felicissimus to Rome, to deceive the Pope by false statements concerning his ordination: "A false bishop having been ordained for them by heretics, they venture to set sail, and carry letters from schismatical and profane men TO THE CHAIR OF PETER, AND TO THE RULING CHURCH,† WHENCE SACERDOTAL UNITY HAS ARISEN; nor do they reflect that they are Romans whose faith is extolled by the apostle, to whom perfidy can have no access."‡ The strong language of this passage forced from Bishop Hopkins this avowal: "Now here we have, certainly, a beginning of the doctrine of the Church of Rome, showing to us what we anticipated, when examining the evidence of Irenæus, namely, how early the bishops of Rome en-

\* Tert. *de præscr. hæc.* "Edant ergo originem ecclesiarum suarum: evoluant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis—habuerit auctorem et antecessorem.—Sicut Romanorum (*ecclesia*) Clementem a Petro ordinatum—Confin-gant tale aliquid hæretici.

† Ep. lv. Antonian.

‡ *Cathedram principalem.* The English term *principal* does not express the force of the Latin, which means princely or ruling. The edicts of the emperors are often styled *jussiones principales*.

§ Ep. ad Cornel. lix.

deavored to secure dominion and supremacy. The influence of their efforts, too, we find first shewing itself *in the neighborhood of Rome*, for Carthage, where Cyprian was bishop, *lay within a moderate distance from the imperial city*. Let it be granted, then, that in the year 220, about a century and-a-half later than Polycarp, a century later than Irenæus, and fifty years later than Tertullian, the doctrine was partially admitted that Peter had been bishop of Rome, and that the unity of the Church took its rise in the See or diocese of Peter.\* An unbiased mind would have perceived in the words of Cyprian the echo of those of Irenæus, and recognised the powerful principality of the ruling chair, and the principle of unity, and the safeguard of faith.

Writing to Antonian, an African bishop, to remove some doubts concerning the legitimacy of the election of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, St. Cyprian praises his magnanimity in accepting the office, with the manifest danger of martyrdom, since the heathen emperor dreaded more the presidency of the Roman Bishop over the Christian people, than the approach of a powerful enemy: "After he had been elevated to the episcopacy, without ambitioning the dignity, not intruding himself into it by violence, but in compliance with the will of God, who makes priests, how great is his virtue in sustaining the office, how great his strength of mind, how great the firmness of his faith!—which we must in simplicity of heart both consider, and praise—to have sat fearlessly at Rome in the priestly chair, at a time when a hostile tyrant threatened the priests of God with dire torments; when he would hear with less pain of a rival prince rising up against him, than that a priest of God was established at Rome."† The dignity of the Roman Bishop must have been notorious, as well as extraordinary, to create such jealousy in the mind of Decius.

That it was known to the Pagans appears, not only from the testimony of Cyprian, but, likewise, from facts and Pagan testimony. When Paul of Samosata was condemned by the council of Antioch, about the year 268, the Pagan emperor Aurelian directed that the Church of Antioch, from which he was expelled, should be delivered up "to those to whom the bishops of Italy, and the bishop of Rome should write." In the fourth century, Ammian Marcellinus, a Pagan writer remarks that "the bishops of the eternal city enjoy greater authority."‡ In vain does Barrow explain this of interest and reputation contrary to the force of the terms, and the facts of history.

\* Lectures on the Reformation, p. 127.

† Ep. Antonian, lv.

‡ L. xv.

It is objected, nevertheless, that Cyprian always treats Cornelius as a brother and colleague, and that Cornelius reciprocates, so as to appear on terms of perfect equality. This is easily accounted for by the fact that all bishops are equal in their sacred character, the difference being merely of jurisdiction, which in the Pope is universal. Thus a Roman council, in 378, says of Pope Damasus, that "he is equal in office to the other bishops, and surpasses them by the prerogative of the Apostolic See."\*

The Pope at this day is wont to address all bishops as "venerable brethren," although Pope Damasus in the fourth century called them his most honorable children." They address him as Father, which style was adopted at a very early period. In many ancient documents the bishops calls him: "Lord brother;" thus expressing at once superiority in jurisdiction and equality of order; and a council of Carthage held in 401, unites the idea of father and brother, in designating the affection and authority with which Pope Anastasius exhorted them; expressing their gratitude for his "paternal and fraternal charity." In 314 the council of Arles addressed Sylvester by this magnificent title: "Most glorious Pope." St. Chrysostom, writing to Innocent, began in these words: "My most Reverend lord, and most holy Bishop." St. Cyril of Alexandria, styled Celestine: "Most Holy Father, most beloved of God." These expressions denote his superior authority, and correspond with acts clearly marking it.

We cannot satisfactorily account for the extraordinary authority recognised in the Roman clergy, during the vacancy of the See, except by the fact, that they were regarded as the depositaries *ad interim* of the power ordinarily exercised by the Roman Bishop over the whole Church. St. Cyprian communicated to them the rules which he deemed it advisable to adopt in regard to those who had fallen in persecution, with a view to obtain their approval and confirmation: which they gave in terms complimentary to him, and sufficiently expressive of their own authority. "Although," say they, "a mind conscious of its own rectitude and supported by the vigor of evangelical discipline, and true witness to itself in the heavenly decrees, is accustomed to be content with God alone for its judge, and neither to seek another's praise, nor fear his censure, yet are they worthy of double praise, who when they know that they are answerable for their conscience to God alone as judge, yet desire that their acts should be approved even by their brethren. Which that you should do, brother Cyprian, is not

\* Ep. v. apud Coustant. t. 1. col. 528.

surprising, who with your natural modesty and industry have wished us to be, not so much judges, as partakers of your counsels, that while we approve your acts, we might receive praise for them together with yourself, and be co-heirs of your good counsels, inasmuch as we confirm them.\* They dwell on the tenacity wherewith the Roman Church adheres to the ancient severity of discipline, and deprecate any degeneracy from their forefathers, whose faith was celebrated throughout the whole world in the days of the apostles. "Far be it," they cry, "from the Roman Church to destroy her vigor by profane indulgence, and to loose the nerves of severity, to the prejudice of the majesty of faith." This letter, as St. Cyprian assures us, "was despatched throughout the whole world, and brought to the knowledge of all the Churches and of all the brethren.†" This surely shews that the authority of the Church of Rome reached to the utmost limits of the Universal Church. The council of Sardica, in 347, communicate to the Pope their proceedings, saying: "This seems excellent and most suitable that the priests of the Lord from the respective provinces should report to THE HEAD, THAT IS TO THE SEE OF THE APOSTLE PETER."‡ They beg of him to make the decrees known to all the Churches. Damasus was addressed with profound reverence by the Eastern bishops, who implored his authority against the heretics Apollinaris and Timothy, and he felt that it was but a duty which they owed to the place which he occupied, as heir of the apostles; "you have done credit to yourselves in the just reverence which you have affectionately manifested to the Apostolic See: for although it is incumbent on us especially to hold the helm, which we have taken in hand, in the holy Church in which the holy apostle sat and taught, yet we acknowledge ourselves unworthy of the honor."§

The homage rendered to the successor of Peter by numerous Councils as well as by individual writers, do not permit us to mistake the sentiments and faith of the early ages in regard to his office. The Bishop of Rome was looked up to from the East and from the West as the heir of apostolic authority, and in him was recognised the character of Universal Pastor. His approbation and support were courted by all bishops, and in the difficulties by which they found themselves surrounded, they consoled themselves by knowing that he stood by

\* Ep. xxx. cleri Rom. ad Cyprian.

† Ep. LV. Baluz. LII. Paris LI. Erasmi IV. Pamel. ii.

‡ Ep. Synodi Sardic. Ep. Rom. Pontif. Constant. t. i. p. 395.

§ Ep. xiv. t. i. col. Constant.

their side against all their enemies. Thus Augustin, speaking of Cecilian, the successor of Cyprian in the See of Carthage, pays a sublime tribute to the Roman Church, as possessing at all times, in its plenitude and integrity the apostolic power, being the See of the prince of the apostles. He says that the bishop of Carthage "might disregard the combined multitude of his enemies, whilst he saw himself united, by letters of communion, with THE ROMAN CHURCH, IN WHICH THE PRINCEDOM OF THE APOSTOLIC CHAIR ALWAYS FLOURISHED, and with other countries, from which the Gospel came to Africa, where he was ready also to plead his cause, if his adversaries should endeavor to estrange these Churches from him."\* There is no possibility of mistaking the force of this testimony. The dignity of the Roman Church is ascribed to its apostolic origin, and the apostolic power is affirmed to have always been exercised by it. To its authority and unquestionable integrity he appeals, even were the allegations of the Donatists against the African bishops and other bishops in communion with them true: "If all throughout the world were such as you most wantonly assert, what has been done to you by the CHAIR OF THE ROMAN CHURCH IN WHICH PETER SAT, and in which Anastasius sits at this day?"† Among the motives which retained him in the Catholic Church he enumerates the succession of bishops in St. Peter's chair: "I am held in the Catholic Church by the succession of bishops from the very See of the apostle Peter, to whom our Lord, after His resurrection, intrusted His sheep, to be fed, down to the present bishop."‡

St. Jerom, who in his own cutting style, so often lashed the vices of Rome, and treated with no indulgence the defects of the clergy, speaks with profound reverence of the Roman Church as the venerable See of the apostles, heiress of their faith, and enriched with their relics. "There is there, indeed," he says in his letter to Marcella, "a holy church: there are the trophies of the apostles and martyrs: there is the true confession of Christ: there is that faith which was praised by the apostle: and Christianity is there making new advances daily over prostrate heathenism."§ Yet when certain Roman usages were in question, such as the distinctions which deacons assumed, to the prejudice of the respect due to the priesthood and episcopacy, Jerom refused to defer to these local customs, and strongly vindicated the honor of the higher orders. The pretensions of the deacons shew the eminence of the Church,

\* Ep. xliii. olim clxii. ad Glorium et Eleusium.

† L. contra II. lit. Petilian c. l.

‡ Contra epist. fundam.

§ Ep. ad Marcell.

whose officers they were, since otherwise there would have been no pretext for their assumption. "The Church," he says, "of the Roman city is not to be thought one thing, and the Church of the whole world another. Gaul, and Britain, and Africa, and Persia, and the East, and India, and all the barbarous nations adore the one Christ—observe the one rule of truth. If authority is sought for, the world is greater than one city. Wherever a bishop is, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, or Tanis, he is of the same merit, of the same priesthood. The power of wealth, and the lowliness of poverty makes a bishop more elevated, or less exalted: however, all are successors of the apostles. But you say, how is it that at Rome the priest is ordained on the testimony of the deacon? Why do you urge to me the custom of one city? Why do you allege, as laws of the Church, the paucity whence haughtiness has taken rise? Every thing that is rare is sought after. Paucity makes deacons respected; the multitude of priests brings them into contempt. However, even in the Church of Rome, priests sit while the deacons remain standing."\* The reader can now judge whether the equality of merit and of priesthood, which Jerome claims for every bishop, wherever he reside, be intended to include an equality of jurisdiction. He asserted the equality of the episcopacy, evidently with a view to embrace even the priests, in defence of whose privileges he was writing. Will any one, in the face of all the monuments of antiquity, maintain that the bishops of Rome and Eugubium, of Alexandria and of Tanis, were distinguished by no difference of jurisdiction? The episcopal character is, indeed, alike in all; the bishop of Eugubium is, in this respect, equal to the Bishop of Rome; but the governing power, or jurisdiction, widely differs, for to the one the care of a small portion of the flock of Christ is committed,—to the other the charge of all the sheep and lambs is given.

But Jerome seems to depreciate the authority of the Roman Church. Not when she teaches by the mouth of him who occupies the chair of Peter; not when, in harmony with the churches of the universe, she proclaims the divinely inspired faith, for which Christ prayed that it fail not; but he sets aside the practice of a few deacons, who took occasion from the eminence of that Church in which they enjoyed special distinctions, to treat with less reverence those who were their superiors in the sacred ministry. Such customs as are peculiar to the Church of Rome, need not be adopted by the other churches in her

\* Hieronym. Evagrius.

communion: and the abuses of individuals attached to that Church may be condemned, even by those who, like Jerome, cry aloud that they cling to the chair of Peter,—who receive its faith and tradition with reverence, and who cherish its communion, because they “know that it is the rock on which the Church was built.”

All the bishops of the province of Arles concurred in a letter to St. Leo, wherein they implored his authority in support of the privileges of the See of Arles, and recognised its apostolic source: “The Holy Roman Church,” say they, “through the most blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, has the principality above all the churches of the world.”\* Leo himself thus addressed the clergy and faithful of the favored Church, founded by the apostles. “They have raised you to such a pitch of glory, that being made a holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and royal city, the head of the world, through the sacred See of blessed Peter, you preside over a vaster region by divine religion, than by earthly dominion.”†

Barrow asserts that the imperial dignity of the city was “the sole ground upon which the greatest of all ancient synods, that of Chalcedon, did affirm the papal eminency to be founded; for ‘to the throne,’ say they, ‘of ancient Rome, because that was the royal city, the fathers reasonably deferred the privileges.’”‡ This assertion, however, is refuted by the very words of the council to Pope Leo, wherein they speak of Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria: “He has extended his frenzy even against his Apostolic Holiness, to whom the care of the vineyard was entrusted by the Saviour.”§ When they speak of prerogatives as bestowed by the Fathers in consideration of the majesty of the city, they cannot be understood of the Primacy itself, which is the care of the vineyard of the Lord, and which they acknowledge to have been entrusted by the Saviour Himself to Leo, in the person of Peter: they must mean accidental privileges and the ample exercise of the Primacy, which may vary according to the degree of devotion wherewith it is embraced. The Canon of Nice, as recited in this council acknowledges, that “the Roman Church always had the Primacy.” Their wish to favor the pretensions of the bishop of Constantinople to patriarchal privileges, grounded on the imperial majesty of the city, may have led them to adopt language not sufficiently precise, for no principle of our faith obliges us to regard with unqualified reverence

\* Ep. LXV. inter Leonis ep.

† Serm. LXXXII. in Natali Apost.

‡ Supp. v. n. ix.

§ T. II. p. 655 coll. Hard.

aught but their doctrinal definitions. The preamble of a law has not the force of law although it may help to determine the meaning of the enactment: but even the canons of General Councils cannot give, or take away, or limit that which Christ has freely and fully given. It was not the greatness of the cities that determined the patriarchal privileges of Alexandria, or of Antioch, but their special relation to Peter, who founded the one by the agency of Mark, and honored the other by his presence. In the Church of God, whatever regard may be had to external considerations, and to congruities of time and place, the civil greatness of a city can never be the measure of its ecclesiastical power.

The imperial influence was often exercised in favor of the bishop of Constantinople, who, from being a suffragan of the bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, sought to become the second dignitary of the church, to the prejudice of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, and of other prelates. In 421 Theodosius, the younger, issued an edict giving him cognizance of ecclesiastical causes throughout all the provinces of Illyricum, alleging that the city of Constantinople enjoys the prerogative of ancient Rome. Honorius, emperor of the West, remonstrated with him on this innovation, prejudicial to the rights of "the Holy Apostolic See." "Doubtless," he writes, "we ought specially to venerate the church of that city, from which we have received the Roman empire, and the priesthood derives its origin." He begs him to "command the ancient order to be observed, lest the Roman Church lose under the empire of Christian princes what it retained under other emperors."\* Long before Constantine bowed to the cross the Roman Church possessed and exercised her more powerful principality. Theodosius yielded to the remonstrance of his colleague, and abrogated his decree, that a Christian emperor might not appear to infringe on rights which had been inviolate, in the midst of Pagan persecution.

The eminence of the Roman Church cannot be traced to the concession of emperors, the acts of councils, the majesty of the city, or any cause independent of the primacy conferred by Christ our Lord on Peter. This being admitted, it was natural for emperors to pay religious veneration to her bishop, and for councils to recognise in every respectful form, his high prerogatives. From the city some external splendor might be derived; but its earthly glory had passed away, when the rival city rose on the site of Byzantium, bearing the name of its illustrious founder: and it may be safely said that the Pontiff has

\* Ep. ix. x. xi. apud Constant. t. i. col. 1029, 1030.



returned with large increase whatever lustre was reflected on his chair, from the once proud seat of empire. Most probably the traveller would now seek in vain for the ruins of Rome, as he does for those of the Eastern Babylon, had not the chair of the fisherman been placed in it, whereby it became and is destined to continue the seat of religion, science, art and civilization.

Some have dated the Roman supremacy from the commencement of the seventh century, and traced it to the concession of the emperor Phocas. To any person acquainted with ancient documents this assertion must appear most extravagant. Platina, indeed, relates that Boniface III. who filled the Roman See about the year 606, obtained from Phocas, "not without great efforts, that the See of the blessed apostle Peter, WHICH IS THE HEAD OF ALL THE CHURCHES, should be so styled and held by all: which distinction the church of Constantinople was endeavoring to usurp, through the favor of princes, who asserted that the Chief See should be in the capital of the empire."\* It is plain from the narrative that a mere civil recognition of a pre-existing dignity was obtained, and that this measure had become necessary in consequence of the ambitious efforts of the bishop of Constantinople, who sought, not to set aside altogether the authority of the Roman See, but to rise almost to the same eminence. His pretensions were derived from the imperial dignity of the city, and he relied on the favor of princes, whilst the Roman Bishop claimed that the prerogative of the chair of Peter should be respected, and guarded against the possibility of encroachment. Boniface relied wholly on the apostolic origin of the Roman Church, and rejected utterly the principle, that the civil greatness of the city should be the measure of its ecclesiastical authority. The assertion of those who ascribe to Phocas the origin of the Papal power is utterly at variance with that of the same persons, who, at other times, assert that the majesty of Rome, as the seat of empire, was the occasion of the supremacy of the Pontiff, since nearly three centuries had elapsed before the reign of Phocas from the time when Constantine stripped Rome of her earthly glory, to found a city with his own name, and in the mean time the barbarian had more than once razed the walls of the once proud mistress of nations, and filled her streets with the dead bodies of her children. Could the remembrance of what she once had been, determine the Eastern emperor to command that her Bishop, whose chair was raised amidst the ruins of her greatness, should be honored above him who sat in splen-

\* In vita Bonifac.

door near the throne, and courted the smiles of the sovereign? There must have been an intrinsic and enduring title to veneration, entirely independent of civil greatness. Shall we say, that the imperial dignity of the city at the time of the conversion of Constantine, gave its Church and Bishop an importance which was never afterwards forfeited? It is a great sketch of imagination to suppose, that so much importance could have at once accrued from the favor shewn by Constantine to the Christian religion, and that it should have been so lasting. If it were but the reflection of imperial splendor, it must have been seen only at Constantinople from the time the throne adorned that privileged city, which, of course, the emperor would in every respect exalt, that as it bore his name, it might also exhibit the marks of his munificence. Every reflecting mind must conclude that the eminence of the Roman Church was not the consequence of imperial favor, or of the greatness of the city.

Between the two epochs of Constantine and Phocas, the empire of Valentinian III. intervenes, almost equally distant from each. The edict of Constantine in favor of the Christians is dated in 313, and Valentinian, in 455, issued an imperial decree, in which the primacy of the Roman See is acknowledged as flowing from the dignity of the prince of the apostles: "The merit of blessed PETER, WHO IS THE PRINCE OF THE PRIESTLY ORDER, and the dignity of the Roman city, the authority also of the holy synod strengthened the primacy of the Apostolic See."\* The mention of the dignity of the city cannot detract from the force of the first and chief reason. The principality of Peter is the real and only source of the dignity of the Roman Church; but the remembrance of the former civil importance of the city might be a motive in the eyes of a Christian emperor, for viewing with peculiar complacency the apostolic privileges with which it was enriched. The synods of bishops likewise may strengthen the Primacy, by sustaining its lawful exercise, but its prerogatives flow from a higher source than even these most venerable assemblies. It is to Christ Himself that the essential rights of this sacred office must be traced.

Boniface I., who held the chair of St. Peter from the year 418 to 422, addressing the bishops of Thessalia, did not hesitate to affirm that even the great Council of Nice had presumed to add nothing to the privileges of Peter, recognising his Primacy to be of divine origin. "The general institution of the rising Church began with the honor of blessed Peter, in whom its government and highest authority cen-

\* Nov xxiv. in fine cod. Theodos. Hallam Middle Ages c. vii. p. 270.

tre: for from this fountain ecclesiastical discipline has flowed through all the Churches, as religion increased. The laws of the Nicene synod admit this, which did not attempt to enact any thing above him, knowing that nothing could be conferred above his merit, and that all things were granted to him by the voice of the Lord. It is certain that this Church is, as it were, the head of her own members for all the Churches spread throughout the whole world: from which whosoever separates himself becomes an alien to the Christian religion, since he begins to be no longer in the same body.”\*

\* Ep. xiv.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CENTRE OF UNITY.

THE Roman Bishop being successor of St. Peter in the pastoral office, all the sheep of Christ are under his charge. All the bishops, with their respective flocks, constitute the one flock of Christ, under the general Pastor, who is consequently the centre of general unity. All must communicate with him, since the members must be connected with the Head; through whom they communicate with all their colleagues, even without any direct personal intercourse. The Church of Christ is essentially one—one body, one sheepfold—a well constructed house—a united kingdom. It is plain, from all ancient documents, that the Roman Bishop has been viewed by all antiquity as a necessary bond of the universal Church, and that all bishops who valued Catholic unity, sought it in his communion. To seek it was a duty, admitting no excuse, where it was possible to attain it. It is easy to perceive in Irenæus the necessity of this union and harmony with the Roman Church: “for with this Church, on account of the more powerful principality, it is necessary that every Church, that is, the faithful, who are on every side, should agree, in which the Apostolic tradition has been always preserved, by those who are on every side.” The members must harmonize and be united with the head; the provinces of this spiritual empire must be subject to the ruling power; the Churches and their members, wherever they be, must agree with the principal and ruling Church. Thus had apostolic tradition been preserved in its integrity in the Roman Church down to the time of Irenæus. The succession of bishops from Peter and Paul, her founders, had transmitted their teaching; and the whole body of believers, throughout the world, bore witness to it by the assent which they gave to the doctrine of the Roman Church, the communion whereof they cherished as an essential principle of Church organization.

St. Cyprian is an illustrious witness to the necessity of communion with the See of Peter, which is so strongly asserted by him, that Hal-lam deems his language more definite than that of Irenæus: “Irenæus,” he remarks, “rather vaguely, and Cyprian more positively admit, or

rather assert the Primacy of the Church of Rome, which the latter seems to have regarded as a kind of centre of Catholic unity.”\*

The letter of St. Cyprian to the bishop Antonian was written in consequence of the representations of Novatian having made this bishop waver in his determination to recognise Cornelius as the Bishop of Rome. It begins thus: “I received your first letter, most beloved brother, which firmly maintains the harmony of the priestly college, and the communion of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as you intimate that you hold no communion with Novatian, but that you have followed our counsel and are in harmony with Cornelius our fellow bishop. You also wrote that I should forward a copy of the same letter to Cornelius, our colleague, that he might lay aside all anxiety, knowing that YOU COMMUNICATE WITH HIM, THAT IS, WITH THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.”†—This may aid us to understand the full force of some other passages in the sequel. The Bishop of Rome, at that early day, was the centre and bond of Catholic communion: through him the bishops of every part of Christendom communicated with each other, and thereby formed that episcopal college, of which Cyprian so often speaks,—as one in its character, tendency and spirit.

Antonian had requested to be informed what heresy Novatian had introduced. Cyprian replied, it was a matter of no consequence, as long as he was separated from the Church by his opposition to her lawful bishop: “As to what regards the person of Novatian, concerning whom you have requested that I should inform you what heresy he has introduced, know, in the first place, that we should not be curious to know what he teaches, since he teaches WITHOUT. *Whoever he is, and whatever qualifications he possesses, he is not a Christian who is not in the Church of Christ.*” No one can insist on the necessity of communion with the Apostolic See, in terms stronger than these. Immediately after the words just quoted, Cyprian continues: “Though he boast of his philosophy, or proclaim his eloquence in haughty words, he who has maintained neither fraternal charity nor ecclesiastical unity, has lost what he had been before. Unless he appear to you to be a bishop, who after a bishop had been made in the Church by sixteen bishops, endeavors through ambition to be made by deserters, an adulterer and a stranger; and whilst there is one Church divided by Christ into many members throughout the whole world, and one episcopacy spread abroad through the concordant multitude of bishops, he, contrary to the unity of the Catholic Church, connected and joined together every

\* Middle Ages c. vii. p. 270. Americ. ed.

† Ep. ad. Antonian.

where, endeavors to make a human Church, and sends his apostles through many cities, to lay some foundations of his new institution; and whilst long since, throughout all the provinces, and in every city, bishops have been ordained,—advanced in age, sound in faith, tried in times of oppression, proscribed in persecution,—he dares create pseudo-bishops in their stead.” It were absurd to argue that there is no superior authority in the Bishop of Rome above his colleagues, because the episcopate is one; for surely whoever reads the text, must manifestly see, that the saint is not laboring to establish the equality of all bishops, but their union for one great purpose—the government of the Church; whence he concludes that the refractory intruder, Novatian, by his opposition to Cornelius, was cut off from the communion of all bishops, and of the Church. The very efforts of Novatian to secure the support and gain the communion of the African bishops, and his sending his new apostles through many cities to lay some foundations of his new institution, shew that the station which he claimed was that of a bishop having general authority throughout the Church; and he was therefore considered by Cyprian as laboring to establish a new institution, a human Church, in opposition to the divine institution of Christ.

The language of Cyprian is stronger than the mere usurpation of a bishopric, contrary to the rights of the legitimate bishop, would warrant. Such an act, however unjustifiable and criminal, is not in itself an attempt to make a new Church. When Fortunatus had been created bishop, in opposition to Cyprian himself, by some schismatics, Cyprian, whilst strongly reprobating the act, did not look upon it as one involving serious consequences to the Universal Church, and therefore omitted even to inform Cornelius of it, until, on the application of the schismatics for his favor, the Pope wrote to inquire into the particulars, and complained of his silence.\*

In a letter to Cyprian, Cornelius complains that the communications from Polycarp, bishop of the colony of Adrumetum, which had been, in the first instance, addressed to Cornelius by name, had subsequently been directed to the priests and deacons of the Roman Church, and he traced this change to a visit which Cyprian and Liberalis had made to the colony. This shews the frequency of the communications with the Roman Church, from the most distant parts, and the right which the Roman Bishop claimed that they should be addressed to himself personally. Cyprian, whose mind

\* Ep. lix. Cyprianus Cornelio.

from the beginning had been made up in favor of Cornelius, explains the motives of the change, which was the result of a resolution taken by several bishops, in an assembly held on the subject, to avoid direct communication with either of the claimants of the pontificate, until the return of the ambassadors whom they had despatched to ascertain the facts. In the meantime they had been careful to cling to the Roman Church: "for," says he, "giving an account (*of this reserve*) to all who sailed (*hence*), we know that we exhorted them to acknowledge and hold fast THE ROOT AND MATRIX OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH." On the return of the ambassadors, he assures him that all doubt about the legitimacy of his election being removed, it was determined that letters should be written and ambassadors sent to Cornelius by all the bishops, which was in fact done; "that all our colleagues should strongly approve of you, and hold fast your communion, that is, both the unity and charity of the Catholic Church."\* The dignity of the Roman Church as the See of Peter, and the necessity of her communion could not be more strongly and touchingly expressed.

The whole reasoning of St. Cyprian shews the necessity of communion with the successor of Peter. He insists so strongly on the unity of the Church, in the admirable treatise on this subject, and throughout his works, that he maintains that martyrdom avails nothing to him who is not in unity. Yet unity is a phantom, unless the central and connecting authority of the Roman Bishop be admitted. The union of local Churches in sentiment and faith cannot be had fortuitously. There may be, at least, as many creeds as there are bishops, if there be not a Chief Bishop in whom his colleagues recognise their leader and organ, to declare authoritatively, in the name of all, the faith which is common to all. By this means the general tradition can be collected, preserved; and transmitted. The bishops gathering around him may attest the faith of their respective Churches, and compare it with the unfailing tradition of Peter, and uniting with him in judgment, concur to proscribe all the novel inventions of human pride. Union of charity between Churches discordant in faith is a fond imagination of those who would cover the shame of disunion, by affecting to cherish, what, at best, is but sympathy for the errors of their fellow-men. Truth is the essential characteristic of the Church, which is its pillar and ground: unity can only exist in the common admission of truth in all its fulness. There cannot be one Church without unity of government, and this cannot be without a ruler.

\* Ep. xlviii.

There can be no general or permanent order without a controlling power. As in each diocese the bishop is the ruler, in whom the clergy and faithful unite to form a local Church, so all the Churches must have a universal bishop, presiding over all, and directing and governing all. As there is one God, one Christ, one Church, one faith, so according to Cyprian, there is one chair founded by the voice of the Lord on Peter. From him unity began: in his ruling chair the principle of unity is lodged: and the same necessity which obliges us to recognise one Church, leads us to acknowledge one Pastor, one Priest, one Judge in the place of Christ.

The great archbishop of Milan, whose testimonies regarding the prerogatives of Peter I have before recited, relates in praise of his brother Satirus, that on reaching shore after shipwreck, he was careful to inquire, whether the bishop of the place "agreed in faith with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the Roman Church."\* Thus communion with Rome was regarded as an evidence of orthodoxy, and Catholicity.

St. Optatus of Mela, arguing against Parmenian the Donatist, insists on the notoriety of the fact, that Peter established the episcopal chair at Rome, and infers the necessity of communion with it. "You cannot deny that you know that the episcopal chair was first established for Peter in the city of Rome, in which Peter sat, the head of all the apostles; whence also he was called Cephias: in which one chair unity might be maintained by all; that the apostles should not each defend before you his own chair: but that he should be at once a schismatic and a sinner, who should erect any other against that one chair." He gives the succession of Pontiffs from St. Peter to Syricius, "who," says he, "is at this day our colleague: with whom the whole world as, well as ourselves, agrees in one society of communion by the intercourse of the usual letters."† The chair of Peter is thus plainly recognised as the necessary bond of Catholic communion.

St. Augustin says that Cecilian could well disregard the multitude of his adversaries, knowing himself to enjoy the communion of the Roman Church, the seat of apostolic power, and he often reverts to this criterion of the true Church, namely the union of each local Church with the Church of Rome, which he often calls the Church beyond the seas, and through which union was had with all the Churches. In the letter to Saturnine and Euphrates, in which Augustin congratulates them on their return to the Church, he observes, that "this house of God is not confined to one corner of the earth, but spread

\* De obitu fratris.

† De Schismat. Donat. l. II.



throughout the world." Having proved it by many passages of Scripture, he adds: "The enemies of this great house yielded to these and such like testimonies, of which so many are found throughout the whole Scripture, so far as to acknowledge that they had no cause of complaint against the Church beyond the seas, which, nevertheless, they confessed to be Catholic. We communicate with this Church, that we may be made worthy to be united to the members of Christ."\*

In reference to the investigation which took place at Rome under Melchiades, in regard to Cecilian, St. Augustin, writing to those of Circa, proposes this dilemma:—"Let them reflect on this very short, and if I mistake not, decisive point—that either the case has been investigated in the ecclesiastical trial beyond the seas, or it has not. If it has not been investigated, the Christian society throughout all the nations beyond the seas is innocent, of which society we enjoy the communion; and therefore they (the Donatists) are certainly separated by a sacrilegious rupture from those innocent men. If the cause has been there investigated, who does not understand—who does not perceive—who does not see—that they with whom communion was from that time broken, off were overcome in the investigation?"† He invites the Donatists to return to the communion of the Roman Bishop, and points to the uninterrupted succession from St. Peter as a triumphant proof of the fulfilment of the prediction of our Saviour: "Come, brethren," he says, "if you wish to be ingrafted on the vine. It is a cause of affliction to us to behold you lying cut off from it, as you are. Count over the bishops from the very See of Peter, and see how one succeeded the other in that list of Fathers. THIS IS THE ROCK AGAINST WHICH THE PROUD GATES OF HELL DO NOT PREVAIL."‡ "Shall we hesitate," he elsewhere asks, "to take refuge in the bosom of that Church, which from the Apostolic See, through the succession of bishops, even by the acknowledgment of mankind generally, has obtained supreme authority, heretics raging around in vain, condemned as they have been, partly by the judgment of the people themselves, partly by the authority of councils, partly also by the splendor of miracles? To reject her authority, is truly either the height of impiety or desperate presumption."§

It has been objected, especially of late by several of the Oxford school, that Meletius, bishop of Antioch, is recognised as a saint even by

\* Ep. 142. Tom. II. p. 462.

† S. Aug. Cirtensibus, Ep. 144, p. 468. Tom. II. Edit. Ven.

‡ Ps. contra partem Donati.

§ De util. cred. c. vii.

the Roman Church, although he lived and died out of her communion. He was not, however, by any authoritative act cut off from that communion, nor did he withdraw himself from it, or attach himself to any heterodox sect, or to any schismatical body separated from the communion of the Roman and Universal Church. He was only destitute of actual recognition from a concurrence of circumstances that prove no fault on his part, but the difficulty of a position, from which he knew not how to escape, without a sacrifice of his own rights, and without endangering others who clung to his authority. In the vacancy of the See of Antioch, he had been nominated by general consent, the Arians especially believing him to be their secret partisan, or not likely to become an active opponent, and the Catholics judging more favorably of his orthodoxy. There were some, however, who remembering that Eustathius, the lawful bishop, had been driven into exile on false pretences, by the contrivance of the Arians, and that Meletius had been chosen by them especially, refused to embrace his communion, to gratify whom Eusebius of Vercelli consecrated Paulinus for the same See. Pope Damasus held communion with this latter, but never excluded Meletius from the Church by any censure. The withholding of intercourse with him arose from the mode of his election, and the suspicions cast on his faith. It was prudent reserve, not positive exclusion. Meletius, confident in his orthodoxy and in his canonical rights, as the lawful occupant of the chair of Antioch, remained united with St. Basil and other bishops who were in communion with the Bishop of Rome and thus enjoyed indirectly that communion of which the difficulties of his position prevented his partaking more directly. In a numerous council of bishops held at Antioch, he received with reverence the decree of faith issued by Pope Damasus and the Roman synod against the errors of Apollinaris, and subscribed it, adding anathema to such as thought differently. He also professed aloud, as St. Jerom testifies, his adherence to this Pope. After the death of the emperor Valens, Gratian issued an edict permitting the return of the exiled bishops, and commanding the churches to be handed over to such as were in communion with Damasus. Sapores, the commander of the forces, came to Antioch, charged with the execution of the law, on which occasion each of the three claimants of this See professed his adherence to the Roman Bishop. Paulinus could with truth assert it, since Damasus had actually addressed him the doctrinal decree. Vitalis, who since his visit to Rome, had been consecrated bishop by Apollinaris, dissembled as he had often done, his heresy, and alleged the fact of his communion with the Pope. Flavian, the

priest, on behalf of Meletius, impugned the faith of Paulinus, because he differed as to the use of the term *hypostases*, and asked how he could hold his communion, without harmonizing in faith. It is in reference to these claims that Jerom speaks in his letter to Damasus, wherein he states that, to avoid mistake, he held communion with the Egyptian confessors, that is with Peter, patriarch of Alexandria, who was then an exile in Syria, and who had assisted at the Roman council with Damasus: "I follow here your colleagues, the confessors of Egypt, and amidst the merchant vessels, I lie hid in a little boat. I know nothing of Vitalis—I reject Meletius—I care not for Paulinus. Whoever does not gather with you scatters; that is, whoever is not of Christ is of Antichrist."\* St. Jerom looked on Meletius with the suspicion with which he was generally viewed in the West, and therefore rejected his communion, although he had succeeded in obtaining from the civil officer the possession of the churches, having satisfied him that he held the communion of Damasus. The perplexity of the Saint led him to address a second letter to the Pontiff: "The Church here being split into three parties, each hastens to draw me to itself. The venerable authority of the monks who dwell around assails me. In the meantime I cry aloud: WHOEVER IS UNITED WITH THE CHAIR OF PETER IS MINE. Meletius, Vitalis and Paulinus affirm that they adhere to you: if one only made the assertion, I could believe: but in the present case either two of them deceive me, or all of them. Therefore, I beseech you, Blessed Father—by the cross of the Lord, by the necessary ornament of our faith, by the passion of Christ,—as you succeed the apostles in dignity, so may you rival them in merit,—so may you sit on the throne of judgment with the twelve,—so may another gird you like Peter in your old age,—so may you gain the franchise of the heavenly city with Paul,—declare to me by your letter, with whom I should hold communion in Syria. Do not disregard a soul for which Christ died."† This is the language of a man who feels that it is the duty of a disciple of Christ, in whatever part of the world he may be, to hold communion with the Bishop of Rome, by communicating with the local prelate who enjoys the communion of this Bishop.

It is unquestionable, however, that Paulinus and not Meletius, received from Damasus the tokens of communion, and yet St. Basil the Great was a strenuous assertor of the rights of Meletius. This is easily understood. Basil knew that his ordination was prior to that of Paulinus, and that his faith was sound, so that the only grounds for rejecting his

\* Ep. xv.

† Ep. xvi. Damaso.

communion were suspicions, having a strong colouring, but no reality. He remarked that those of the West, including, although not mentioning him, Damasus himself, did not know the real state of things in the East, and when Paulinus boasted of letters of communion received from the Pope, he replied: "I am not surprised at it, since they are utterly unacquainted with the state of things here."\* Thus resting on the facts of the case, he maintained that the reserve of Damasus could not prejudice the rights of Meletius, and he continued to support his friend, whilst he himself cherished and enjoyed the actual communion of the Pontiff.

It is worthy of the truly liberal spirit of the Holy See to render homage after death to a bishop whom it treated with distrust in life, under false impressions which time has removed. Damasus did not regard him as undoubtedly orthodox, and legitimately ordained. It was an error of fact, from which the Pope is guaranteed by no divine privilege. The integrity of the faith of Meletius, the legitimacy of his ordination, and the eminence of his virtues were soon recognized after his death, when rival pretensions and interests could no longer cast a cloud over them. The successors of Damasus have united with the East in the celebration of his virtues, and his name has been inscribed on the records of the illustrious prelates of the Church, who in difficult times labored faithfully in the good cause. His example proves that a man may attain to sanctity and salvation, although, from misconception and misrepresentation, he be not favored with the special marks of communion with the Chief Bishop: but it offers no security to such as persevere in sects separated from the Church, contrary to the divine law, which enjoins submission to our lawful pastors, and contrary to the divine constitution of the Church, the distinctive principle of whose organization is unity. Meletius was neither the leader nor member of a sect. He held the truth as it is in Christ; he received with docility the teaching of the Chief Bishop; he claimed and professed adhesion to his authority, and it was his misfortune, not his fault, that he could not succeed in dissipating the suspicions that deprived him of the encouraging smile of the successor of Peter.

The great solicitude of the bishops of Antioch to enjoy the communion of the Apostolic See, appears from the efforts made by St. John Chrysostom on his elevation to the See of Constantinople. He had been priest of that Church, and he charged the ambassadors whom he sent to notify the Pope of his own election, to use their influence to

\* Ep. ccxiv. Terentio comiti.

obtain the recognition likewise of Flavian, bishop of Antioch. Ambassadors also came from Flavian himself, as Innocent I. testifies: "The Church of Antioch, which the blessed apostle Peter illustrated by his presence, before he came to the city of Rome, as a sister of the Roman Church, did not suffer herself to be long estranged from her, for having sent ambassadors, she sought and obtained peace."\* The misunderstanding had lasted seventeen years; but it implied no difference of belief, or breach of unity. It arose from the difficulty of putting facts in their true light, and dissipating prejudices honestly entertained against individuals. It is freely admitted that in such circumstances the want of direct communion with the Apostolic See may not be fatal to the claims of membership of the Catholic Church: but unity and catholicity manifestly forbid us to consider as members of the Church those who positively reject her communion. Hence John of Constantinople, in 515, addressing Pope Hormisdas, promised to cancel from the diptychs (*sacred tablets*) all who were not in entire harmony with the Apostolic See: "We promise that hereafter the names of such as are separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, such as do not in all things harmonize with the Apostolic See, shall not be recited in the celebration of the sacred mysteries."†

\* Ep. xxiii. Bonifacio col. 852, t. 1. Constant.

† Conc. t. II. col. 1077.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### ANCIENT CONTROVERSIES.

#### § 1. *Disturbances at Corinth.*

It is declared by St. Paul that heresies are attended with advantage, inasmuch as they serve to try men, and to distinguish the faithful and stable from the unsteady and perverse: "there must be also heresies, that they also who are approved, may be made manifest among you."\* They serve, at the same time, to mark more clearly the faith of the Church, which is assailed, and to render it more illustrious. In like manner schisms and controversies, and scandals, become instrumental for good, in the designs of Providence, and afford us a salutary warning, and lead us to respect authority, and shun transgression. Thus in the history of the Church the evils which afflicted her roused the zeal of her prelates, whose authority is thereby more strongly marked for our respect and obedience.

Towards the end of the first century, before the death of St. John, the apostle, violent commotions broke out at Corinth, and the clergy suffered from the sedition of rash and misguided men. The persecutions which about the same time raged at Rome, prevented immediate action on the part of the Church of this city, as is stated in the commencement of the letter of Clement; but as soon as an interval of peace was granted, an effort was made in the name of the Roman Church, and a letter of expostulation and exhortation was sent, which is justly valued among the most precious monuments of Christian antiquity. Messengers were despatched with it, charged to use all exertion to restore order, and re-establish harmony, and to report their proceedings on their return. The letter itself was so esteemed and venerated that long afterwards it was wont to be read publicly in the church of Corinth.† The terms of the letter may not satisfy a critical mind, that superior authority was claimed by the writer, because persuasion is used without any appeal to personal authority: but the judi-

\* 1 Cor. xi. 19.

† Dionys. Cor. apud Euseb. *hist. eccl.* l. iv. c. xxiii.

cious reader will easily understand, that where passions are excited, reasoning, rather than authority, must be employed. The interposition of a distant prelate in the internal affairs of the church of Corinth cannot be accounted for satisfactorily unless by reference to his universal charge, which is sufficiently intimated by the excuse for delay in writing; especially as the apostle John, then residing at Ephesus, was much nearer to them, and could hope to exercise greater personal influence, besides the authority of his office. Had not Clement felt it to be his duty, he scarcely would have ventured, in such circumstances, to address the revolters. That he wrote the letter, although it bears the name of "the Church of God which is at Rome," is attested by Iræneus, a writer of the next age;\* and the title is sufficiently accounted for by the ancient custom of assembling the clergy, and acting by their advice and with their concurrence, on occasions of great importance: yet the bishop and the church were identified in such acts, since, as St. Cyprian remarks, "the church is the people united with the priest and the flock following its pastor; whence you should know that the bishop is in the church, and the church is in the bishop."†

## § 2. *Paschal Controversy.*

The second century affords us more decisive proofs of the authoritative interference of the Bishop of Rome in the affairs of the Eastern churches. A difference of discipline in regard to the time of celebrating Easter existed from the commencement between the churches of Asia Minor and the Western churches. Those alleged the authority of St. John, the evangelist, for celebrating it on the same day as the Jews; thus changing the object of the festival, and commemorating the resurrection of our Lord, whilst these ate of the paschal lamb. The Western churches, especially the Church of Rome, and also the Church of Alexandria, celebrated it on the Sunday following the Jewish feast, not wishing to appear to retain any thing of the abrogated ceremonial. The matter in itself was indifferent, and the various usages may have been originally sanctioned by the respective apostles who founded the churches, since variety in discipline may be expedient, according to local circumstances. In places where the converts from Judaism formed the main body of Christians, their transition to Christianity was rendered less difficult by retaining the day of their solemnity; and thus the usages of the Asiatic churches may have had the sanction of St.

\* L. III. adv. hæc. c. iii.

† Ep. lxi. ad Pupianum.

John. At Rome, and wherever the churches were chiefly composed of converts from heathenism, the same delicate regard to Jewish feelings was not required, and it seemed rather expedient to leave no occasion for supposing that any Judaical observance was still in force among Christians. Anicetus, who held the chair of St. Peter about the middle of the second century, endeavoured to persuade Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, to conform to the more general usage; but the venerable prelate pleaded so strongly in favor of the custom of the Asiatic churches, that Anicetus abstained from any positive prohibition, and treated this illustrious guest with the honor which his virtues and station deserved.

Near the close of the same century, Victor, bishop of Rome, resolved on having recourse to measures of severity. The Western bishops were unanimous in desiring uniformity, and among others, Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, at the head of a synod in Gaul, wrote to the Asiatic churches, strongly recommending it.\* By a Roman synod, over which Victor presided, a letter to the same effect was issued in his name, and the bishops of Asia were urged by him to hold synods, in order to bring about the change.† At Cæsarea of Palestine a numerous council was held, and a canon was passed that the Paschal festival should thenceforward be celebrated on Sunday: but Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, with a synod in which he presided, persisted in defending the usages of the Asiatic churches. Victor resolved on cutting them off from his communion, which so alarmed Irenæus, that he wrote an earnest letter of remonstrance, deprecating the loss of so many churches to Catholic unity, for an observance which had been so long tolerated, and reminding him of the wise indulgence of Anicetus, who treated Polycarp with marked distinction, notwithstanding the tenacity wherewith he clung to the Asiatic usage.‡ All these facts are detailed by Eusebius, and are not called in question by any of the learned. Some doubt, however, exists whether Victor actually pronounced a sentence of excommunication, or merely threatened to pronounce it.

Of the justice and wisdom of the course pursued by Victor different sentiments may be entertained: but it cannot be fairly doubted that he claimed authority over the Asiatic churches, and, at least, threatened to employ it, in the severest manner, to compel them to conform to

\* See letter of Irenæus, *inter Ep. Rom.* Coustant. col. 105.

† See letter of Polycrates to Victor, *ibidem* col. 100. He states that he had summoned the bishops at his request.

‡ L. v. hist. eccl. c. xxiii. xxiv.



the more general usage. The pertinacious adherence of Polycrates and other bishops to the custom of the East, may be used to shew that the ancient rites of local churches should not be wantonly proscribed, even by the bishop of Rome. It does not shew that his authority was called in question. In the letter of the synod the precedents are insisted on, as justifying the practice, whilst the obvious reply is omitted, which would have been, at once, conclusive, had he no right to control the churches of the East. The holding of the councils at his solicitation, the compliance of some, the plea of ancient precedent strongly urged by others, the remonstrance of Irenæus against precipitate severity, all concur to shew that the authority of Victor was admitted by all, although the justice, or expediency, of its exercise was questioned. This is all, that is implied in the words of Polycrates: "I am not at all moved by the threats held out to me: for greater than me have said: 'It becometh us to obey God, rather than men.'"\* It is plain that he considered Victor as commanding, and menacing; but that under the false impression that the day prescribed by God to the Jews was still obligatory, he refused obedience to what he deemed an unjust precept, and an abuse of authority. Had he recognised in him no power to command, he would surely have, at once, repelled the attempt to dictate to him, and plainly denied his right of interference.

If Victor actually issued an excommunication, his claim to superior power is manifest;† but that it was a groundless pretension might be inferred from the language of Eusebius, who says that he attempted to cut them off from the unity of the Church. From the terms of the historian it is more probable that Victor merely threatened; but if he be supposed to have issued the sentence, the remonstrances of Irenæus and others sufficiently account for the continuance of the Asiatic bishops in communion, if, indeed, they so continued, since we may well believe that Victor yielded to the counsel of so eminent a bishop. From the whole narrative it is clear that the threat was not considered that of impotency—that the censure was not regarded as a *brutum fulmen*, but that

\* Vide inter Rom. Pontif. epist. studio Petri Coustant t. i. col. 99.

† Archbishop Potter speaks of the act of Victor as unjust, but adds: "however, it is a good evidence that excommunication was used at this time in the Church."—*On Church Government*, p. 335. He might have said with equal truth, that it is good evidence that the Roman Bishop claimed and exercised power over the bishops of Asia, and that these claims were not called in question, even when the exercise of the power was complained of.

every effort was used to avert the measure, or to induce its revocation.\* I have spoken hypothetically as if Victor were rash or unjust in this exercise of authority, my object being merely to prove that the authority itself was claimed, exercised and acknowledged. The judgment of the whole Church has however sustained the Pontiff, since the obstinate adherents to the Eastern usage, being found tainted with error in believing that the Jewish solemnity was still so far obligatory, were finally classed among heretics, under the name of *Quartodecimani*, in the great council of Nice. This is not the only instance in which the Pontiffs have shown their enlightened zeal to reform usages pregnant with danger to the integrity of Christian faith, and have received the highest homage that could be rendered to their wisdom, by the final adhesion of the episcopal body and the whole Church.

### § 3. *Anti-Pope.*

In the middle of the third century the office of Chief Bishop was already surrounded with a degree of secular importance sufficient to attract ambition, so that Novatian, a priest of the Roman Church, made a violent effort to occupy the See, vacant by the death of St. Fabian. No sooner had he procured his consecration, in a most irregular and sacrilegious manner, than he despatched messengers in various directions to deceive the bishops, and gain their support. St. Cyprian writing to the lawful Pontiff, Cornelius, informs him of their arrival at Carthage, and their efforts to mislead him, and of the caution used by him to ascertain the real facts. The African bishops had previously sent ambassadors to Rome, who had assisted at the ordination of Cornelius, and on their return dissipated every doubt as to the regularity of the election. In vain did the emissaries of Novatian "seek there to draw into schism the members of Christ, and to divide and rend asunder the one body of the Catholic Church." They were admonished by Cyprian, and his colleagues, that "it was impious to forsake their mother," and that "if they professed themselves followers of the Gospel and of Christ, they should return to the Church."† The letter of Cornelius announcing his ordination, according to ancient custom, was publicly read in the church of Carthage, and letters despatched by Cyprian to the bishops of his province, and they were admonished to

\* See Dissertazione 59. Raccolta del Zaccaria.

† Cyprianus Cornelio ep. 1 inter Rom. Pontif. epist. I. Constant tom. 1 col. 136.

write in reply, and send ambassadors to the Pontiff, as Cyprian himself had done.\* The schismatics who refused the communion of Cornelius, are described by Cyprian as "refusing the bosom and embrace of the root and mother," expressions which he often applies to the Roman Church; and their creation of another bishop he says is "against the mystery once delivered of the Divine disposition and of Catholic unity." He thought proper to use his influence to bring back the schismatics to unity, and wrote to them a short letter exhorting them "to return to their mother, that is, the Catholic Church," but he took the precaution to send it by his sub-deacon to Cornelius, with orders not to deliver it except it met with his entire approbation.†

When several priests who had been involved in the schism, returned to the Catholic communion, Cornelius communicated the joyful tidings to Cyprian, giving the very words which they had used in their public abjuration: "We know," said they, "that Cornelius was chosen by God Almighty and Christ our Lord, bishop of the most holy Catholic Church. . . . We are not ignorant that there is one God, one Christ the Lord, whom we have confessed, one Holy Spirit, and that there should be one bishop in the Catholic Church." Although this is immediately directed to exclude Novatian, it gives to Cornelius the title of "bishop of the Catholic Church," which could scarcely be given without qualification to a mere diocesan, and it recognises "one bishop in the Catholic Church," which is verified in the presidency of one over the whole Church. St. Cyprian insists on the regularity of the election of Cornelius, and the subsequent assent of the whole episcopacy, and infers that Novatian, in claiming the title of Roman Bishop, in opposition to the lawful Pope, becomes an alien from the Catholic Church. "Cornelius was made Bishop according to the judgment of God, and of His Christ, according to the testimony of almost all the clergy, with the suffrage of the people who were present on the occasion, and he was selected from the college of aged priests and good men; when no one had been appointed before him, and the place of Fabian, that is, THE PLACE OF PETER, and the dignity of the priestly chair was vacant: which place being occupied according to the will of God, and being strengthened by the consent of us all, whoever now seeks to be made bishop must necessarily be *without*, nor can he have ecclesiastical ordination who does not hold the unity of the Church. Whoever he be, though he vaunt himself and put forward great claims, he is a profane man, a stranger, he is *without*. And since after the first there can be

\* Apud Constant ep. II. t. 1, col. 128.

† Ibidem ep. III. col. 131.

no second, whosoever was made (*bishop*) after the one who alone should be such, is not the second, but he is no bishop.”\*

This language shews that Cornelius was no ordinary bishop, but the Bishop of the Catholic Church, resistance to whose authority, or usurpation of whose power, involved forfeiture of Catholic communion. Of any schismatical claimant of episcopacy the same language might be used, but in a qualified sense, inasmuch as usurpation of the sacred office to the prejudice of the lawful bishop is an act of schism, liable to the punishment of excommunication: but in its obvious sense it is verified with regard to the Roman Bishop, because he alone is Bishop of the Catholic Church.

#### § 4. *Controversy concerning Baptism.*

The dispute concerning baptism administered in heretical sects rose to a high pitch of excitement in the middle of the third century. The various sects that denied the mystery of the Trinity, naturally introduced changes into the form of words used in baptizing, whereby it was entirely vitiated; and, of course, no account was had of the act, when converts from those sects sought to be admitted to the Catholic Church. The custom of baptizing such persons was extended in some parts of Africa to converts from all the sects, even to such as had been baptized with the due form of words, which usage had received the sanction of Agrippinus, bishop of Carthage, in a council held in the early part of the third century. St. Cyprian thought proper to add his approval in several councils, and through horror for heresy, and reverence for Catholic unity, “reprobating the baptism of heretics, he sent the African synod held on this subject, to Stephen, who was at that time bishop of the city of Rome.”† The ambassadors of Cyprian were not received to communion by Stephen, who was highly displeased at this attempt to establish a usage different from the general custom of the Church, founded on ancient tradition. He sent to Cyprian a command in these terms: “Let no change be made, contrary to what has been handed down.” The decree of the Pontiff was received with murmurs by the bishops of Africa. Cyprian, at their head, in a subsequent council, continued to adhere to the usage previously sanctioned, professing, however, that he did not mean to force others to conform to his favorite practice, or to withdraw his communion from them, since each was responsible to God for the administra-

\* Ad Antonianum.

† St. Jerom, Dial. adv. Lucifer.

tion of his diocess. "No one of us," he says, "constitutes himself a bishop of bishops, or compels his colleagues by tyrannical terror to the necessity of obedience, since every bishop has his own judgment according to the liberty of his power, and can no more be judged by another, than he can judge another. Let us all await the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone has the power both to place us over the government of His Church, and to judge of our conduct."\* Were these words taken as they sound they would suppose each bishop absolute and independent, whereas all antiquity attests that the action of individual bishops may be directed and controlled by synodical enactments—not to speak at present of the authority of the Holy See,—and that delinquents may be removed for mal-administration, or misconduct. St. Cyprian, then, cannot be thought to declare the absolute independence of each individual bishop. He himself, as we shall hereafter see, had solicited the Pontiff to remove Marcian from Arles, and he had approved of the deposition of Basilides made in a Spanish council. The liberty which he claimed was in matters not decided by the supreme authority of the Church, as St. Augustin understands him.† He stated, with complacency, that neither he himself nor any of his African colleagues, acted as bishop of bishops, because all were willing to allow a difference of sentiment and practice in the matter of baptism, which they did not conceive to interest faith, and which they referred to divine judgment. In reality, faith itself was at stake, for whether sacraments administered by unbelievers, or heretics, or sinners, be valid, or otherwise, depends on the divine institution, which must be ascertained like every other portion of revelation.

Such is the tenor of the extant documents, which are considered by most writers as genuine, although questioned by some so far back as the days of St. Augustin.‡ The practice of baptizing anew converts from heresy had also crept into some provinces of Asia, and "Stephen had written concerning Helenus, and Firmilian, and all the priests through Cilicia, Cappadocia, and all the neighboring provinces, that he would not communicate with them for this very reason, that they rebaptized heretics."§ Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, who states this fact, wrote to Stephen, deprecating this severity.

This serious dispute shews the authority which the Bishop of Rome claimed and exercised in the middle of the third century, and which,

\* *Sententiæ episcoporum lxxxvii. de hæ. bapt*

† *De Bapt. contra Donatistas l. iii. c. iii.*

‡ *Ep. xciii. ad Vincentium Rogat. §. 38.*

§ *Dionys. Alex. apud Euseb. l. v. hist. eccl.*

even when resisted, on account of the supposed abuse of it, was, in fact, acknowledged. The sending of the proceedings of the African synod to Rome was a marked testimony of the pre-eminence of the Roman Bishop, and his immediate action in the case proves that he conceived himself authorized to judge of the correctness of the canons, and to rescind them, when found not to harmonize with the general and ancient usages of the Church. It was viewed in this light by St. Vincent of Lerins, a profound writer of the fifth century, who points to it as an instance wherein novelty was successfully opposed by the successors of Peter. "When, therefore, all cried out from all quarters against the novelty, and all priests, in every place, struggled against it, each according to his zeal, Pope Stephen, of blessed memory, who at that time was prelate of the Apostolic See, in conjunction indeed with his colleagues, but yet more than his colleagues, resisted, THINKING IT FIT, as I suppose, THAT HE SHOULD SURPASS ALL OTHERS IN THE DEVOTEDNESS OF HIS FAITH, AS MUCH AS HE EXCELLED THEM BY THE AUTHORITY OF HIS STATION. Finally, in the epistle which was then sent to Africa, he decreed in these words: that 'NO INNOVATION SHOULD BE ADMITTED, BUT WHAT WAS HANDED DOWN SHOULD BE RETAINED.' What power had the African council or decree? None, through the mercy of God."\*

The history of this controversy plainly proves, that on both sides it was maintained that Stephen held the place of Peter. We are asked how could Cyprian have dared resist, if he had regarded Stephen as his ecclesiastical superior? The answer is obvious. Because he believed that Stephen rashly employed his authority to proscribe a practice intimately connected with the unity and sanctity of the Church. Respectful remonstrance is permissible, whereas authority is injudiciously exercised, and resistance itself is justifiable when power is abused to the prejudice of truth and piety. Cyprian felt that to acknowledge the baptism of heretics, was virtually to sanction heresy, by communicating to an adulteress the unalienable privileges of the pure Spouse of Christ; and resting on her acknowledged unity, he rejected the pretensions of every other body. Stephen relied on ancient usage and tradition, and proscribed the novel usage, and the decree made in its support: but he did not issue a formal definition of faith. What the conduct of Cyprian would have been, had the question been fully canvassed and cleared up in his day, by ascertaining the general practice and ancient tradition, it is superfluous to inquire: but in the facts

\* Commonit. c. viii.

of the case, we have proofs of a most unequivocal exercise of superior authority on the part of the Pontiff, and an argument against its exercise derived from his station, as successor of Peter, and official guardian of Catholic unity. On this point Firmilian of Cappadocia especially relied. "I am," said he, "justly indignant at this open and manifest folly of Stephen, who, whilst he boasts of the place of his bishopric, and contends that he holds the succession of Peter, UPON WHOM THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE CHURCH WERE PLACED, brings in, nevertheless, many other rocks, and builds the new edifices of many Churches, defending their baptism by his authority." The greatness of the error, and the strange blindness of him who says that the remission of sins can be given in the synagogues of heretics, and does not abide on the foundation of THE ONE CHURCH, WHICH WAS ONCE BUILT BY CHRIST ON THE ROCK, may be understood from this, that TO PETER ALONE CHRIST SAID: 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.'\* Had the claims of Stephen to the place and authority of Peter been questionable, Firmilian doubtless would have denied them; but he contents himself with drawing thence an argument for his error, and accuses Stephen of dishonoring the memory of the apostles Peter and Paul, by referring to them the usage of admitting the baptism administered by heretics. The irreverent language which he uses towards Stephen is an evidence of the warmth of feeling wherewith he defended his favorite practice, in opposition to the high authority which condemned it. Had it been in his power to deny the authority itself, he would surely have done it in no measured terms.

Writing to Jubaian, against baptism administered by heretics, St. Cyprian in like manner maintained that the remission of sins cannot be imparted by it, because heretics have no share in the powers of forgiveness granted to Peter, the foundation of the Church, and the source of unity, which power was communicated to the other apostles likewise: "It is manifest where and through whom the remission of sins can be given, namely, that which is given in baptism. For THE LORD GAVE THIS POWER TO PETER IN THE FIRST PLACE, ON WHOM HE BUILT HIS CHURCH, AND WHENCE HE ESTABLISHED AND SHEWED THE ORIGIN OF UNITY; that what he would loose on earth, might be loosed also in heaven. And after the resurrection, he speaks to the apostles likewise, saying: 'As the Father hath sent me, I also send you.'† "The

\* Ep. Firmiliani Inter Cyprian.

† Ep. lxxiii. §. 7. Jubajano. Paris. lxxii.

Lord cries out: Let him that thirsteth come and drink of the streams of living water that flow from Him. Whither shall he come who thirsts?—to the heretics, where there is no fountain and river of the water of life, or to the Church, which is one, and WAS FOUNDED BY THE VOICE OF THE LORD UPON ONE, WHO ALSO RECEIVED THE KEYS OF IT?\*

Although St. Cyprian, under the erroneous persuasion that baptism administered by heretics is not valid, uses these texts to establish this false position, the mention of the Primacy is thereby nowise weakened. His admission that Peter was the rock, on which Christ built His Church, and that he is the source of unity, is the more important, inasmuch as it was his interest to call it in question, whilst he resisted a mandate of the bishop whom he acknowledged to hold the place of Peter. "Custom," he says elsewhere, "must not be allowed to prescribe, but reason must prevail. For neither did Peter, WHOM THE LORD CHOSE TO BE FIRST, AND ON WHOM HE BUILT HIS CHURCH, when Paul afterwards disputed with him in regard to circumcision, insolently claim, nor arrogantly assume anything, saying that he held the Primacy, and should be obeyed by those who were new and posterior to him. Nor did he despise Paul, because he had been a persecutor of the Church, but he admitted the counsel of truth, and readily agreed to the just reason which Paul alleged, giving us an example of concord and patience, that we should not obstinately cherish our own sentiments, but rather adopt as our own those which are sometimes usefully and wisely suggested by our brethren and colleagues."† This observation is evidently directed to show that Stephen should not rest on his superior authority, but rather imitate the condescension of Peter, who, waiving the consideration of his own Primacy, yielded to the remonstrance of Paul.

We are not certain whether St. Cyprian finally conformed to the decree of St. Stephen. St. Jerom says: that "his effort (*to change the ancient custom*) proved vain; and finally those very bishops, who with him had determined that heretics should be re-baptized, turning back to the ancient custom, issued a new decree."‡ St. Vincent of Lerins does not mention his name as the defender of the African usage. Eusebius mentions it, but does not state any act of his posterior to the pontifical prohibition.§ St. Augustin supposes him to have retracted,

\* Ep. lxxiii. §. II.

† Cypr. ad Quint. Ep. lxxi. p. 297. Ed. Wirceb. Stephen opposed the ancient usages to the novelty: the writer replies that reason should prevail over usage, and that Stephen should not rest on his superior authority.

‡ Dial. adv. Lucifer.

§ L. vii. c. iii. hist. eccl.



if he at all entertained the erroneous views imputed to him, or at least to have persevered in unity, and atoned for the involuntary error, by the abundance of his charity, and fortitude of his confession. In reply to the Donatists he says: "Cyprian either did not at all think, as you represent him to have thought, or he afterwards corrected the error by the rule of truth; or he covered this blemish, as it were, of his fair breast, with the abundance of his charity, whilst he defended most eloquently the unity of the Church spread throughout the whole world, and held most steadfastly the bond of peace."\* "If this glorious branch (*of the mystical vine*)"—says he, elsewhere, "had in this respect any need of any purification, it was cleansed by the glorious scythe of martyrdom, not because he was slain for the name of Christ, but because he was slain in the bosom of unity for the name of Christ: for he himself wrote, and most confidently asserted, that they who are out of unity, though they should die for that name, may be slain, but cannot be crowned."† "You are, indeed, accustomed to object to us the letters of Cyprian, the opinion of Cyprian, the council of Cyprian: why do you take the authority of Cyprian for your schism, and reject his example for the peace of the Church?"‡

#### §. 5. *Donatism.*

The Donatists were originally engaged in a mere personal contest, wherein the disappointed ambition of an individual was chiefly interested. They sought to induce the emperor Constantine to second their efforts against Cecilius the Catholic bishop of Carthage, who had been ordained by Felix of Aptugna, accused by them of having betrayed the sacred books to the heathens in times of persecution. Constantine, says St. Augustin, "not daring to judge a bishop, committed to bishops the trial and decision of the case: which took place in the city of Rome, Melchiades, bishop of that Church, presiding, with many of his colleagues."§ He ordered the parties to sail to Rome, and present themselves before the Bishop of the See, with three bishops of Gaul, as was conformable to the divine law.|| This law required, in the judgment of Constantine, that a bishop should be judged, not by a secular tribunal, but by bishops, where the very title to his office depended on the issue of the trial. The same law constituted the Bishop of Rome chief or supreme judge, whence the sentence is ascribed to

\* Ep. Vincent.

† Ep. c. viii. ad Macr.

‡ S. Aug. l. ii. de bapt. contra Donat. c. iii. p. 98.

§ Epist. ev. olim xvi.

|| Vide ep. Constantini Miltiadi.

him by St. Augustin and Optatus. That Melchiades sat in judgment, of his own right, as the highest ecclesiastical judge, appears from the freedom with which he acted, in selecting a number of Italian bishops to aid him in the trial. It had been the wish of the Donatists to induce Constantine to submit the case for examination to the bishops of Gaul, where persecution had not raged under Constantius Chlorus; from which circumstance they affected to hope for a more impartial investigation of the alleged guilt of the African bishops: and the emperor so far yielded as to associate three bishops of that nation with Melchiades in judgment: but the Pontiff felt that their presence was intended to satisfy the Donatists of the impartiality of the trial, without interfering with the rights of his See, and he summoned fifteen Italian bishops to unite in hearing the cause: a liberty which he could not have taken, were he acting as a mere delegate of the emperor. This could not add to, or take from his intrinsic authority, but it was calculated to give civil force to his sentence, and thus to engage the civil power to put it in execution.

The moderation and indulgence of Melchiades in the case of the Donatists are justly admired by St. Augustin. A secular judge rigorously decides according to the letter of the law, and merits of the case, and generally has no power to qualify or mitigate the sentence. The ecclesiastical judge has truth and justice always in view, but he is empowered to temper the exercise of justice, so as to procure the salvation of the guilty, and dispose them for submission, not only by remitting the penalty, but even by extending favor. Thus it was that Melchiades, after he had pronounced Cecilian innocent, undertook to win to peace his criminal prosecutors. "How admirable," exclaims Augustin, "was the final sentence of Melchiades! how faultless! how upright! how provident and peaceful! By it he did not venture to remove from the college of bishops his colleagues, against whom nothing had been proved, and having passed special censure on Donatus alone, whom he had found to be the author of the whole disorder, he gave to the others the opportunity of regaining a sound state, being ready to give letters of communion even to such as were known to have been ordained by Majorinus, so that wherever there were two bishops, in consequence of the dissension, he ordered him who had been first ordained to be confirmed in the See, and another flock to be committed to the government of the other. O! excellent man! O! child of Christian peace, and father of the Christian people!"\* The power

\* Ep. xliii. olim. clxii. n. 16.

and authority of Melchiades are manifest from this decision. He regulates the claims of the contending parties, and requires from some such sacrifice of rights as is necessary to promote harmony. He removes bishops to other sees for no fault, but according to the accidental circumstance of priority of ordination, and for the general interests of Christian unity. He regulates the affairs of the distant Churches of Africa, with entire freedom, but with a strict regard to order, peace and charity.

The complaints of the Donatists to Constantine of the injustice of the Roman sentence appear to many to have assumed the form of an appeal, which, however, does not seem to be the case, since it is not usual for judges, from whose sentence the appeal is lodged, to sit in the higher court, and revise the cause with their colleagues. It is certain that Constantine granted a new trial, to take place in a numerous assembly at Arles, in which the Roman judges were present, and Melchiades was represented by his legates. This was a measure, which he declared to be altogether unnecessary, but he wished to confound their boldness by the number of their judges, who, he felt confident, would renew the sentence already passed on them. The matter as yet was personal, rather than doctrinal: the trial of a bishop was acknowledged to be of ecclesiastical cognizance: Constantine could well have closed their mouths for ever, by insisting on the execution of the Roman sentence; but he suffered himself to be importuned, until he granted that which was irregular, as well as unnecessary, the rehearing of the cause, even without the formality of an appeal. The weakness of the prince only served to shew forth more splendidly the eminent dignity of the Pontiff, who acquiesced in the revision of the cause, and despatched his legates to preside in his place, being unwilling to leave any thing untried which could place the facts in clearer light, and lead the misguided to the peace and unity of the Church.

In the Council which was held in 314, bishops were assembled from Sicily, Campania, Apulia, Dalmatia, Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, Mauritania, Sardinia, Africa, Numidia, who, at the conclusion of their proceedings addressed "the most beloved, most glorious Pope, Sylvester," in terms of deserved reverence, denoting his apostolic authority. "Would to God, most beloved brother, you had been present at this great spectacle: we feel convinced that a severer sentence would have been passed on them (*the Donatists*); and you sitting in judgment with us, our assembly would have experienced greater exultation. But you could not leave those parts WHEREIN THE APOSTLES SIT (*in judgment*),

and their blood incessantly attests the divine glory.”\* They communicate to him their decrees on various points, that through him, who *had the great dioceses* under his charge, they might be communicated to all the Churches. This is no equivocal evidence that he had charge of all. The greater weight of the authority of the Roman Bishop appears from the severity of the sentence which was expected from him; and his apostolic office, as successor of the apostles, is clearly marked as the source of his authority.

The Donatists appealed, as in a secular and profane cause, to the final judgment of the emperor, who yielded again, and took cognizance of it, and confirmed the decision.

I am not interested to prove that Melchiades of his own right could have tried and judged the African bishops, without the aid of any council, or the liberty of appeal. It is not my purpose at this time, to advance any thing liable to dispute. The facts are, there was an imperial rescript directing Melchiades and three others to take cognizance of it: there was a rehearing, and an appeal. All I now insist on is, that in all this the eminent authority of the Roman Bishop was manifest, and that he exercised a power which the emperor could not delegate, by decreeing a rule to be observed in regard to the Donatist bishops returning to unity.

Thus it is clear that in the chief controversies of the second, third and fourth centuries, the authority of the Roman Bishop was exercised and admitted. To imagine him interfering in Asia and in Africa, and menacing the bishops with excommunication, without having any superior authority to them, is to indulge fancy against the evidence of facts.

\* Ep. II. Syn. Arelat.

## CHAPTER IX.

### GUARDIANSHIP OF FAITH.

As the confession of the divinity of Christ gave occasion to the sublime promise of the Primacy, and the prayer of Christ was offered for Peter that his faith might not fail, it is the chief duty of his successors to guard with jealous care the integrity of divine revelation. Theophylact, a Greek Father, thus interprets the address of our Lord to Peter at the last supper. "Since I regard you as prince of the disciples, after you shall have wept for denying me, confirm your brethren, for it behoves you to do so, since you, after me, are the rock and foundation of the Church."\* This duty has been strictly and egregiously discharged by the long series of Roman Bishops, whose Primacy has been signally exercised in proclaiming the divine truths without reserve, and proscribing every error opposed to them, by whomsoever broached; as undoubted facts of ecclesiastical history most clearly shew. In the confidence that the prayer of Christ was effectual, each Pontiff exercised his high prerogative, and gave to Him the glory: "He asked and He obtained;" says Innocent, speaking of the prayer of Christ, "since He was always heard for His reverence: and on that account the faith of the Apostolic See has never failed in any difficulty, but has always remained entire and undefiled, that the privilege of Peter might continue inviolate."†

From a very early period, heretics sought to corrupt the doctrine of the Roman Church, whose faith, even before St. Paul visited it, was celebrated throughout the whole world: but in nothing has the providence of God been more manifest, than in the preservation of faith in all its integrity in this Church, and in the energy wherewith its bishops have contended for it as originally delivered, and the power with which they have struck down every novelty. With truth they especially can say: that their weapons "are powerful through God to the destruction of fortifications, subverting of counsels, and every height that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every understanding to the obedience of Christ, and having

\* In Luc. xxii.

† Serm. II. in consecr. Pont. Max.

in readiness to revenge every disobedience.”\* The Pope, in proscribing error, is guided by the tradition of the Roman Church, derived from her founders, as St. Irenæus states, and by the tradition of all the Churches, which being in close communion with him, concur in their testimony. The faith of which he is the guardian, is not his mere private sentiment, much less his conjecture; but that which the Father has revealed, and which having been once delivered to the Saints, can never be lost, or adulterated, whilst the words of Christ retain their force. It is not any prevailing opinion among the clergy of Rome which he proposes to be believed, but that doctrine which is contained in the symbols of faith, which, together with his colleagues throughout the world, he has received from his predecessors. When Pope Leo sent to Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, the exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation, he only undertook to state “what the Catholic Church universally believes and teaches,” as he declared in his letter to the Emperor Theodosius.† The doctrinal definitions made in General Councils the Pope receives and venerates, even as he venerates the four Gospels, and he possesses or claims no power to take from the original deposit of revelation, or to add to it, or to remove the limits which the Fathers have placed. It is his duty to watch over the entire kingdom of Christ, from the high tower on which he is placed as sentinel, and to sound the alarm when the enemy approaches. Heresy in every form and shape instinctively hates him, because she dreads him, since he always strikes the first or final blow at every innovation. Before the middle of the second century, Valentine, Cerdon, and Marcion came to Rome from the East, and endeavored to spread there, secretly and publicly, their heresies, which were levelled at the very foundations of Christianity. The integrity of the Roman faith suffered nothing from their attempts; so that Cerdon, despairing of success, dissembled his errors, professed repentance, and underwent public humiliation in the Church, for the sake of obtaining her communion: and when his hypocrisy was laid open, he was again forced to retire from the assembly of the faithful.‡ The heresies of Marcion, and his flagitious conduct, prevented his being restored to communion, of which he had been deprived by his father the bishop of Synope.

The Montanist heresy, which condemned second marriages, and denied the remissibility of heinous sins, prevailed in various parts of Asia Minor and Phrygia in the decline of the second century, and a plausible apology for its professors had been offered to the Roman Bi-

\* II. Cor. x. 4.

† Ep. xxix.

‡ Irenæus l. iii. c. iv.

shop, who was almost persuaded that they were unjustly charged with error. If Tertullian can be relied on, a letter was already prepared, directed to the Asiatic Churches, instructing them to admit the Montanists to communion. It is certain, however, that on the arrival at Rome of Praxeas, who unveiled their artifices, the Pope issued a letter condemnatory of the sect, in conformity with the authority of his predecessors. The martyrs of Lyons had addressed Eleutherius, urging him to oppose them;\* which shews that they regarded him as bound by his office to watch over the integrity of faith in Asia, equally as in the city of Rome itself. The efforts of the Montanists to deceive him, and obtain his sanction for their admission to communion, and their disappointment, expressed by Tertullian, at his adoption of the contrary course, show plainly in what light his authority was viewed by all. Sectarists knew him to be the most authoritative teacher in the Church, and the faithful regarded him as the guardian of revelation against every assailant.

The divinity of Christ has been triumphantly maintained in all ages by the successors of Peter against the subtle errors, by which it was from time to time assailed. At the close of the second century, Theodotus, a currier of Byzantium, whilst persecution was raging, had the weakness to deny Christ, and subsequently, as if to extenuate his crime, added heresy to apostasy, alleging that He was but man. The zeal of Pope Victor led him to cut the heresiarch from the communion of the Church.† Zephyrinus, who succeeded him, was an equally strenuous defender of the faith, and admitted to communion Artemon, a bishop of the sect, only after a public abjuration of the profane error. "Clothed with sackcloth, with ashes sprinkled on his head, and with tears in his eyes, he cast himself at the feet of bishop Zephyrinus—and with difficulty was received to communion."‡

When errors were condemned by local bishops, the confirmation of Rome was sought to give authority to the sentence. Origen was condemned by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, and Jerom remarks: "Rome consented to the condemnation."§ The illustrious teacher sent to Pope Fabian an exposition of his faith, as Eusebius testifies,|| to satisfy him that his works had been adulterated, and that his sentiments

\* Euseb. l. v. hist. c. iii.

† Irenæus l. iii. c. iv. n. 3. Euseb. l. iv. c. xxviii. Theodor. l. ii. hæc. fab.

‡ Ex antiqui scriptoris libro adversus Artemonis hæc. apud Constant. Epist. Rom. Pontif. vol. i. col. 110.

§ Apud. Rufin. Invect. l. ii.

|| L. vi. hist. eccl. c. xxxvi.

were sound. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, fell under suspicion of entertaining erroneous opinions in regard to the divinity of Christ. St. Athanasius tells us that some of his brethren went to Rome, and accused him before his namesake, the Bishop of this city,\* which shews that the Roman Bishop was known to be the superior and judge of that patriarch, and the highest guardian of faith. The accused prelate did not question the authority of the tribunal, but sent a satisfactory exposition of his faith. Such was the acknowledged authority of the Roman Bishop in the middle of the third century, as testified by an illustrious successor of the Alexandrine patriarch in the following age. The Pope in a Roman synod held on this occasion solemnly declared the orthodox faith.

The heresy of Novatian, who sought to limit the power of forgiveness, was effectually condemned by Cornelius, Bishop of Rome; and a council was convened to aid and sustain him in opposing the error.† In the violent and long struggle with Arianism in all its forms, the Holy See was the constant defender of the Nicene faith. To this symbol as final and essential reference was made by the Pontiffs and their Legates, whereby the artifices of the Arians and Semiarrians were effectually defeated. They spoke of the 318 Fathers of the Council of Nice, as of the host of faithful Abraham, by whom the enemies of the divinity of Christ were routed, and they considered their definition as made under the guidance of the Holy Ghost. Whilst many bishops proved recreant to their trust, and either openly abandoned the ancient faith, or exposed it to corruption by the profane novelty of words, the successor of Peter held to the form of sound words delivered by the Nicene Fathers, and acknowledged Jesus Christ to be GOD OF GOD, LIGHT OF LIGHT, TRUE GOD OF TRUE GOD, CONSUBSTANTIAL TO THE FATHER, and constantly rejected every suggestion of expediency, whereby the divine truth might be endangered. In the perplexity which distressed pious minds on seeing Arians intruded by imperial power into many episcopal sees, and the face of the Church obscured by the clouds of heresy, it was consolatory to behold the successor of

\* "Romam ascenderunt, ibique eum apud Dionysium ejusdem nominis Romanum præsulem accusaverunt." De Sent. Dionys. Alex. p. 345. Also de Syn. Nic. p. 371. Bishop Bull makes mention of "the Roman synod held under their bishop Dionysius, in the cause of Dionysius of Alexandria, who was accused by some of the Church of Pentapolis, of denying the consubstantiality of the Son of God."—Discourse IV. p. 189, vol. 2. Oxford Edit. 1816.

† Apud Euseb. l. vi. hist. eccl.



Peter proclaiming without hesitation and without disguise the divine truth which Peter learned from the Father. The acts of the Popes against the abettors of Arianism were in accordance with these principles. Valens and Ursacius obtained communion from Julius, on renouncing the Arian heresy, embracing the communion of Athanasius, and promising not to intervene, without permission of the Pope, at an Eastern synod, if called to give an account for this act. They declare themselves encouraged to renounce the sect especially "because your Holiness according to your innate goodness has vouchsafed to pardon our error."\* They make a profession of faith to satisfy him of their orthodoxy. They were afterwards cut off from the communion of the Church by Damasus, on account of their relapse into heresy, for which act St. Athanasius returned him thanks.† In these facts the Roman Bishop manifestly acted as the highest judge and guardian of faith, and exercised unequivocal authority over other bishops.

It has been alleged, and for a long time admitted without contradiction, that Pope Liberius, whom Constantius drove into exile for his attachment to the true faith, purchased his liberty, and regained his See, by the sacrifice of his principles and conscience. His defence of orthodoxy subsequently as well as previously to his banishment, is unquestionable, and he is known to have rescinded, by the authority of Blessed Peter, the acts of the council of Rimini. The want of the sanction of Liberius is relied on by Pope Damasus in his letter to the bishops of Illyricum as proving that the decrees of Rimini were of no effect, since "the Roman bishop, whose sentiment above all should be regarded—did not consent to them."‡ I am not interested in denying his fall, for the weakness of a prisoner, however criminal, would not destroy the prerogatives of the successor of Peter, when acting freely and authoritatively: but the account given by Theodoret, a Greek historian of high repute, leaves no doubt on my mind that the fall of Liberius was a fiction of the Arians, which was believed on mere popular rumor, and received without examination by subsequent ages. St. Athanasius informs us that the zeal of Liberius against Arianism excited the abettors of this heresy to make efforts to corrupt him knowing the influence of his station and example. "If we succeed," said they, "in gaining Liberius to our opinion, we shall soon overcome all."§ Constantius commissioned the eunuch Eusebius to treat with him, and induce him to condemn Athanasius; but he was inflexible:

\* Ep. v. apud Constant t. 1. col. 405. † Ep. ad. Afros.

‡ Ep. III. t. 1, Constant. col. 486.

§ Athanas. *ad vitam solit. agentia*.

"We have not," he replied, "such a tradition from the Fathers, who also received it from the blessed and great apostle Peter."\* He insisted on the reception of the Nicene faith, and preferred exile to the occupancy of his See, if the betrayal of his duty were the condition of it. His replies to the emperor, in the audience at Milan, were justly admired for their intrepidity, and are recorded with praise by Theodoret.† When Constantius promised that he should return to his See, provided he made peace with the Oriental bishops, enemies of Athanasius, Liberius answered: "I have already bidden farewell to the brethren at Rome, for the laws of the Church are dearer to me than my dwelling at Rome."

That Liberius never swerved from this determination is perceived from Theodoret, who says: "The glorious champion of truth went therefore into Thrace, as was ordered." His return is ascribed by him to the entreaties of the Roman matrons, who presented themselves in a body to Constantius, on his visit to Rome in 357. The emperor wished, indeed, that Felix, intruded by him into the See, should share with Liberius the administration; but the people cried out: "ONE GOD, ONE CHRIST, ONE BISHOP." "After these pious and just acclamations of the most Christian people, the admirable Liberius returned."‡ It is utterly improbable that Constantius should have promised to the people to restore Liberius, and yet made the execution of his promise depend on the fulfilment of a condition repugnant to the faith and principles of the people, as well as of the Pontiff! It is unlikely that Theodoret should have known nothing of such terms, or knowing them, should have passed them over in silence, and heaped praise on Liberius! Sulpicius Severus, a cotemporary writer,§ and Socrates|| ascribe the return of Liberius to seditions of the Romans, which statement is easily reconcilable with that of Theodoret, since the matrons may have supplicated, and the fear of tumult from other classes may have concurred. Sozomen says that "the Roman people ardently loved Liberius, "a man in all respects illustrious, who bravely resisted the emperor in the cause of religion."¶ St. Athanasius says of Liberius and Osius: "they preferred to suffer every calamity, rather than betray the truth, or our cause."\*\* St. Jerom testifies that the Roman people, who were utterly opposed to the Arians, went forth to meet him on his return, and that he entered the city in triumph.†† This saint, however, believed the reports spread by the Arians of the crimi-

\* Athanas. *hist. Arian. ad monach.* n. 37.

† L. II. *hist. eccl.* c. xv. xvi.

‡ L. II. c. xvii.

§ L. II. *hist. sacr.*

|| L. II. *hist. c.* xxxvii.

¶ L. iv. *hist. c.* xv.

\*\* Apol. II.

†† In *Chronico.*

nal condescension by which Liberius obtained his liberty, if his writings be not interpolated, but the persuasion of so distinguished a man can scarcely counterbalance the inference which his triumphant reception warrants, besides the positive testimonies of Theodoret, Socrates and Sulpitius. The passages in Athanasius affirming the fall of Liberius appear to be interpolations, since they do not at all harmonize with his assertion concerning the continued sufferings of the Pontiff for his cause. The fragments of Hilarius which pronounce anathema to Liberius, are evidently supposititious, and unworthy of the great writer, to whom they have been ascribed.\*

Liberius, although himself free from reproach, shewed lenity to the bishops who had yielded to coercion, and had been beguiled by artful professions in the council of Rimini. Writing to the bishops of Italy he declares that the authors of the deception should be treated with severity, but that those who had been the victims of fraud and violence should be allowed to retain their Sees, on making anew the profession of the Catholic and Apostolic faith as declared at Nice.†

Sozomen tells us that Eustathius of Sebaste, Silvanus of Tarsus, and Theophilus of Castabala, were sent as ambassadors, from Lampascus, Smyrna, Pamphylia, Isauria and Lycia, where councils had been held, to Liberius and the bishops of the West, and that they besought them to concert measures, and correct whatever needed correction in the eastern Churches, "since they retained the true and lasting faith delivered by the apostles, and ought above all others to interest themselves in the concerns of religion."‡ Liberius, in the beginning, repelled them, as the known enemies of the Nicene faith; but on their declaring that they had abandoned Arianism, and subscribing to the Nicene creed, he admitted them to communion. In their address they style him: "Lord brother and fellow-priest." In the reply written by the Pope in his own name, and in the name of the Western bishops, he proclaims the faith of Nice, and condemns with anathema the blasphemies of Rimini.§

The faith and sanctity of Liberius are testified by St. Ambrose, who speaks of him as a man of great holiness and blessed memory :|| which would not have been said, had he betrayed the cause of truth. There is then the strongest reason for regarding him as the constant and faith-

\* See Dissertazione di Giosafatte Massari sopra la favolosa caduta di Liberio xi. nella Raccolta di Zaccaria t. III.

† Ep. xiii. inter ep. Rom. Pont. Coustant. t. i. col. 450.

‡ Sozomen l. vi. c. xi.

§ Ep. xv. Coustant. t. i. col. 458.

|| De Virginibus L. III. c. 1.

ful defender of the Nicene faith, which his predecessors had gloriously maintained.

The influence and authority of the Bishop of Rome in controversies of faith were fully recognised in the East at this period. Soon afterwards the heresy of Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, who denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, called for the exertion of the apostolic authority. "When this question was agitated," says Sozomen, the Greek historian, "and the excitement daily increased, the Bishop of the city of Rome, being informed of it, wrote to the churches of the East, that together with the Western bishops they should confess the consubstantial Trinity, equal in honor and glory. All acquiesced in this, the controversy being terminated by the judgment of the Roman Church, and the question appeared at an end."\*

Apollinarius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, in the decline of the fourth century, denied that the Divine Word had assumed a human soul. Damasus, bishop of Rome, was the first to condemn the error, as Sozomen testifies. Peter, the patriarch of Alexandria, driven from his See, fled to Rome for redress, and was present at the council wherein this heresy was condemned, and concurred with Damasus in pronouncing its author an alien from the Catholic Church.† The heretic and his disciple Timothy were both deposed by the judgment of the Apostolic See.‡ The decree of faith was received and subscribed by Meletius, bishop of Antioch, and above 150 Oriental bishops, in a synod held at Antioch, in the year 379. The terms of the subscription are most expressive of unqualified adhesion to the doctrine. At the end of the decree it is said: "This is the end of the epistle or exposition of the Roman synod held under Pope Damasus, and transmitted to the East, wherein the whole Eastern church, having held a synod at Antioch, harmonizes, believing with like faith, all of whom consenting to the faith so explained severally confirm it by their subscription." The first subscription is of the patriarch himself, and is in these terms: "I, Meletius, bishop of Antioch, agree to all that is written, believing and thinking in like manner; and if any one think otherwise, let him be anathema."§

Even the civil authority looked up to the Roman See as the guide in all that appertained to faith. The emperor Theodosius, about the year 380, issued a decree to this effect: "We wish all the nations governed by our clemency to profess the religion, which was delivered to the

\* L. vi. c. xxii.

† Ibidem vi. c. xxv.

‡ Ep. Damasi xiv. ad Orientales.

§ Ep. iv. apud Constant t. i. col. 500.

Romans by the apostle Peter, as the religion handed down by him to the present time declares: and which is manifestly followed by Pope Damasus, and by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness; namely, that according to the apostolic institution, and evangelical doctrine, we should believe the one Deity of the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, with equal majesty and venerable Trinity.\* The reason of uniting the bishop of Alexandria with the Pope, was not only the dignity of his See, but likewise the well known orthodoxy of his faith, since he had been present at the Roman council in which the doctrine had been defined. In the East, on the contrary, errors were spread far and wide, and the faith of many was open to suspicion.

Whilst the Roman Bishop was thus regarded as the authoritative expounder of the faith, he scrupulously adhered to the symbol of Nice, and required its unqualified subscription from all whose faith was suspected. St. Basil, speaking of Eustathius, and his adherents, reproaches him with deviating from the Nicene faith, which he had subscribed at Rome, in order to obtain the communion of the Pope, and which he had brought back with him to the East. "I am surprised," he says, "that they do not reflect that the confession of the faith of Nice to which they subscribed, is preserved at Rome, and that with their own hands they presented to the synod of Tyana the book from Rome, which we still have, containing the same faith. They have forgotten their own harangue on that occasion, when advancing to the middle of the assembly, they mourned over their mistake, into which they had been betrayed, in subscribing the document prepared by the faction of Eudoxius; wherefore, they thought on this plea for their error, that GOING TO ROME, THEY MIGHT THERE RECEIVE THE FAITH OF THE FATHERS, so as by introducing a better formulary, to repair the evil which they had caused to the churches by their previous assent to error."† Rome then was acknowledged to be the uncorrupt guardian of the faith of the Fathers, and those who drank of her pure fountain were qualified for spreading revealed truth in its integrity where human errors had before prevailed. The Roman Bishop acted as the judge of the Eastern bishops, who applied to him for the privileges of communion, and of their station. He insisted that they should give unequivocal evidence of orthodoxy, by subscribing the Nicene creed, and he caused the document to be recorded, that it might serve to confound them, in case they should ever relapse into the errors which they had abjured.

\* L. i. Cod. de Fide Catholica. Vide et Sozomen. l. vii. hist. Ecol. c. iv.

† Ep. ccxlv. Patrophilo.

The authority of the Apostolic See was constantly invoked in all the controversies which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, agitated the East, about the great mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation. Vitalis, a priest of Antioch, having fallen under suspicion, repaired to Rome, to satisfy Damasus of his orthodoxy, and using Catholic language gained the approbation of the Pontiff, but was remanded to the discretion of his bishop. A Roman synod was subsequently held towards the close of the year 378, in consequence of doubts raised concerning the sincerity of Vitalis, and a decree of faith issued, which Damasus sent to Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, requiring Vitalis and his adherents to subscribe to it, if they wished to enjoy Catholic communion.\*

These are most solemn evidences that the Bishop of Rome was regarded throughout the Eastern churches as the chief guardian, and authoritative expounder of the faith: From all parts recourse was had to him: every novel error was denounced to him: priest and prelate were alike subject to his judgment. He propounded the mysteries of faith in all their plenitude, declaring anathema to the gainsayers, and requiring assent as a necessary condition of communion. The Eastern patriarch, with his whole synod of bishops, received the Pontifical decree with reverence, subscribed to it without reserve, and gloried in harmonizing in faith with the successor of Peter. Are these equivocal indications of the recognition of the Primacy of the Apostolic See?

The same weight of authority was ascribed to the Pontifical definitions of faith by the bishops in every part of the world, who either besought the Pope to declare the faith, or submitted for his confirmation the definitions which they themselves framed against heresies infesting their provinces.

The bishops of Africa had recourse to the Holy See to obtain the confirmation of their decrees against the subtle heresy of Pelagius and Celestius. A numerous council was held at Carthage in the year 416, and the proceedings communicated by a synodical letter addressed to "the most blessed and most honorable lord, the holy brother Pope Innocent." "Lord brother," say they, "we have thought it necessary to communicate this measure to your Holiness, that the authority of the Apostolic See may be added to our humble decrees, in order to preserve many in the way of salvation, and lead back some from perverse error. The error and impiety, which have many abettors every where dispersed, should be anathematized even by the authority of the Apo-

\* Ep. v. Constant. col. 507.

tolic See. For let your Holiness consider, and with pastoral tenderness compassionate us, how pestiferous and destructive to the sheep of Christ is the consequence of their sacrilegious disputations, namely, that we should not pray that we may not enter into temptation; which the Lord both admonished His disciples to do, and specified in the prayer which He taught us; or that our faith may not fail, as He Himself testified that He prayed for Peter the apostle." "We entertain no doubt that your Holiness on examining the synodical proceedings, which are said to have taken place in the East, in the same cause, will pass such judgment, as to give us all cause for rejoicing in the mercy of the Lord. Pray for us most blessed lord Pope."\*

Another council held at Mela in the same year, in which St. Augustin bore a conspicuous part, addressed Innocent to the like effect: "We think that, through the mercy of the Lord our God, who vouchsafes both to direct your counsels and hear your prayers, those who entertain such perverse and pernicious opinions, WILL READILY ASSENT TO THE AUTHORITY OF YOUR HOLINESS, DERIVED FROM THE AUTHORITY OF THE DIVINE SCRIPTURES, so that we may have occasion rather of gratulation at their correction, than of sorrow at their ruin."† Five of the African bishops, among whom was Augustin, wrote a special letter to Innocent, to urge the adoption of measures calculated to defeat the wiles of the Pelagians. "Pelagius," they say, "should be called by your Holiness to Rome, and closely questioned, as to the nature of the grace, whereby he acknowledges, if indeed he acknowledge, that men are aided to avoid sin, and live justly: or this is to be treated of with him by letter."‡ The Pontiff recognised in the reference made to his authority, nothing more than faithful adherence to the examples of antiquity, and due respect for the rights of the chair of Peter. His authoritative decree, directed to the prelates of Carthage, begins thus: "In investigating those things, which it is meet should be treated of with all care by priests, and especially by a true, and just, and Catholic council, following the examples of ancient tradition, and mindful of ecclesiastical discipline, you have properly maintained the vigour of our religion, not less now in consulting us, than before, when you pronounced judgment; since you determined that your judgment should be referred to us, as you know what is due to the Apostolic See, since all of us placed in this station desire to follow the apostle himself, from whom the episcopacy and the whole authority of this order pro-

\* Apud Coustant t. I. col. 867.

† Ep. 176, olim. 92, p. 620.

‡ Ep. xxviii. Coustant col. 876.

ceeded: following whom, we know how to condemn what is evil, and to approve what is praiseworthy. Observing the institutions of the Fathers with priestly fidelity, you do not allow them to be trodden under foot; for they decreed, not by human impulse, but by divine direction, that whatsoever might be done in provinces, however separate and remote, should not be deemed terminated until it had come to the knowledge of this See; that the judgment, which might be found just, might be confirmed with its whole authority, and the other churches (as waters issuing from the fountain, and through the different parts of the whole world flowing, pure streams from an unpolluted source,) might there take what they might prescribe.”\* His letter to the prelates of Mela is also couched in the language of one having authority.† Innocent answering the council of Mela, begins in this way: “Among the various cares of the Roman Church and occupations of the Apostolic See, in managing with faithful and healing care the matters of the different persons, whereon it is consulted, Julius, our brother and fellow bishop, unexpectedly delivered to me your letters, which through earnest zeal for the faith you sent from the council of Mela.”‡ Neither document was viewed by Augustin or his colleagues as marked with the character of arrogant assumption; but they considered “the pestilence condemned by the most manifest judgment of the Apostolic See:”§ and they maintained that further examination was unnecessary: “Why,” cried Augustin to the Pelagians, “do you still demand an investigation, which has already taken place at the Apostolic See?”|| A few months after the confirmation of the African councils had reached Africa, addressing his flock, he observed: “Already have the decrees of two councils on this matter been sent to the Apostolic See: the rescripts from thence have reached us: the cause is decided: would to heaven the error were for ever abandoned!”¶ Elsewhere he writes: “The authority of Catholic councils and of the Apostolic See has most justly condemned the recent Pelagian heretics.”\*\* “All doubt,” he says, “was removed by the rescript of Innocent I.”††

\* Ep. 181.

† Ep. 182, olim. 91, 93. Tom. II. p. 635, inter Aug.

‡ Ep. xxx. col. 895, Coustant.

§ Ep. 191, olim. 104, p. 709. Tom. II.

|| Operis imperf. contra Julianum, l. ii. c. 103, p. 993. Tom. X.

¶ Serm. 131, de verbis Apost. c. 10, Col. 645. Tom. V.

\*\* L. II. de anima et ejus origine, c. xii. n. 17.

†† L. II. ad Bonifac. contra 2 ep. Pelag. c. iii.



Pope Zosimus having received with favor the declarations of Celestine, and written to the African bishops in his behalf, was thought by them to have implicitly believed the statements of this subtle heresiarch : on learning which the Pontiff wrote to assure them that he had not at all receded from the decrees of his predecessor. "The tradition of the fathers," says he, "has ascribed so great authority to the Apostolic See, that no one dares call its judgment in question, and it has been so maintained by the canons and rules ; and ecclesiastical discipline, still continuing by its laws, pays the due reverence to the name of Peter, from whom itself likewise is derived ; for canonical antiquity, by common consent, ascribed to this apostle such power, in virtue of the very promise of Christ our God, that he should loose bonds ; and bind what was loose ; and equal power was acknowledged in those who had, by his favor, inherited his See ; for he himself has charge of all the Churches, but especially of this one wherein he sat : nor does he suffer any privilege to fail, or any decree to vacillate by any breath of air, having established the firm foundation of his name, which cannot be shaken by any effort, and which no man rashly assails without danger to himself. Since then Peter is "head of so great authority, and has confirmed the subsequent acts of all our predecessors, so that all laws and regulations, both human and divine, support the Roman Church, whose place you are not ignorant, but rather know well, and as priests ought to know, that we hold : yet, although we have so great authority that no one can rescind our decree, we adopted no measure which we did not simultaneously communicate to you by letter."\*

In the year 418, Zosimus published a decree called *Tractoria*, directed "to all bishops universally."† It was sent to the Churches of Africa, wherein the errors had been condemned, to the Eastern Churches, to the diocese of Egypt, to Constantinople, Thessalonica, and Jerusalem. St. Augustin quotes a passage from it concerning sin, and observes : "In these words of the Apostolic See the Catholic faith so ancient and well founded, is so certain and clear that a Christian cannot without impiety entertain a doubt of it."‡

St. Prosper says : "A council of 214 bishops being held at Carthage, the synodical decrees were sent to Pope Zosimus, which being approved of, the Pelagian heresy was condemned throughout the whole world."§ Elsewhere he says that "the judgments of the Eastern bishops, and

\* Ep. xii. col. 974. Constant t. i.

† Vide Aug. ad Optat. ep. exc. n. 23. et Mauris Mercator p. 138.

‡ Ep. exc. n. 23.

§ In Chronico.

the authority of the Apostolic See, and the vigilance of the African councils detected the artifices of the Pelagians.”\*—Speaking of those who asserted that Augustine had not correctly defended the Catholic doctrine, he dwells “on the greatness of the injury which, in the person of this one doctor, they inflict on all, and especially on the Pontiffs of the Apostolic See.”† He repels the assertion as absurd: “According to your censure, the blessed Pope Innocent, most worthy of the See of Peter, erred. The two hundred and fourteen bishops erred, who in the letter which they prefixed to their decrees, thus addressed blessed Zosimus the prelate of the Apostolic See: ‘We have determined that the sentence passed against Pelagius and Celestine by the venerable Bishop, Innocent, from the See of the most blessed apostle Peter, shall continue in force until they most unreservedly confess that we are aided in each act by the grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, not only to know, but to perform justice, so that without it we can have, think, say, or do nothing of true and holy piety.’ The holy See of Peter erred, which by the mouth of blessed Zosimus thus speaks to all the world: ‘We, nevertheless, through the inspiration of God—for all good is to be referred to its author and origin—have reported all to our brethren and fellow bishops.’”‡ He shews that these errors, having been once proscribed by Apostolic authority, should not be again discussed: “We are not again to enter into a new conflict with them (*the Pelagians*), nor are special contests to be begun as against unknown enemies: their engines were broken in pieces, they were prostrated, in the companions and princes of their pride, when Innocent, of blessed memory, struck the heads of the impious error with the Apostolic sword . . . when Pope Zosimus, of blessed memory, added the strength of his sentence to the decrees of the African council.”§ “See,” he says in another place, “the rebels every where laid prostrate by the thunderbolt of the Apostolic decision.”|| He calls Rome “the throne of Peter,”¶ “the throne of

\* Proseper ad Ruf. p. 164, App. ad Aug. Ed. Ven. Tom. X.

† L. contra Collatorem, p. 171.

‡ Ibidem p. 176.

§ Ib. p. 195.

|| ——— stratosque rebelles

Oris Apostolici fulmine ubique vide.—*Prosp. in Obtest. Aug.*

¶ Ergo Petri solium Romam, et Carthaginis altis  
Concilium repetant.—*Carm. de Ingratis.*

Apostolic power,"\* the "head of the world,† governing with religious empire nations which its arms had not subdued."

Vincent of Lerins in his celebrated *Commonitorium* illustrates his principle "by an instance taken from the Apostolic See, that all might see in meridian light—with what energy, with what zeal, with what determination the blessed successors of the blessed apostles always maintained the integrity of the religion once received. Pope Stephen, of blessed memory, the Bishop of the Apostolic See, in conjunction, indeed, with his colleagues, yet in a more conspicuous manner than they, resisted innovation, judging it fit, as I think, that he SHOULD EXCEL ALL THE REST IN THE DEVOTEDNESS OF HIS FAITH, AS MUCH AS HE SURPASSED THEM IN THE AUTHORITY OF HIS STATION."‡ In the penultimate chapter, speaking of the letters of Julius, the Bishop of Rome, which were read in the General Council of Ephesus, he observes: "That not only THE HEAD OF THE WORLD, but also its sides might give testimony for that judgment, the most blessed Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and martyr, was brought forward from the south, St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, from the north." In the last chapter he adduces "two authoritative declarations of the Apostolic See, one, namely, of the holy Pope Sixtus, which venerable man (he says) now adorns the Roman Church, the other of his predecessor of blessed memory, Pope Celestine.—Whoever opposes these Apostolic and Catholic decrees, must first insult the memory of St. Celestine, who decreed that novelty should cease to assail antiquity, and must mock the decrees of St. Sixtus, who judged that novelty should have no indulgence, because nothing should be added to antiquity."

In terms which beautifully exhibit the unity of the Catholic faith, and the efficiency of the Apostolic See in preserving it, Paulinus, deacon of Milan, author of the life of St. Ambrose, congratulated Pope Zosimus on the measures adopted against the heresy of Celestius. "The true faith is never disturbed, and especially in the Apostolic Church, in which perverse teachers are easily discovered, and properly punished, that their evil conceptions, and worse productions may die in them, if they will be corrected, and the true faith may be imparted to them, which the apostles taught, and the Roman Church holds, in union with all the teachers of the Catholic faith."§

\* *Juris Apostolici solio.*—*Ib.*

† *Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris,  
Facta caput mundi, quidquid non possidet armis,  
Religione tenet.*—*Ib.*

‡ *S. Vinc. Comm. c. viii. p. 26. Ed. Aug. Vindelic.*

§ *Ep. viii. Constant t. i. col. 963.*

Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, consulted Pope Celestine concerning Julian and others, accused of the Pelagian heresy, and urged him to inform him whether they should be regarded as heretics: "We wish to be informed, what opinion of them we should hold: for we put them off, day after day, awaiting the answer of your Holiness."<sup>\*</sup> Thus the authority of the Apostolic See in determining matters of faith was recognized by the bishop of the new Rome at the moment when it was to be employed to proscribe the heresy into which pride betrayed the Eastern prelate himself.

Of Pope Xystus St. Prosper relates, that by the advice of Leo, who was then deacon, he was guarded against the wiles of Julian the Pelagian, and that the disappointment of this heretic filled all the Catholics with joy, as if then for the first time the apostolic sword had cut off the head of the proud heresy.<sup>†</sup>

The mystery of the Incarnation of the Divine Word infinitely transcends the sublimest conceptions of the human mind, and was from the beginning an occasion of scandal to such as did not absolutely and unreservedly adhere to the simplicity of the divine teaching. The apostle St. John declares that "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us,"<sup>‡</sup> and St. Paul says, that "being in the form of God, he thought it no robbery Himself to be equal to God; but debased Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made to the likeness of men, and in shape found as a man."<sup>§</sup> Wherefore the Church has always believed that the Divine Person of the Word assumed human nature in the womb of the Virgin, and that the same Person is at once true God and true man. Nestorius ventured to sound the depth of this mystery, and listening to the whisperings of reason, fancied that the human nature of Christ had a distinct subsistence and personality, and was only morally united with the Divine Nature and Person, which dwelt in it as in a temple. His pride revolted at ascribing to God, even in an assumed nature, birth, sufferings, death, such as Catholics were wont to ascribe to the Divine Word in human flesh, wherefore he denied that God could be said to be born, to suffer, or to die. This error was levelled at the very foundation of Christianity, and destroyed the infinite value of the atonement of Cavalry. It met with immediate opposition in Constantinople itself, where it was first broached, on the part of the laity, as well as of the clergy; and the report of the scandal reaching Alexandria, St. Cyril, its illustrious patriarch, wrote with learning and zeal against the profane novelty. He felt entire

\* Ep. vii. Constant t. i. col. 1089.

† John i. 14.

‡ L. contra. collat. c. xxi.

§ Phil. II. 6.

confidence that he was maintaining the original truth, and he did not hesitate to hurl anathema against the various forms of error ; yet knowing his own place in the Church of God, and the respect which he owed to superior authority, he himself sent his own writings on this subject "to Celestine, a prelate of apostolic memory, saying that he would feel honored to be corrected by him who held the citadel of the high priesthood."\* He observes, that he had not openly withdrawn from the communion of the innovator, and awaited his instructions, which he begs may be communicated to all the Eastern bishops : "We do not withdraw from his communion openly, until we communicate the facts to your Holiness. Wherefore vouchsafe to declare to us your judgment, and whether we should at all hold communion with him, or openly forbid any one to communicate with him whilst he holds and teaches such sentiments. It behooveth the judgment of your Holiness to be manifested by letter to the bishops most reverend and most beloved of God, throughout Macedonia, and to all the bishops of the East."† In the Roman council, held in the year 430, St. Celestine quoted Ambrose, Hilary and Damasus harmonizing in their expositions of the mystery with Cyril, and shewed that the error of Nestorius had been condemned by anticipation, by his predecessor Damasus in his decree sent to Paulinus of Antioch.‡ In his letter to St. Cyril, the Pope declares that the putrid member must be cut off, and that Nestorius must not hope to have his communion, if he persevere in his opposition to the apostolic doctrine.§

Celestine addressed Nestorius an authoritative letter, threatening him with excommunication, unless he speedily retracted his error : "Know then," he wrote, "that this is our decree, that unless you preach concerning Christ our God what the Church of Rome, and of Alexandria, and the whole Catholic Church holds, and which the holy Church of the great city of Constantinople has held steadfastly until your time ; and unless, by an explicit confession in writing you condemn this perfidious novelty, which attempts to separate what the Holy Scripture unites, you are cast forth from the communion of the entire Catholic Church." At the same time the Pope wrote to Cyril, directing him to act as his vicar, and use the authority of the Apostolic See, together with his own, charging him most strictly to execute the sentence of excommunication, if within the time

\* Arnobius l. II. de conflieth cum Serapione.

† Ep. Cyril. viii. ad Cælest. t. i. col. 1094 Coust.

‡ Arnobius l. II. de conflictu cum Serap.

§ Ep. xi. t. i. col. 1106 Constant.

specified, Nestorius should not retract. He also informed John of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and Flavian of Philippi, of the measures adopted against the heresy of Nestorius: "We have separated from our communion the bishop Nestorius, and whoever follows him in his preaching, until he shall condemn by a written profession of faith the perverse error which he broached, and declare that he holds the faith, which conformably to the apostolic doctrine, the Roman and Alexandrine and Catholic Universal Church holds, and venerates, and preaches, concerning the birth from the Virgin, that is concerning the salvation of the human race."—"Know that this sentence has been passed by us—rather by Christ our God—concerning the said Nestorius, that he must within ten days from the day on which he shall be notified hereof, condemn in writing his sacrilegious preaching concerning the nativity of Christ, and profess that he follows the faith of the Roman and Alexandrine and Universal Church, or being removed from the college of bishops, understand that his own pernicious error has caused his ruin."\*

Whoever wishes fully to understand what degree of authority in matters of faith the Roman Church claimed and exercised in the early part of the fifth century, need only peruse these documents, and consider the action of the council of Ephesus. When the letter of Celestine was read in that venerable assembly of two hundred bishops from various parts, exclamations burst forth on all sides: "This is a just judgment—To Celestine, the guardian of the faith—to Celestine, who harmonizes with the synod—to Celestine, the whole synod returns thanks. There is one Celestine—one Cyril—the faith of the synod is one—the faith of the world is one." No greater tribute could be paid to the Apostolic See. The Fathers were eager to induce Nestorius to abjure his error, embrace the Pontifical definition, and thereby escape censure, and restore peace: but the heresiarch, relying on the support of John of Antioch, and other Eastern bishops attached to him personally, refused to obey the repeated summons to attend for trial. Then they reluctantly proceeded with the fearful duty enjoined on them to cut him off from communion, "constrained so to do," say they, "by the canons and by the epistle of our most holy father and fellow-minister Celestine, Bishop of the Church of Rome."† All this took place before the arrival of the legates whom the Pope had despatched to preside in the Council with Cyril, his legate extraordinary. When they appeared, Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, inquired of them whether they had read over the act of deposition. Philip, the priest,

\* Ep. xii. apud Constant t. i. col. 1111.

† Hard. col. conc. t. i. p. 1462.

one of the legates, replied that they had, and that they felt satisfied that all had been done in strict accordance with the canons; yet he requested that the acts should be read anew in the council, in order that in compliance with the orders received from Celestine, they might confirm what had been decreed!""\* The request was granted without difficulty; and the decrees having been read, the legate thus began the confirmatory sentence: "It is not doubted by any one, but rather it has been well known in all ages (*of the Church*), that the holy and most blessed Peter, the prince† and head of the Apostles, the pillar of faith, and the foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, the keys of the kingdom: and to him was given power to bind and loose sins, who, down to the present time and forever, in his successors LIVES AND JUDGES. His successor, then, in regular order, the occupant of his place, our holy and most blessed Pope, the Bishop Celestine, has sent us to this holy synod to supply his presence." He proceeds to state the obstinacy of Nestorius, who suffered the time prescribed by the Apostolic See to elapse without retracting his error: and then declares that the sentence passed against him by the consent of the bishops of the East and of the West is *firm*, and that he is cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church. The other two legates spoke to the same effect, after whom Cyril, the patriarch of Alexandria, proposed that the proceedings of both sessions should be presented to the legates for subscription. Arcadius, one of them, observed that the proceedings of the holy synod were such that they could not but confirm them. The synod observed, that as the legates had spoken in a manner becoming them, it now remained for them to fulfil their promise, and subscribe the acts, which they accordingly did. Thus in all things was seen, as Philip the legate observed, the union of the holy members with their holy head, "for your blessedness," he said, addressing the Fathers, "is not ignorant that the *blessed apostle Peter is the head of all faith, or even of the apostles.*"‡

I know not what more solemn and splendid testimony could be given of the general belief of the divine institution of the Primacy. The bishops who composed this venerable assembly, were, with the exception of the Roman legates, oriental and African: yet they heard, with-

\* ὅπως ἡμῖς ἀκολουθήσαντες τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου Πάπᾶ Κελεστίνου.—δυναθῶμεν τὰ κεκριμένα βεβαιῶσαι.

† Ἐπερχος.—Actiones 3. Conc. Eph. p. 1476 and 1477. Tom. I. Hard. Col.

‡ ἡ κεφαλὴ ὅλης τῆς πίστεως ἡ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων.—Act. 2. Col. 1472. Tom. II. Edit. II.

out a murmur of contradiction, the strong assertions of the legates;—they submitted their acts to them for confirmation—and they declared themselves constrained to execute the sentence of Celestine against Nestorius.

Xystus III. successor of Celestine, says that what his predecessor had written on faith sufficed, but that the Apostolic See is not remiss in urging it, since the solicitude of all the Churches presses on it.\* On the submission of John of Antioch, who from personal attachment and jealousy had sustained Nestorius, Xystus wrote to him: “You have experienced by the issue of the present affair what it is to be of one mind with us. The blessed apostle Peter delivers in his successors what he learned. Who will choose to separate himself from his doctrine, whom the Master Himself taught first among the apostles?”†

It seems to have been the mental malady of those early ages to endeavor to scan the unfathomable depths of the mystery of the Incarnation. Scarcely had the destructive heresy of Nestorius been exploded, when the monk Eutyches, in shunning it, plunged into another gulph not less dangerous. Nestorius had divided Christ from the Word, by ascribing a human personality to the human nature: Eutyches confounded the divinity with the humanity, by affirming that there was but one nature, as well as person, after the union. It is not easy to determine the precise character of his error: whether he supposed the Divine Nature to be merged in the nature of man, which is so plainly repugnant to the glorious and unchangeable attributes of Deity as to be scarcely imaginable: or whether he thought that the human nature was swallowed up in the Divine, and transformed, and deified; or whether he supposed a composition of both natures, whence a distinct nature resulted. The error most probably was conceived in a confused and inconsistent manner; but Flavian, bishop of Constantinople perceived clearly that the revealed truth was assailed, and he did not hesitate to cut off from the communion of the Church the inventor of the pernicious novelty. Eutyches had no just ground of appeal from the sentence. However, he determined on interesting the Roman Bishop in his behalf, and addressed Leo, as if he had lodged an appeal in form, and besought him to grant him relief from the injustice of his immediate ecclesiastical superior. He likewise solicited the support of St. Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna, who closed his reply with these words: “We exhort you, most honored brother, to attend obediently in all things to whatever shall be written to you by the most blessed Pope of the city of Rome, since Blessed Peter, who lives and presides

\* Ep. i. t. i. col. 1235.

† Ep. vi. ib. col. 1260.



in his own chair, imparts the truth of faith to those who seek it : for we, through zeal for peace and faith, cannot take cognizance of a cause concerning faith, without the consent of the Bishop of Rome.”\* Flavian, addressing the Pope, styles him : “ Most Holy Father,” and assures him that Eutyches had lodged no appeal, although he asserted it, with a view to defeat justice. The patriarch asks the Pope to approve of the canonical deposition of Eutyches, and states that his sentence will crush the heresy, and supersede the necessity of a General Council, which could not be convened without great commotion in the Christian world.† Leo finally sent to Flavian a sublime exposition of the Catholic faith, whereby he confirmed the condemnation already pronounced against Eutyches, and despatched as his legates a bishop, priest and deacon, with a notary, to execute the sentence,‡ and hold his place in the council convened by Theodosius,§ who had solicited the authority of the Apostolic See to give effect to his pious desires.||

The proceedings of the second Council convened at Ephesus being irregular, through the violence of Dioscorus of Alexandria, the legates of the Pope “ constantly protested in the synod that the Apostolic See would by no means receive the decision”¶ unduly and violently made : and that “ they would not on any account abandon the faith which they had brought with them to the synod, fully stated and digested, from the throne of the most blessed Apostle Peter.”\*\* The Pope, with all the western council of bishops, reprobated the proceedings.†† His zeal was employed in exhorting the emperor to withdraw his favor from the heretical faction, for which purpose, he implored the empress Pulcheria to use her influence, and to regard herself as delegated by St. Peter. To the clergy and people of Constantinople he addressed strenuous exhortations to cling to the orthodox faith, and to Flavian their orthodox bishop, whom he consoled by special letters. To the priests and *archimandrites*, (superiors of monks,) he gave instructions to avoid the heresy of Eutyches, and hold the communion of Flavian. Valentinian, the emperor, on coming to Rome, and visiting the basilic of St. Peter, was witness of the deep affliction caused by the proceedings of Ephesus, and addressed a letter to Theodosius, at the request of Leo, and a synod of bishops, exhorting him to preserve the ancient faith unchanged, and the becoming veneration for the Apostolic See : “ We ought,” he says, “ with becoming devotion defend the

\* Ep. xxv. Petri Chrysologi inter S. Leo. ep.

† Ep. xxvi. inter Leonis ep.

‡ Ep. xxviii. § Ep. xxix.

|| Ep. xxxiii. ad Eph. Syn. secundam.

¶ Ep. xlv. ad Theodosium.

\*\* Ep. xlv.

†† Ep. xlv. inter S. Leon. Hilar. ad Pulcheriam.

faith handed down by our ancestors, and preserve undiminished in our days the measure of proper veneration for the blessed apostle Peter, so that the most blessed Bishop of the city of the Romans, to whom antiquity gave a priesthood above all, may have scope and opportunity to judge about faith and priests.”\* This was said to induce Theodosius to summon a council to be held in Italy, where Leo, with the bishops, might pronounce judgment according to the truth of faith, as Valentinian proceeds to state. Galla Placidia, the mother of Theodosius, at the urgent request of Leo, wrote to her son, imploring him to “preserve the faith of the Catholic religion in its integrity, that” she says, “according to the form and definition of the Apostolic See, which we likewise venerate as presiding, Flavian remaining without injury in his station of the priesthood, might be sent over for trial in the synod of the Apostolic See, wherein that chief, who was made worthy to receive the keys of heaven, has manifestly established the episcopate of high priesthood.”† She wrote also to Pulcheria to urge her interposition, that the proceedings at Ephesus might be set aside, and the matter referred to the Apostolic See, “in which the most blessed apostle Peter, who received the keys of heaven, established the high priesthood.”‡ A council was convened at Chalcedon, by Marcian, successor of Theodosius, at the earnest solicitation of Leo, and the letter of the Pontiff, in which the mystery was propounded, was received with acclamations as the genuine declaration of the ancient faith. On the reading of it all cried out: “This is the faith of the Fathers—this is the faith of the Apostles. All of us have this belief—the orthodox believe this. Anathema to him who does not believe this. PETER HAS SPOKEN BY LEO.”§ In their letter to the Pope, they declare that “he is established for all the interpreter of the voice of Peter the Apostle.”

Thus did the successors of Peter maintain and develop the faith which he professed under divine inspiration, when he said: “Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.” The consubstantiality of the Son, implied in these words, and defended by the Nicene fathers against the subtleties of Arius, and his followers, was proclaimed by Sylvester, Julius, Liberius and the other occupants of that See, conformably to the faith originally delivered. The identity of the person, who was at once the man Christ, and the Son of God, was declared by Celestin, against the impiety of Nestorius. To Leo belongs the

\* Ep. lv. inter Leonis ep.

† Ep. lvi. τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. It is equivalent to sovereign pontificate.

‡ Ep. lviii.

§ Act. II. t. II. coll. Hard. col. 505.

honor of exploding the contrary error of Eutyches, who confounding the natures, derogated from the unchangeable majesty of the Deity : whilst faith recognises the reality and distinction of the divine and human natures, and acknowledges in each its special properties. All the Roman Bishops, at the head of their brethren in the episcopate, expressed the common faith, and corresponded to their high vocation. To the Holy Spirit in the adorable unity of the Godhead, with the Father and the Son, Damasus and his synod, and with them the council of Constantinople, and the whole episcopal college rendered supreme homage. The mysteries, then, of the Trinity, Incarnation and Redemption, which the vast majority even of the sects hold to be fundamental, were propounded and maintained chiefly by the agency and authority of the Roman Pontiffs.

It is to the same authority the maintenance of all the Christian doctrines must be ascribed : wherefore to it the most learned and illustrious fathers referred for instruction in sound doctrine. St. Jerom writing to Demetriades testifies that the holy Pope Anastasius maintained the integrity of the Roman faith against the heresies which assailed it at the commencement of the fifth century. "When you were a child," he says, "and the Bishop Anastasius, of holy and blessed memory governed the Roman Church, a dire storm of heretics from the Eastern parts attempted to adulterate and destroy the simplicity of the faith, which was praised by the voice of the apostle. But a man very rich in his poverty, and full of apostolic zeal, struck at once the direful head, and broke the hissing mouth of the hydra. Since I fear, and even have heard a report, that these poisonous plants are still in the ground, and bud forth anew, I think it proper charitably to warn you, to hold the faith of the holy Innocent, who is the successor and child of the Apostolic chair, and of the holy man just mentioned, and not to receive any strange doctrine, however prudent and wise you may appear to yourself."\* Writing to Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, he says : "Be it known to you that nothing is more sacred for us, than to maintain the rights of Christ, and not to move the boundaries which the Fathers have placed, and always to bear in mind, that the Roman faith was praised by the mouth of the apostle, of which faith the Church of Alexandria glories to partake."†

Theophilus himself exhorts certain monks to anathematize Origen and other heretics, after his own example, and that of Anastasius, Bishop of the holy Roman Church, whom the entire synod of the West-

\* Ep. viii. ad Demetriadem.

† Ep. lxiii. clas. 3. an. 397.

ern bishops follows.\* Thus Alexandria, and Antioch, as well as the Western patriarchate, followed the authority of the Roman Church in matters of faith, and gloried in her communion. Heretics themselves knew the Bishop of Rome to be the highest judge in such causes, and used every stratagem to deceive him. We have seen already the efforts of the Montanists, the Pelagians, and many others to gain his confidence. Sulpicius tells us that Instantius, Salvian and Priscillian, having been condemned for heresy, in a council of Saragossa, "set out for Rome, to justify themselves before Damasus, who was then Bishop of that city," but were not admitted into his presence.† Iovinian the enemy of holy virginity, and of the virgin Mother, was condemned, as St. Jerom testifies, by the authority of the Roman Church;‡ and St. Augustin says that "the holy Church which is there (*at Rome*) most faithfully and strenuously opposed this monster" (*the heresy*).§ The apostolic decree, by which the heresiarch and his abettors were "by the divine sentence, and by the judgment" of the Roman synod excluded from the Church, was sent to the bishops, in the confidence that they would receive it with reverence. St. Ambrose and his colleagues addressed Damasus in reply, and alleged among other things, the authority of the symbol of the apostles in support of the doctrines defined, proving from it that Mary brought forth her Divine Son without detriment to her virginity: "Let them," he says, "believe the symbol of the apostles, which the Roman Church always guards and preserves inviolate."¶ They assure Siricius that they also condemn the heretics, conformably to his judgment.

The perpetual virginity of the Blessed Mother was defended by the same illustrious Pontiff; and the contrary error mentioned with horror, in his letter to Anysius, his Vicar in Illyricum, and to the bishops of that province.¶ Her high dignity as MOTHER OF GOD had been vindicated with immense applause in the council of Ephesus, when the error of Nestorius was condemned, by the authority of Celestine. Damasus with like zeal proscribed the errors which at a later period assailed her glorious virginity.

The uniform zeal of the Popes for discovering and defeating all the wiles of heretics, may be seen in the measures adopted by St. Leo. Understanding that the Pelagians and Celestians were in some places

\* Serm. ad quosdam monachos. † L. II.

‡ Lib. contra Vigilantium initio. § L. II. Retract. c. xii.

¶ Ep. viii. Ambrosii, apud Coustant. t. i. col. 671.

¶ Ep. ix. col. 681, t. i. Coustant.

admitted to the communion of the Catholic Church without a formal abjuration of their errors, he wrote to the bishop of Aquieleja, commanding him to convene a synod, and require of them a formal retraction: "Let them condemn openly and explicitly the authors of the proud error, and let them detest whatever the Universal Church has found worthy of abhorrence in their doctrine, and let them declare fully, openly, and in written documents subscribed by them, that they embrace and unreservedly approve of all synodical decrees directed to the extirpation of this heresy, which have been confirmed by the authority of the Apostolic See."\*

We must, with St. Leo, ascribe this constancy of the Roman Bishops in the faith, not to chance, or personal merit, but to their station: "From whose (*Christ's*) principal and eternal protection, we also," says he, "have received the strength of apostolic aid, which certainly is not withdrawn from His own work, and the firmness of the foundation, on which the high fabric of the whole Church is built, suffers nothing from the mass of the temple which rests on it. For the solidity of the faith, which was praised in the prince of the apostles, is perpetual, and as that which Peter believed of Christ continues always, so that which Christ instituted in Peter always remains." The eloquent Pontiff proves this from the passage of St. Matthew, and then continues: "The ordinance of truth therefore continues, and blessed Peter persevering in the strength of the rock imparted to him, does not abandon the helm of the Church entrusted to him. For he was thus ordained in preference to the others, that whilst he is styled a rock, whilst he is declared a foundation, whilst he is made gate keeper of the kingdom of heaven, whilst he is constituted judge of what is to be bound or loosed, with a promise that his decision would be ratified in heaven, we should understand by the mysterious appellations themselves the special relation which he bears to Christ."†

The agency of the successors of Peter in maintaining the integrity of revelation, through a long lapse of ages, has been acknowledged by the learned Protestant Cassaubon: "No one," he remarks, "who is the least versed in ecclesiastical history, can doubt that God made use of the Holy See, during many ages, to preserve the doctrines of faith." The same is true of all ages, and we may, at this day repeat the words of Eusebius: "It is certain," says he, "that our Saviour foretold that his doctrine would be preached throughout the world in testimony to all nations, and that the Church which was afterwards to be established

\* Ep. i. ad Aquilej. ep.

† Serm. III. in anniversario ad Pontif.

by his power, would be invincible and impregnable, nor ever overcome by death, but would be firm and immovable as established and founded on a rock : and He has in fact done what He foretold. For already the fame of His Gospel has filled the world from east to west, and has reached all nations, and its preaching spreads daily. The Church, also, receiving its appellation from Him has taken root, and being celebrated to the skies by the discourses of holy men, shines with the light and splendor of orthodox faith ; nor does it flee before its enemies, nor yield to the very gates of death, in consequence of the few words which he uttered : ‘On this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.’ ”\*

A dark cloud long lowered over the Holy See in consequence of the condemnation of Pope Honorius, by the sixth General Council, held in 680. The Fathers of this venerable assembly on reading, among other documents, the answer of Honorius to Sergius, bishop of Constantinople, rejected it and execrated it, together with the letter of Sergius to which it replied, and another letter directed to Cyrus, then bishop of Phasis ; and added to their anathemas against various heretics by name, this very solemn condemnation : “ we have resolved, also, to anathematize Honorius, who was Pope of ancient Rome, since we find, from the letter addressed by him to Sergius, that conforming to his views in all things, he confirmed the impious dogmas.”† “To Honorius, the heretic, anathema” was said, in common with the others. In defending the dogma of the Primacy I do not deem it necessary to prove that no one of the Roman Bishops at any time taught heresy, or was personally heretical : as I insist only on the duty of his office to guard the faith, and on the notorious fact that it has been generally fulfilled : but I owe it to truth and justice, and to the memory of a Pontiff illustrious for zeal, to express my conviction that the charge of herodoxy advanced against him is without solid foundation.

The letters of Honorius, which are still extant,‡ express the doctrine of the One Divine Operator or Actor, in the two natures, which is, in substance, the Catholic doctrine, of two operations, each nature having its own operation. “We should confess,” says he, both natures in Christ united in natural unity, operating with the communion of the other ; the divine nature doing what belongs to God, and human nature executing the things of the flesh, not dividedly, nor

\* De præp. Ev. l. i. c. iii.

† Act. xiii.

‡ John Baptist Bartholi, bishop of Feltri in an Apology for Honorius, maintains that the first letter to Sergius has been adulterated, and that the second is a forgery, of which nothing was known at Rome.

confusedly, or teaching that the nature of God was changed into the man, or the human nature into that of God, but confessing the difference of natures to be entire." At the artful suggestion of Sergius, the Pope ordered silence to be observed as to the terms of one or two operations, and he was content with requiring that Christ should be held to be one Divine operator in the two natures. This injunction was serviceable to the cause of heresy, which in the mean time spread like a cancer. The abuse made of the good faith of the Pontiff drew down on his memory the censure of being an abettor and approver of the error, which he did not strongly and instantly condemn, and even his successor Leo II. joined the Orientals in casting reproach on him "because he did not at once extinguish the rising flame of heresy, as became his apostolic authority, but by his negligence suffered it to expand." It is not my part to mitigate censure proceeding from so high a source, or to be more zealous for the glory of a deceased Pontiff than his successors have been; but I may be permitted to observe that men are often judged by the results of their actions, and that the forbearance of Honorius, and his anxiety to terminate the wordy contest and preserve peace, might have gained the praise of consummate prudence and enlightened zeal, had not the perverse ingenuity of the Monothelites made the prohibition serviceable for their ends. Strenuous defenders of the faith of Honorius have not been wanting. John IV. in his letter to Constantine, the emperor, complained that Pyrrhus, bishop of Constantinople, was abusing and perverting the words of his predecessor. John the Abbot, the secretary employed by Honorius, testified that the implied disclaimer of two wills in Christ, was intended to exclude only the corrupt will; and Maximus the martyr, the declared enemy of Monothelism, vindicated the orthodoxy of the Pontiff.\* There is even a more solemn, though less direct vindication of Honorius in the letter of Pope Agatho, to Constantine Pogonatus, read with acclamation in the sixth General Council, wherein he asserts that his predecessors had never failed in the performance of the high duties of their office. "This is the rule of true faith, which the Apostolic Church of Christ, this spiritual mother of your most tranquil empire, warmly held and defended, both in prosperity and adversity, which Church, through the grace of Almighty God, is shown to have strayed at no time from the path of Apostolic tradition, and never succumbed, perverted by the novelties of heretics; but as, from the commencement of Christian faith, it received from its founders, the princes of the

\* In ep. ad Marin. presbyt.

apostles of Christ, so it incorruptibly remains to the end, according to the promise of our Lord and Saviour Himself, which He declared to the prince of His apostles, as in the Gospel, saying : ‘ Peter, Peter, lo ! Satan hath sought to sift you as one sifteth wheat, but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith may not fail : and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.’ Let, then, your serene clemency consider that the Lord and Saviour of all, whose gift faith is, and who promised that the faith of Peter should not fail, charged him to confirm his brethren ; and it is notorious to all that the Apostolic Pontiffs, my predecessors, have always done so intrepidly.”\* It would seem as if all this was expressly directed to repel any charge likely to be made against Honorius, and the applause which followed the reading of the letter : “ PETER HAS SPOKEN THROUGH AGATHO ;” might imply the assent of the Council to the statement : yet the records of the proceedings present censures on the memory of Honorius, which force us to believe that the Fathers there assembled, considered him to have been guilty, if not of culpable connivance, at least of untimely dissimulation, equivalent to abetting error. Without disrespect to their authority they may be supposed to have been mistaken in a matter of fact, merely personal, namely the spirit and intention with which the letters were written.

It is not necessary to insist more particularly on this vindication of an individual Pontiff. I have not undertaken to prove, what indeed no Catholic divine maintains, that the Pope may not, by the artifices of heretics, be betrayed into measures prejudicial to the faith, neither have I deemed it necessary to maintain what I am deeply convinced of, that the Providence of God will never suffer him to propound error in a solemn doctrinal definition directed to the Universal Church. My object in reciting so many passages from ancient documents, which shew that the Popes from the earliest ages have been the most conspicuous defenders of the faith, is to prove the eminence of their station, and the authoritative Primacy which they exercised. It is not merely in the eleventh century that language occurs like that which was addressed by St. Bernard to Pope Innocent II. “ It is right that all dangers and scandals which arise in the kingdom of God should be reported to your Apostleship, especially such as regard faith : for I think it proper that the wounds inflicted on faith should be healed where faith cannot fail.”† In the fifth century Pope Hilarus was addressed by the bishops of the province of Tarragona, in language scarcely less strong. The occasion

\* Conc. Coustant. III. Act. III. Col. 1081. Coll. Hard. t. III.



of their writing was a personal or disciplinary affair, but they availed themselves of it to express their desire to profit by the authoritative instruction of the Holy See: "Even were there," say they, "no necessity of ecclesiastical discipline, we should seek to benefit by the privilege of your See, since the extraordinary preaching of the most blessed Peter, who received the keys of the kingdom, after the resurrection of the Saviour, shone forth for the enlightening of all: the principality of whose Vicar, as it is eminent, so is it to be feared and loved by all. Wherefore adoring profoundly in you God whom you serve without reproach, we have recourse to the faith which was praised by the mouth of the apostle, and we seek a reply from a quarter whence nothing is ordained erroneously, nothing presumptuously, but all with pontifical deliberation."\*

\* Ep. Tarrae. ep. t. II. conc. Hard. col. 787.

## CHAPTER X.

### GOVERNING POWER.

WE have seen abundant evidence of the most eminent exercise of the Primacy by the Roman Bishop in the maintenance of faith. The same documents prove that he was regarded as the Governor of the Universal Church, and that his instructions were sought after by bishops throughout the world, and his orders were every where respected. It is impossible to mistake the tone of the letters which have come down to us marked with the impress of authority. We have, indeed, but few out of the many that must have been written during the three first centuries, but these suffice to shew that power was claimed, exercised and admitted, such as denotes a general governor of the whole Church. The fury of the persecutor often consigned to the flames the archives of the principal Church together with the sacred books, without being able to destroy all the monuments of the exercise of this sacred authority : and from the time that freedom was granted to the Church, the evidences are numerous, and most unequivocal.

The words of our Lord to Peter denote the most ample power, the government of His kingdom, without any restriction : yet there is necessarily implied subordination to His Divine authority, and a limitation of the power to the maintenance of truth, virtue, order and unity. The apostles avowed themselves powerless against truth, and declared that their power was for edification, that is for the advancement of virtue and for the salvation of men, not for destruction. Hence the successors of Peter studied to exercise their authority temperately and equitably, for the upholding of revealed truth, and the correction of vice, and framed laws, or confirmed the enactments of their colleagues in council, and did not easily depart from rules thus maturely adopted : " Let the rules govern us ;" cried out St. Celestine : " let us not set aside the rules : let us be subject to the canons, whilst we observe what the canons command."\* The advantages of a power suited to every emergency, and yet limited by truth, justice, and right, must be apparent ; and the evils which from time to time desolate Christendom may well

\* Ep. ad ep. Illyric. t. i. Constant col. 1064.

be traced to its neglect. It is found in each bishop, although not in the same degree, nor with the same divine guarantee for its exercise. St. Cyprian was wont to extol it, and to exaggerate the crime of insubordination to the episcopal authority. He adduces the well-known passage of Deuteronomy, in which the decree of the High Priest is enforced with the strongest penal sanction, and other testimonies, and thence concludes: "Since these weighty and numerous examples, with many others, exist, whereby the priestly authority and power, through divine concession, is established, what think you of those, who, being the enemies of the priests, and rebels against the Catholic Church, are not awed, either by the threat of the Lord who forewarns, or by the avenging judgment that awaits them? For from no other source have heresies arisen, or schisms sprung up, than from not obeying the priest of God, and not reflecting that **THERE IS ONE PRIEST, FOR THE TIME, IN THE CHURCH, AND ONE JUDGE, FOR THE TIME, IN THE PLACE OF CHRIST,** to whom, if all the brotherhood yielded obedience according to the divine instructions, no one would attempt any thing against the college of priests: no one, after the divine judgment, after the suffrage of the people, after the consent of his fellow bishops, would make himself judge, not of the bishop, but of God; no one would rend the Church of Christ by the breach of unity; no one, through vanity and pride, would form a new heresy apart and without."\*

It may be contended, not without plausibility, that this is said of a local bishop, namely of Cyprian himself, but it is difficult to apply language so strong to each individual bishop, since it is unquestionable that on the principle of unqualified obedience to the diocesan, the whole body of the clergy and people of Constantinople would have been perverted, when Macedonius, or Nestorius, held that See. It is only in the person of the chief Bishop, whom Divine Providence wonderfully guards and directs, that the observations of Cyprian are fully verified. His own resistance to Stephen may seem to shew that he did not inculcate obedience to the mandates of the Roman Bishop: yet as it arose from a supposed abuse of power, it is reconcileable with the advocacy of the general principle, that obedience should be rendered to the one priest and one judge. Besides, the text is illustrated by the history of that opposition in connexion with the rise of Donatism. Had Cyprian in that instance obeyed the priest of God, and reflected that **THERE IS ONE PRIEST FOR THE TIME IN THE CHURCH, AND ONE JUDGE, FOR THE TIME, IN THE PLACE OF CHRIST,** the scandal of dissension would

\* Ep. lix. alias liv. iv.

have been avoided, and the Donatists would have had no occasion to use his venerable name in support of their error and schism.

We have seen that Victor and Stephen acted as persons having authority over the Asiatic and African prelates, and menaced the refractory with excommunication, the highest penalty which the Church can inflict. The evidences of a similar exercise of governing power multiply in the fourth and fifth ages, wherein, from the liberty which the Church enjoyed, there was a development of her power, as occasions presented themselves for its employment. Pope Siricius, in the year 385, replying to the consultation of Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, in Spain, says: "We bear the burdens of all who are heavily laden, or rather the blessed apostle Peter bears them in us, and, as we trust, in all things, protects and defends us the heirs of his authority."

The language of this document implies a governing power of the most marked character, by which offences against the divine law are punished with the highest ecclesiastical penalty, and positive enactments are enforced by a similar sanction. Those who rebaptize persons baptized by heretics are subjected to excommunication. Having pointed to the authorities which condemn this practice, the Pontiff observes: "You must not hereafter depart from this rule, if you do not wish to be separated from our body by a synodical decree." The immediate administration of this sacrament to infants and persons in danger of death is enjoined under a like penalty: "Let this rule be henceforth observed," he says, "by all priests, who do not wish to be separated from the solidity of the apostolic rock, on which Christ built the Universal Church." It needs no commentary to shew that this is the language of a superior. Incontinent clergymen, who presume to defend their excesses by alleging the laws of the Mosaic dispensation, are threatened with final degradation: "Let them know that they are cast down from all ecclesiastical honor, which they have abused, and that they can never again touch the sacred mysteries." The connivance of the Spanish bishops at abuses in the promotion of unqualified men to sacred orders, is strongly reprobated, and a rule laid down which they must follow: "By a general enactment we decree what hereafter must be followed, and what must be shunned by all Churches." This very remarkable decree closes with a commendation of the bishop to whom it is addressed, for having reported and proposed the various points to the Roman Church, as to the head, and with an injunction to communicate the decree itself to all the bishops, not only of the diocese of Tarragona, but also of Carthage, Bœtia, Lusitania, Gallicia, and other neighboring provinces, that none may plead ignorance, in order to es-

cape the penalties of transgression : "None of the priests of the Lord is at liberty to be ignorant of the decrees of the Apostolic See, or the venerable definitions of the Canons."\* It cannot be questioned that Syricius acted as one having full authority over all bishops, and that he claimed this power as successor of Peter.

The like language is observable in all the ancient pontifical decrees. Victricius, bishop of Rouen, sought to be guided by "the rule and authority of the Roman Church," and with this view addressed Innocent I., who held the chair of Peter in the commencement of the fifth century. This venerable Pontiff undertook to reply, invoking "the assistance of the holy apostle Peter, through whom the commencement of the apostolic office and of the episcopate was made by Christ." He directs suits to be terminated in the respective provinces in which they originate, and forbids recourse to extraneous tribunals, "without prejudice, however, to the Roman Church, to which reverence is due in all causes." The greater causes are to be submitted to the judgment and final decision of the Holy See ; conformably to synodical decrees, and established usage : "let them be referred to the Apostolic See, after the episcopal judgment, as the synod decreed,† and laudable custom requires."‡ Writing to the bishops of Macedonia he resented as derogatory to the authority of the Holy See, that what it had decreed "as the head of the Churches," should be considered as admitting of question.§

Zosimus, the successor of Innocent, spoke with a like voice of authority, and sent his orders to Gaul, Spain, Africa, and wherever the necessities of the Church demanded his interposition. Addressing Hesy-chius, bishop of Salona, who had asked for a command of the Apostolic See, to authorize him to resist those who rashly sought to advance to the priesthood without the necessary preparation, he states that he had already written to this effect to Spain and Gaul, and that not even Africa had been a stranger to his warnings, and he encourages this prelate to oppose such hasty proceedings. "You demand," he says, "a precept of the Apostolic See in harmony with the decrees of the fathers."—"Resist such ordinations : resist the pride and arrogance which advances. You have with you the precepts of the fathers : you have with you the authority of the Apostolic See." He charges Hesy-chius to make known the decrees to all the bishops of the neighboring provinces : "Whosoever," he adds, "disregarding the authority of

\* Apud Constant t. i. col. 623. et seq.

† According to another reading, custom only is mentioned. The Council of Sardica may be meant.

‡ Ibidem. col. 746.

§ Ep. xvii. col. 830.

the Fathers and of the Apostolic See, shall neglect this, must know that it shall be strictly enforced, so that he may rest assured that he shall not retain his dignity, if he imagine, that what has been forbidden so repeatedly, can be attempted with impunity.”\* This is clearly the strongest language of authority. St. Augustine avows in reference to other matters, that he and his colleagues were under the necessity of obeying the commands of the pontiff. Writing to Optatus, he says: “Your letter, which you sent to Mauritania of Cæsarea, arrived when I was at Cæsarea, whither ecclesiastical duty, enjoined on us by the venerable Pope Zosimus, Bishop of the Apostolic See, had led us.”† Possidius says, that “the letters of the Apostolic See had compelled Augustin with others of his fellow-bishops to repair thither in order to terminate other difficulties of the Church.”‡

St. Celestin issued his mandates to the bishops of Apulia and Calabria, which he concludes in these terms: “Whosoever shall attempt to do what is forbidden, must know that the censure of the Apostolic See will unfailingly fall on him: for whatever we cannot correct by mere authoritative admonition, we must punish with a severity suitable to the canons. We will, therefore, that this be made known throughout all the Churches, which are destitute of rectors, that no one may fondly deceive himself with any hope of impunity.”§

St Leo the Great sent a general epistle to the bishops of Campania, Picenum, Tuscia, and all the provinces of Italy, instructing them as to what persons should be admitted to sacred orders, forbidding usury, and strictly enjoining the observance of these decrees, as well as of all those of his predecessors, under penalty of deposition: “We command all the decrees, as well of Innocent of happy memory, as of all our predecessors, which have been published concerning ecclesiastical orders and canonical discipline, to be observed by you, beloved, so that whosoever transgresses them, must know that he will not be pardoned.”|| He also wrote to Turribius, bishop of Asturia, in Spain, and ordered a council of bishops to be called, and if any bishops were found tainted with the errors of Manicheus, or Priscillian, he required that they should be at once cut off from the communion of the Church. He had given a like order to the bishops of Tarragona, Carthage, Portugal, and Gallaecia.¶ To the bishops of Mauritania-Cæsariensis, Leo wrote, “in consequence of the solicitude which,” he says, “by divine institution we have for the whole church,” and he delegated Potentius, as his Vicar, to

\* Ep. ix. col. 968. † Ep. exc. alias clvi. n. 1. *necessitas ecclesiastica.*

‡ c. xiv.

§ Ep. ad ep. Apulias t. i. col. Hard. col. 1262.

|| Ep. iv. ad episcopos per Campaniam etc.

¶ Ep. xv. ad Turribium.

inquire into the facts.\* He elsewhere expresses the admirable economy of divine wisdom in the constitution and government of the Church. "Of the whole world Peter alone is chosen, and placed over those who are called from all nations, and over all apostles, and all the fathers of the Church: so that, although there are many priests and many pastors in the people of God, Peter nevertheless, properly speaking, governs them all, who are also chiefly governed by Christ. Great and wonderful, dearly beloved, is the communication of His own power, which the divine goodness has vouchsafed to him, and whatever Christ was pleased to communicate to the other princes—whatever he did not withhold from the others—He did not grant unless through him."†

It is manifest that a power was claimed by the Pontiffs over all the Churches, in virtue of which laws were enacted, which all were called on to obey, under penalty of ecclesiastical censures. Nothing warrants us in regarding these claims as groundless, since in many instances the power was exercised at the solicitation of the parties immediately concerned, and in most cases there was entire acquiescence in the authority claimed. It would be strange that usurpation could have assumed such consistency, and plausibility, at so early a period, and have commanded the respect of distant prelates, naturally jealous of their own rights, and independence, especially whilst the civil power, at least up to the days of Constantine, lent no support to the Bishop of Rome.

A dispensing power, whereby the rigor of the canons was mitigated, for just causes, was also exercised from the earliest ages. We have seen the regulation of Melchiades providing for the Donatist bishops returning to unity, by relaxing the severity of the law. Pope Anastasius, in the commencement of the fifth century, was besought by the African bishops to shew the like indulgence. They "resolved to write to their brethren and fellow bishops, and especially to the Apostolic See," to obtain a relaxation of the rigor of the canons of a council beyond the seas, so that the Donatist bishops, on coming to the Church, might be received with all their honors.‡ Thus the power of the Pontiff to dispense in the general laws was recognized.

The Popes, although solicitous for the observance of the canons, were always ready to dispense in them, when the return of the deluded children of error could be promoted by indulgence; and in this exercise of clemency they wisely disregarded the censures of the over

\* Ep. xii. ad ep. Afric. prov. Maurit. Cæsar.

† S. Leo Serm. iv. In anniversario die ejusdem assumpt.

‡ Codex can. eccl. Afric. c. lxviii.

zealous, who clamoured for the just severity of discipline. Some Spanish bishops complained that heretics, on abjuring their errors, were allowed to retain possession of their Sees, to whom Pope Innocent replied: "If any are pained, or grieved at this, let them read how Peter the apostle, after his tears, was what he had been: let them consider that Thomas, after his doubts, retained his former dignity: finally, that the great prophet David, after his open confession, was not deprived of the gift of prophecy."\* Yet the Pontiff acknowledged the wisdom of the general rule, and traced the exceptions to necessity. When some persons ordained by the heretic Bonosus had been received to the Catholic communion, and allowed to officiate in their respective orders, Innocent ascribed this indulgence to necessity, and admitted that it was not conformable to "the ancient rules which the Roman Church, having received them from the apostles, or apostolic men, observes, and commands to be observed by such as are wont to obey her."† The same indulgence continued to be shewn by his successors, when circumstances demanded it: wherefore Leo allowed Donatus, the Novatian bishop of Salicina, (or Saja), in Africa to retain his See, on abjuring Novatianism, and sending a satisfactory profession of Catholic faith to Rome; his former adherents passing with him to the Catholic communion.‡ Maximus had been advanced from the condition of a layman to the bishopric among the Donatists, and was allowed by the Pope to retain his See, on abjuring his errors.§

Besides the many positive acts of authority which I have enumerated, the answers of the Pope to the consultations of the bishops from every part of Christendom shew that he was a Superior to whom all looked up for guidance. St. Jerom testifies, that when at Rome, during the pontificate of Damasus, he was constantly engaged, by his order, in answering the synodical consultations that poured in from the East and the West.|| The documents which I have quoted were generally drawn up in reply to such consultations; and to pass over many other instances, it is well known that Augustin, the apostle of England, consulted Pope Gregory on all that appertained to the organization of the English Church, the enforcement of the ecclesiastical laws, and on many points of morality, or, as we may term them, cases of conscience. The letters of the missionary to the Pontiff, with his replies, are found among the letters of Gregory,¶ and in the works

\* Ep. III. ad Tolet. Syn. t. i. Constant col. 766.

† Ep. xvi. *ibid.* col. 835.

‡ Ep. xii. ad episc. Afric. prov. Maurit. Cesar.

§ *Ibidem.* ¶ Ep. xci. alias xi.

¶ L. xi. ep. lxiv.



of Bede, and most plainly shew that the Roman Bishop exercised a universal governing power, and enforced or relaxed ecclesiastical law with supreme authority, having a strict regard to the interests of piety and virtue.

It has been asserted that Gregory disclaimed and reprobated the title and authority of Œcumenical bishop, because he opposed the use of this title by John the Faster, bishop of Constantinople. The term means *universal*, and had been most justly applied to the Pope in various documents of the Council of Chalcedon. It, however, had not been used by Leo, or any of the predecessors of Gregory, because it savored of display, and they chose to be, as it were, on a level with their colleagues, by the exercise of humility, whenever there was no need of putting forward the authority of their office. "You know," says Gregory, writing to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria, "that this title was given in the holy Council of Chalcedon, and afterwards by subsequent fathers to my predecessors: yet none of them would use the term, that they might preserve their own honor before God, whilst in this world they maintained the honor of all priests."\*

In writing to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, Gregory designates the title a profane one: "You know," he says, "that this title was offered by the holy Council of Chalcedon to the Pontiff of the Apostolic See, which, by the appointment of God, I occupy: but none of my predecessors ever consented to use so profane a word, since if one is styled universal patriarch, the name of patriarchs is denied to the others. But far, far away be this from a christian mind, to attempt to usurp a title, whereby the honor of his brethren may be diminished in the slightest degree!"† The term, because ambiguous and capable of perverse interpretation, and in fact perversely used by the bishop of Constantinople, is styled profane: but as employed by the Council of Chalcedon, it was just and proper, although the Popes prudently and humbly abstained from its use.

It is not probable that the term was used by the bishop of Constantinople in its worst sense, since he does not appear to have had any idea of discarding the superior authority of the Roman Bishop, or of denying the episcopal character of his colleagues. After the demise of John the Faster, Cyriacus his successor sent, as was usual, special messengers, to report his ordination, and submit the acts of his synod to the Holy See. Gregory acknowledged that the language of the synod

\* L. viii. ep. xxx.

† L. v. ep. xliii.

was Catholic : but complained that the dangerous title was not abandoned. It was used, indeed, to signify amplitude of jurisdiction, rather than universality : wherefore, even the patriarch of Antioch seemed willing to dissemble,\* lest, for a term capable of a mild explanation, the peace of the Christian world should be disturbed : but Gregory perceived in it the germ of great evils ; and justly reproached the ambitious prelate with preparing the way for future encroachments. “ What will you say at the last judgment to Christ the Head of the Universal Church, whilst you are now striving, under cloak of this appellation, to subject all His members to yourself ? Who, I pray, is held up as a model for imitation in this perverse term, if not he, who, despising the legions of angels to whose ranks he belonged, attempted to rise to extraordinary distinction, that he might appear to be subject to none, and set over all—who even said : ‘ I will ascend into heaven, I will lift up my throne above the stars of heaven.’ ? What are all your brethren, the bishops of the Universal Church, but stars of heaven, over whom you wish to set yourself by a haughty term, and whose title, compared with yours, you wish to trample under foot ?”†

The ambition of the bishop of Constantinople manifested itself at an early period. The imperial dignity of the new Rome, as the city of Constantine was called, emboldened him to claim titles and privileges similar to those of the Bishop of ancient Rome. The fathers of Chalcedon suffered themselves to be dazzled by the splendor of the imperial throne, and consented to his wishes : but Leo the Great annulled their decree as derogatory to the rights of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, recognised by the Council of Nice ; and by the authority of blessed Peter he declared it of no effect. This severe check did not deter John the Faster from aspiring to a title, which the same Council had given only to the Roman Bishop, to whom he avowed his subjection, as Gregory testifies. Speaking of certain Sicilian bishops, who murmured at the supposed adoption at Rome of some Oriental usages, at a time when the ambition of the bishop of Constantinople needed to be checked, rather than fostered, he remarks : “ As to what they say concerning the Church of Constantinople, who doubts that it is subject to the Apostolic See ? This is constantly avowed by the most pious emperor, and by our brother, the bishop of that city.”‡ The assumption had commenced in the pontificate of Pelagius, the predecessor of Gregory, who on learning that John had

\* L. vii. ep. xxvii.

† L. iv. ep. xxxviii.

‡ L. ix. ep. xii.

used the title, in a synod celebrated by him at Constantinople, in the year 588, "sent letters wherein, by the authority of St. Peter the apostle, he annulled the acts of that synod."\* In the same determined spirit of opposition to dangerous ambition, when Gregory understood that a synod had been called to meet in Constantinople, he addressed the bishops who were to convene there, and cautioned them against lending themselves to the ambitious designs of the bishop of that city, for said he, "if one, as he thinks, is universal, it follows that you are not bishops." He remarks that "without the authority and consent of the Apostolic See, their proceedings could have no effect."†

It cannot be thought for a moment that in rejecting the title, Gregory disclaimed any superior authority in himself, as successor of Peter, since he affirmed the contrary, in the most positive terms, and exercised in the most marked manner the power of a ruler of the whole Church. His letters abound with admonitions, injunctions, threats and decrees, directed to bishops in every portion of the Church, all of whom he treated as brethren, whilst they were blameless, but he admonished them as a father, if they erred, and punished them as a judge, when they proved delinquent. When Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, through indignation at the marks of veneration given to a sacred image, broke it in pieces, as an occasion of superstition, and thereby shocked the feelings of the faithful, Gregory sent a special messenger, and wrote to admonish him that the excess, or abuse, should be corrected, without taking sacred images from the Churches, wherein they served as books for the unlearned.‡ On a complaint being lodged of excessive lenity towards a licentious priest, amounting almost to connivance, the same prelate was subjected to such punishment as the bishop of Arles, Vicar of the Holy See, should inflict: "*nostra hoc sic vice corrigere*."§ The proofs of a like exercise of power throughout Gaul, Italy, Sicily, and Corsica are abundant. Africa likewise experienced it. Gregory enjoined on the council of Byzacium to investigate the charges made against their Primate, and proceed as justice might require.|| He directed the bishop of Numidia, in conjunction with Victor the primate and other bishops, to examine the complaints of the clergy against Paulinus, bishop of Tegessis, and proceed according to justice; and he authorized Hilary, his notary, to be present at the trial.¶ His vigilance extended to Illyricum, where he commissioned the bishops of the first Justiniana, and of Scutari, to inquire into the alleged invasion

\* L. v. ep. xliii.

† L. ix. ep. lxviii.

‡ L. ix. ep. cv. l. xi. ep. xiii.

§ L. xi. ep. lv.

|| L. xiii. ep. xxxii.

¶ lb. ep. xxviii.

of the See by the deposed bishop Paul, and in case of his conviction, to confine him to a monastery, and deprive him of the holy communion until death.\* The provinces immediately subject to the patriarchs were not beyond the reach of his authority, although he used it with the moderation which respect for his colleagues dictated. Hearing that simoniacal abuses existed in the Church of Alexandria, he addressed the bishop of that city, and exhorted him to abolish them without delay.† He communicated to the bishop of Jerusalem the statement made to him of simoniacal practices and of *strifes*, which prevailed in that Church, and he urged him to remedy these evils.‡

Gregory felt himself authorized to remove a diocesan bishop, who violated unity; wherefore the inhabitants of the island of Caprea, whose bishop was involved in the Istrian schism, were to receive a bishop from the bishop of Ravenna, by orders of the Pontiff, unless the schismatic abjured his revolt.§ The bishop of Rimini, having become incapable of performing his duties, in consequence of infirmity, forwarded a petition to Gregory, praying him to ordain another in his stead: whereupon the Pope as “charged with the solicitude of all the Churches,” wrote to Marinian, bishop of Ravenna, and directed him to ordain a bishop, when chosen by the clergy and people.||

The highest dignitaries addressed him in terms expressive at once of his exalted station and personal merit. Anastasius, patriarch of Antioch, styled him “the mouth of the Lord.”¶ He in return addressed them affectionately, and whilst stating his faith, and explaining his sentiments as to the duties of the pastoral office, gave to all the patriarchs sublime instructions for their own conduct.\*\* To Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, who had extolled the dignity of the chair of Peter, Gregory replied that Alexandria and Antioch participated in this honor: “Your Holiness has said many things very amiably in your letters, concerning the chair of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, who, you observe, still occupies it through his successors.—Who does not know that the holy Church is strengthened by the solidity of the prince of the apostles, whose name denotes the firmness of his mind, being called Peter from the rock? To him Truth itself said: ‘I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.’ And again: ‘Thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.’ And again: ‘Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep.’”††

\* L. xii. ep. xxx. xxxi.

§ L. ix. ep. xcvi.

\*\* lb. ep. xxv.

† L. xiii. ep. xii.

‡ L. vii. ep. xix.

†† L. vii. ep. xl.

§ L. xi. ep. xlv.

¶ L. i. ep. vii.

The contest concerning the title of Œcumenical continued until Phocas, who succeeded Mauritius in the empire, at the instance of Pope Boniface IV. in 607, forbad the use of the obnoxious term, by the bishop of Constantinople, and commanded the Apostolic See of Blessed Peter, "which is the head of all the Churches," to be maintained in the enjoyment of the honor belonging to her. The evil was then repressed; but it broke out anew in the ninth century, when Photius, the intruder into the patriarchate, found it his interest to disregard altogether the superior authority of the Roman Bishop. No one was better qualified to exemplify in his own person the results of the false principle, which measured the dignity of the bishop by his proximity to the throne, than the courtier who passed to the patriarchal chair through imperial favor. His revolt against the paternal rule of the successor of Peter, who maintained the rights of Ignatius, the deposed patriarch, showed that pride and ambition are opposed to the order which Divine Wisdom has established in the Church. The scandal of this schism was subsequently repaired, and the governing power of the Roman Pontiff fully admitted by the Greeks, but the elements of discord still remained, to burst forth anew in the eleventh century. From that time palliatives were in vain applied, and after several ineffectual attempts at reunion, the evil became desperate, in the fifteenth century, when the sword of the Mussulman was employed by Divine Justice to punish the obstinacy which no condescension could cure. Thus the vanity of a title, and the love of power, gradually brought on calamities which the weak men who first ambitioned it, did not at all anticipate. The throne of the imperial favorite has been overturned, whilst the chair of Peter remains where his hand placed it.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE HIERARCHY.

Nothing is clearer in the history of the Church than the distinction of rank among her prelates, which is even acknowledged by those who consider it a matter wholly of ecclesiastical arrangement. It is admitted that there were presiding bishops in each province, who were called *metropolitans*; and that among them some were pre-eminent, and as *primates* took precedence in great national councils; and others exercised ample jurisdiction over vast provinces, whence they were called *patriarchs*, a title, which, however, is far more recent than the authority which it is used to designate. The Roman Bishop was first among the patriarchs, uniting with his general superintendence over the whole Church, a special jurisdiction over the dioceses of the West, namely Illyricum, Italy, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Africa proper. The bishop of Alexandria exercised patriarchal jurisdiction in Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis; and occupied the second place in the hierarchy. The bishop of Antioch was third in dignity, and enjoyed plenary jurisdiction throughout the East. The primacy appears conspicuously in the relations of the Pope to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. "If you will review the canons," says Pope Boniface, "you will find which is the second See, and which is the third, after the Roman Church. This order of things seems to have been thus distinguished, that the prelates of other Churches should know to whom they should be subject, on account of ecclesiastical discipline, without detriment to charity.—The great Churches of Alexandria and Antioch keep their privileges, by means of the canons, having a knowledge of ecclesiastical law: they observe, I say, the enactment of their ancestors, deferring in all things to us, and receiving a return of the attachment which they know they owe us in the Lord, who is our peace."\*

In the council of Ephesus the bishop of Jerusalem, who was previously suffragan of Cæsarea, sought privileges, but was opposed by

St. Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, who, through Leo, then archdeacon of the Roman Church, advised Pope Celestine of the attempt. At Chalcedon a compromise was entered into between the patriarch of Antioch, and the bishop of Jerusalem, who thenceforward ranked with patriarchs, having received jurisdiction over the three Palestines, whilst the two Phenicias with Arabia remained subject to the bishop of Antioch.

The order of the Church, whereby its various parts are thus established in dependance on each other, and the unity of the whole is provided for, is admirably described by St. Leo, in a letter to his Vicar, Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica. "On the connexion of the whole body," says he "depend its health and beauty, and this connexion requires indeed the harmony of all the members, especially of the priests whose dignity is common ; but their rank is not the same, since even among the most blessed apostles, although their dignity was similar, there was a certain distinction of authority, and whilst all were equally chosen, to one, nevertheless, was granted pre-eminence over the rest. From which model the distinction of bishops has likewise arisen, and it has been provided with great wisdom, lest all should claim all things for themselves, that there should be in each province individuals, whose sentence is first among their brethren, and in the greater cities others having a more extensive charge, through whom the Universal Church should flow to the one See of Peter, and nothing any where should be in discordance with the head."\*

The Bishop of Rome sustained the patriarchs in their Sees, and lent the aid of his authority to maintain their rights. When Athanasius had been restored to his See, conformably to the sentence of Julius, and of the council of Sardica, the Pope wrote to the faithful of Alexandria, to congratulate them on the success of their prayers for the restoration of their bishop ; thus recommending him to their confidence. Peter, who had been forced to flee from his See, and had taken refuge in Rome, returned to Alexandria in 378, "bringing with him a letter of the Bishop Damasus, in which he approved the faith of the consubstantiality, and the ordination of Peter."† In these terms Socrates, the Greek historian, records the act of the Pontiff, whereby he claimed for the returning patriarch the obedience and affection of his flock. John Talaja, in the following century, sought to be confirmed by the Pope in the See of Alexandria, as Simplicius affirms in his letter

\* Ep. xiv. ad Anastasium Thessalon.

† Socr. l. iv. c. xxxvii.

to Acacius: "that the succession of a Catholic bishop to the ministry of the deceased might derive strength from the assent of the Apostolic authority."\*

The dependence of the patriarchates on the Roman Bishop is further evinced from the pontifical interposition in some extraordinary cases. Pope Leo wrote to Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, to correct some usages which were not in harmony with the traditions of the Roman Church, observing that the disciple of St. Peter had not certainly differed from the teaching of his master: "for," says he, "since the most blessed Peter received the apostolic principality from the Lord, and the Roman Church perseveres in his traditions, we cannot believe that his holy disciple Mark, who first governed the Church of Alexandria, framed differently the decrees which have come down from him by tradition."†

The Church of Antioch stood in similar relation to the See of Peter, as is clear from the testimony of Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, in the council of Antioch. "It is customary, conformably with apostolic order and tradition, that the See of Antioch should be directed by the See of the Great Rome, and should be judged by it."‡

When the bishop of Constantinople acquired importance, and claimed patriarchal authority, it became customary to communicate his ordination to the Holy See by a formal embassy. Nectarius being chosen bishop of Constantinople, ambassadors were despatched by the emperor Theodosius to the Roman Bishop, with a view to obtain his assent and confirmation, as Pope Boniface testifies: "Theodosius, a prince, whose clemency is in sweet remembrance, considering that the ordination of Nectarius was not assured, because it was not known to us, sending courtiers from his side with bishops, asked in due form a letter of communion to be addressed to him by this Holy See, to strengthen his priesthood."§ This custom was considered obligatory; wherefore Pope Hormisdas required Epiphanius, bishop of that See, to comply with it, and would not be contented with a mere letter of information.|| A splendid embassy was sent to Rome, in the year 398, at the head whereof was Acacius of Berræa, to notify the election of St. John Chrysostom.¶ Innocent I. refused to acknowledge Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, until he should send ambassadors to communicate his election, and prove that he had fulfilled the conditions of peace pre-

\* Ep. vii.

† Ep. ix. ad Dioscorum ep. Alex.

‡ Conc. Antioch. Act iv. t. iv. Conc. Edit. Mansi col. 1311.

§ Vide Bonifacii I. ep. xiv. t. i. Constant.

|| Hormisdæ ep. lxxviii. alias cxi.

¶ Pallad. de vita Chrysost. c. iv.



scribed by the Pontiff.\* Cyriacus, bishop of that city, sent ambassadors to Gregory the Great, with the proceedings of the synod, after his ordination.

The authority of the Pope became particularly manifest when the patriarchates, in consequence of the incursion of heretics, required his interposition. Pope Boniface in the year 422, states, "that the greatest Oriental Churches in great affairs which needed greater discussion, always consulted the Roman See, and when the case required it, sought its aid."† St. Basil, who was metropolitan of Cæsarea, writing to Meletius, patriarch of Antioch, communicated to him the design which he had formed of sending to Rome, to obtain a visit from some of the Italian prelates, with a view to settle the disturbances of the East. The bearer of his letter was a deacon named Dorothee: "This resolution has been formed," he says, "that this same brother of our's, Dorothee, should go to Rome, and press some to visit us from Italy."‡ He wrote in like manner to St. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria: "It has appeared to us advisable to send to the Bishop of Rome, that he may look to our affairs, and to suggest to him, that if it be difficult to despatch some persons thence by a general and synodical decree, he himself, by his authority, may act in the case, and choose persons able to bear the journey, and endowed with such meekness and firmness of character as would be likely to recall the perverse to correct sentiments."§ Addressing Damasus, Bishop of Rome, he styles him: "Most honored Father!" and states that the hope that harmony and truth would prevail, having hitherto proved deceptive, he has recourse to him, that he may succour the Churches of the East, as Dionysius, bishop of Rome, had formerly done: "Being disappointed in our expectations, and unable to bear our evils any longer, we have resolved to write, and urge you to come to our relief, and to send us some men harmonizing in sentiment, who may reconcile the dissentient, or restore the Churches of God to harmony, or, at least, make more manifest to you the authors of disturbance, that you may hereafter plainly know with whom it is proper for you to hold communion. We ask nothing new, but what has been usual of old with other blessed men beloved of God, especially among yourselves, for we know by tradition, being instructed by our fathers whom we have questioned, and by documents which are still preserved amongst us, that Dionysius, the most blessed Bishop, who was illustrious among you for the integrity of his faith, and his other virtues, visited, by letter, our Church of Cæsarea, and in writing consoled our fathers,

\* Ep. xxii. apud Coustant t. i. col. 848.

† Ep. xvi. apud Coustant t. i. col. 1043.

‡ Ep. lxviii.

§ Ep. lxix.

and sent persons to ransom the brethren from captivity. Our affairs are at present in a more difficult and gloomy situation, and need greater care: for we now grieve over, not the razing of our earthly dwellings, but the destruction of our Churches—we witness not corporal servitude, but the bondage of our souls, which is daily effected by the abettors of heresy, who have the sway. Wherefore, unless you hasten to our relief, in a little while you will scarcely find to whom you may reach the hand, since all will be brought under the power of heresy.”\* The language of this address is that of affectionate appeal to superior authority. Not merely as a brother, sound in faith, and possessing wide influence, but as one clothed with power, whose messengers might gain to truth and peace the rebellious children of error, Damasus was addressed. Were personal influence alone regarded, Basil might be expected to accomplish much more than the envoys of the Roman Bishop: but the high authority of Damasus would be respected by those who would not yield to the persuasive eloquence of the metropolitan of Cesarea, or to the authority of the patriarch of Antioch.

The Roman Bishop does not appear to have interfered in the election of the patriarchs, or of bishops within their jurisdiction. In the Western patriarchate he constituted the first bishops, most of the founders of the Churches having been sent by him, as Innocent I. confidently stated in the beginning of the fifth century: “It is manifest,” says he, “that no one founded Churches throughout all Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Sicily, and the adjacent islands, except those whom the venerable Peter, or his successors ordained priests.”† Bede traces to the same source the origin of the ancient British Church, and states that in the decline of the second century, a British king named Lucius sent to Eleutherius, the Bishop of Rome, to ask for instructors in the Christian law,‡ from which time there was a succession of bishops down to the arrival of Augustin. This statement, made no doubt on the authority of the ancient tradition of the British Church, and of public documents, is reconcilable with all that we know with certainty from any other source of the existence of a hierarchy in Britain. We are not informed of the mode adopted for perpetuating the succession, but it is highly probable that the election and ordination of bishops were regulated by the Holy See, in a manner to render unnecessary any direct recourse to Rome, a matter, in that age, of no small difficulty, considering the distance, and the frequency of persecution and of war. In such circumstances the chief Bishop has at all times manifested the

\* Ep. lxx.    † Ep. xxv. ad Decentium Eugub.    ‡ L. i. Hist. Ecol. Angl.

greatest anxiety to provide for the wants of the Churches. It is certain that the bishops of Britain were in full communion with him, since some of them, in the name of all, were present at the councils of Arles and Sardica, wherein a most unequivocal tribute was paid to the prerogatives of the Roman Bishop.\*

The Pope watched over the British Church at all times, as may be gathered from what Prosper, in his Chronicle, states, namely, that in 429, Pope Celestine, at the instance of the deacon Palladius, sent German, bishop of Autun, as his Vicar, into Britain to oppose the Pelagian errors, and direct the Britons according to the Catholic faith. He likewise ordained Palladius bishop for the Scotch, and whilst laboring to preserve Britain, a Roman island, in the profession of the Catholic faith, he brought an island of barbarians, namely not belonging to the Roman empire, to the profession of Christianity.†

When Augustin was sent to the Anglo-Saxons, his authority was extended over the British bishops, whom Gregory felt it to be his right and duty to subject to the authority of a superior, to correct the abuses which had crept in among them. To this Pontiff is due the organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church. He gave to Augustin the pallium, authorizing him to consecrate twelve bishops, of whom the bishop of London should have the pallium, and be consecrated by his own synod, and the bishop of York should also have power to consecrate twelve bishops, and have metropolitical authority, but he himself should be subject to Canterbury, and according to seniority, precede or follow the bishop of London.‡

The pallium, of which Gregory makes mention, is a sacred ornament consisting of a few woollen bands with crosses, which hangs round the neck, and has been from a very ancient period worn by archbishops, and others invested with extensive jurisdiction. This badge of authority was conferred by the Bishop of Rome, who in the year 336 ordained that the bishop of Ostia should use it, since he was the consecrator of the Roman Pontiff.§ In the sixth century several instances occur of its concession to various prelates, and Gregory the Great speaks of it as an immemorial usage. From his letters it appears that he granted it to Constantius, bishop of Milan, who was metropolitan in Italy; Maximus, metropolitan in Dalmatia; Leander of Seville, metropolitan of the Betic province in Spain; John of Corinth, metropolitan in the Morea; Andrew of Nicopolis, metropolitan in Epi-

\* See the sixth letter of a learned correspondent of the Catholic Herald, addressed to Rev. W. H. Odenheimer.

† In Chronicle ad an 439. ‡ Ep. lxx. § Anast. t. II. in Marci vita.

rus ; John of the first Justiniana, or Ocrida, metropolitan of Dardania ; Virgil of Arles, metropolitan of Narbonne, and to the metropolitan bishops of Aquileja, Cagliari, Dyrrachium, Crete, Philipopolis, Salonica.

When sending the pallium to Augustin, Gregory admonished him that the rights of the Gaulish metropolitan over his own province should remain inviolate : “ We give you no authority over the bishops of Gaul, because from the ancient times of my predecessors, the bishop of Arles received the pallium, whom we must not deprive of the authority with which he is invested.”\* Leo the Great, on the election of Ravennius to the See of Arles, had written to the bishops of the province, congratulating them on this event, and “ by his judgment strengthened” their good work.† It is probable that the pallium was sent on this occasion. Gregory directed the pallium to be given to the bishop of Autun in a synod, which he ordered to be held, requiring, however, a promise on his part to remove simoniacal abuses.‡ At the same time he assigned to this bishop the next place after the bishop of Lyons, by his own indulgence and authority.§ When Desiderius, a bishop of some place in Gaul, sought the pallium, Gregory answered that after diligent search in the Roman archives, he could find no document of such a grant to the predecessors of the petitioner.|| In sending the pallium to the bishop of Palermo, he observed : “ We admonish you that the reverence due to the Apostolic See should be disturbed by the presumption of no one, for the state of the members is sound, when the head of faith suffers no injury, and the authority of the canons continues always safe and inviolate.”¶

Several instances of the grant of this emblem of authority to the English metropolitans are recorded by Venerable Bede. St. Boniface V. sent it to Justin, archbishop of Canterbury :\*\* Pope Honorius invested with it his namesake who had succeeded to this See, and gave it also to Paulinus of York, authorizing the survivor of them to provide for the vacant See by ordaining a bishop.†† Theodore, a Greek monk, was consecrated at Rome in 668, for the See of Canterbury, by Pope Vitalian, from whom he received the pallium.‡‡ Long after the time of Bede, the like facts are recorded. In 1005, Elphege, archbishop of Canterbury, received the pallium at Rome, from the hands of John XVIII. It may be superfluous to quote other instances, since the fact of the dependance of the English Church on the Holy See from the time of

\* Ep. lxiv.

† Ep. xl. ad episc. per Arelat.

‡ Ep. cvii.

§ Ep. cviii.

|| Ep. cxii.

¶ L. xiii. ep. xxxvii.

\*\* Hist. Eccl. l. II.

†† Ibidem.

‡‡ L. iv. c. xlii. xvi.

Gregory to the reign of Henry VIII. a period of above nine hundred years is freely avowed by Anglican writers, who trace to Augustin their claims to the apostolic succession.\*

In 1059 Alfred, archbishop of York, with Gison elect of Wells and Walter of Hereford, went to Rome, the first seeking the pallium, the others their confirmation of their election. The archbishop being

\* I borrow the following list from the appendix to a recent work of an American divine, Rev. Lloyd Winslow:—

174 Eleutherius,	530 Boniface II.	1005 Elphege,
187 Victor,	532 John II.	1013 Lifing,
198 Zephyrinus,	535 Agapetus I.	1020 Athelnoth,
216 Calixtus,	536 Silverius,	1033 Eaday,
221 Urban.	540 Vigilus,	1150 Robert,
229 Pontianus,	555 Pelagius I.	1052 Stigand,
235 Anteros,	560 John III.	1070 Lanfranc,
236 Fabianus,	574 Benedict I.	1093 Anselm,
251 Cornelius,	578 Pelagius II.	1114 Rodolphus,
253 Lucius,	590 Gregory I. <i>the great</i> ,	1122 William Corbeil,
255 Stephanus,	whosent Augustine,	1138 Theobald,
257 Sixtus II.	a monk, missionary	1162 Thomas a Becket
259 Dionysius,	to England, and with	1174 Richard,
269 Felix I.	the consent of Eth-	1184 Baldwin,
269 Felix II.	elbert, king of Kent,	1191 Reginald Fitzjocelin
275 Eutychianus,	consecrated him first	1193 Hubert Walter,
283 Caius,	Archbishop of Can-	1207 Stephen Langton,
296 Marcellinus,	terbury, in	1229 Richard,
308 Marcellus I.	596 He was succeeded in	1234 Edmund,
310 Eusebius,	605 by Laurence,	1245 Boniface,
310 Melchisedes,	619 Malitus,	1272 Robert Kilwardby,
314 Silvester I.	624 Justus,	1278 John Peckham,
336 Mark,	634 Honorius	1594 Robert Wincheely,
337 Julius I.	654 Adeodatus,	1313 Walter Reynolds,
352 Liberius,	668 Theodore,	1328 Simeon Mepham,
366 Damasus I.	693 Berthwald,	1333 John Stratford,
385 Siricius,	731 Tatwin,	1348 Thos. Bradwardin,
398 Anastasius I.	735 Nothelm,	1349 Simon Is'ip,
402 Innocent I.	742 Cuthbert,	1366 Simon Langham,
417 Zosimus,	759 Bregwin,	1368 Wm. Whittlesey,
418 Boniface I.	763 Lambert,	1374 Simon Sudbury,
422 Celestine I.	793 Athelard,	1381 William Courtney,
432 Sixtus III.	803 Wulfred,	1396 Thomas Arundel,
440 Leo I. <i>or, the great</i> ,	830 Feologild,	1414 Henry Chicheley,
461 Hilarius,	871 Athelred,	1443 John Stafford,
468 Simplicius,	891 Plegmund,	1452 John Kemp,
483 Felix III.	923 Athelm,	1454 Thomas Bourchier,
492 Gelasius I.	928 Ulfhelm,	1486 John Morton,
496 Anastasius II.	941 Odo,	1501 Henry Dean,
498 Symmachus,	959 Dunstan,	1503 William Warham,
514 Hormiadas,	988 Ethelgar,	1533 Thomas Cranmer,
523 John I.	989 Siric,	1555 Reginald Pole,
526 Felix IV.	996 Alfrio	

From Appendix to Inquiry into the Ministerial Commission.

charged with simony met with a refusal, but afterwards, having suffered from the violence of a brigand, moved the Pope to grant his request. The others were confirmed without difficulty.\*

Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas archbishop of York in 1071, went to Rome to ask the pallium from Pope Alexander II. who granted it, and in token of special favor, granted a second pallium to Lanfranc, that which the Pontiff himself was wont to use in celebrating Mass.†

In the contests about privileges between the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the concessions of the Popes were relied on, as appears from the report by Lanfranc to Alexander II. of the proceedings of the council held to determine them: "For the final strength and support of the whole case, the privileges and writings of your predecessors Gregory, Boniface, Honorius, Vitalian, Sergius, also of another Gregory, and of the last Leo were produced, which had been given or transmitted at various times to the prelates of the Church of Canterbury, and to the English kings."‡

In 1117 Henry I. of England solicited Paschal II. to relieve his kingdom from the necessity of receiving Papal legates, alleging that the archbishop of Canterbury was by the decree of Gregory the Great legate of the Holy See, or as Canonists say, *legatus natus*. The Pope replied that he wished the privileges of the See of Canterbury to be preserved inviolate, and asked for documentary evidence.§ In 1194 Celestine at the request of King Richard and the suffragan bishops, appointed Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, his legate.||

In 1173 when Henry II. was opposed by his son, who usurped the regal title and authority, he made several nominations to the vacant Sees, and sent the elect to Rome for confirmation, to prevent which an ambassador from the son also presented himself to the Pontiff. Alexander III. decided in favor of the right of the father, and in 1174 with his own hands solemnly consecrated Richard, prior of Dover, archbishop of Canterbury, as Roger relates.¶

After a constant and unquestionable usage of above nine centuries, wherein the English hierarchy was modelled and regulated by the Apostolic See,\*\* it must be a matter of surprise to hear modern writers

\* Baron. ad an 1059, p. 258.

† Baron. an. 1071, p. 400.

‡ Apud Baron. an. 1072, p. 409.

§ Apud Baron. an. 1117.

|| lb. an. 1194, p. 875.

¶ Baron. ad an 1174, p. 666.

\*\* "As to the Anglo-Saxon Church," says Guizot, "You know that having been founded by the Popes themselves, it was placed from the commencement under their most direct influence." *Cours d'histoire moderne* t. iii. p. 67.

rely on the alleged independence of the ancient British Church. If this were proved, it could avail nothing to those who derive whatever coloring of claim they may have from the See of Canterbury, founded by Augustin, among the converted English. This independence is claimed chiefly on the authority of an address, said to have been made by the Abbot Dinoth to the venerable missionary, at an interview with the British prelates. I shall take leave to submit to the readers the evidence of the supposititious nature of this document in the words of a learned correspondent of the Catholic Herald.

“I. This document has no voucher for its authenticity. 1. Spelman was the first to produce it in 1639,\* copied,—from, what he calls, an old manuscript, of which, however, nothing is known, but that it belonged to a Welsh gentleman, named P. Moston. He neither states the nature nor the author of the work, in which he found it, nor any other circumstance that might enable us to form an opinion of the value to be attached to it. Indeed, he himself does not appear to give it much weight, or to look upon it as ancient: he avows, that he cannot say by whom, or at what time it was written, though he thinks it was copied from a more ancient manuscript (*antiquiorem procul dubio imitante*). 2. He says he copied the Welch, and the interlinear English translation, without changing an iota (*ut ne in apice quidem ab exemplari discederem*), and has added a Latin one for the use of foreigners.† The English, however, is evidently not much anterior to his own time. It differs from that given in your book only in the spelling of two words—*helpe* and *spirituall*. This shows that Spelman’s manuscript was not ancient. 3. Spelman thought that the original manuscript was in the Cotton library; and Wilkins, in reproducing Dinoth’s answer‡ a century later, quotes one of the Cotton manuscripts. Still not a word about its author—its appearance—its date, or any one circumstance that would throw light on its authenticity: though, be it remarked, this was contested from its first appearance. Although Wilkins had access to the Cotton manuscript, he leaves us as much in the dark as ever, and is satisfied with quoting Spelman’s description and reasoning, at full length.

“II. It bears evident marks of being spurious. 1. Dinoth would not have addressed St. Augustine in British (Welch). The Abbot of Bangor certainly could have addressed him in Latin, and Augustine did not understand British. The document, on the other hand, is not pretended to be a translation. 2. Persons acquainted with the Welch

\* Spelman, Conc. Tom. i. p. 108.

† Spelman, Conc. Tom. i. p. 109.

‡ Wilk. Conc. Tom. i. p. 26.

tongue appear to have admitted that the language of the piece is modern.\* In the passage, which I will quote below from Fuller, he appears to give up this point. The word *helpio* (to help), evidently from the Saxon, betrays a later date. 3. The word *Paab* (Pope,) is used as if that title was then given exclusively to the Bishop of Rome by all. The word *Papa* means "father," and for many centuries was given to all bishops.† There are one or two instances, during the sixth century, of its being applied to the Bishop of Rome, in a peculiar manner,‡ but the custom of doing so was not universally established till long after, nor did it finally obtain till as late as the eleventh century.§ The dignity designated by it now, was expressed by other words in ancient times.

"III. There is a glaring anachronism in the document. The bishop of Caerleon is spoken of as the metropolitan of the Britons, though the archiepiscopal See was removed from that place, more than 80 years before the interview in question. It was transferred to Landaff in 512; and thence to Menevia (afterwards called S. David's) in 519.|| Bingham,¶ Spelman,\*\* Fuller,†† and others, meet this argument, by saying, that the bishop of Menevia retained also the bishopric of Caerleon; and therefore Dinoth might have spoken of him as bishop of either place, especially as Caerleon had formerly been the metropolitan See. To this I reply. 1. It is gratuitously asserted, that the bishop of Menevia retained the bishopric of Caerleon; and this is asserted merely for the purpose of evading an argument, without any proof that such was the fact; I, at least, have not been able to find any in the authors above quoted, or any allusion to its being proved by others. 2. In the absence of positive proof, we must say, that it is at least highly improbable that he did. If Caerleon did not retain a bishop of its own, after losing its archiepiscopal dignity, it is much more probable, that it remained under the government of the bishop of Landaff, to which See it was first united in 512, than that it was entrusted to the bishop of Menevia. Landaff is almost on the line *between* the two places,—but no more than 15 miles from Caerleon, whilst this latter is almost

\* Vid. Dolinger's History of the Church, vol. ii. p. 62, who quotes Taberville Manual Controv. p. 460.

† Ducang. Glossar. ad verb. Papa. Binterim. Denkwürdigkeiten. 1 Band. 2 Theil. p. 144.

‡ Sirmond Not. in Ennod. Ticin. Epist. l. lib. 4.

§ At the Council of Rome, A. D. 1075.

¶ Spelm. Conc. Tom. I. p. 25. Wilk. ad. ann. 519.

‡ Lib. ix. c. i. §. xii.

\*\* page 106.

†† p. 61.



109 miles from S. David's\*—no trifling distance in those days, and in the mountains of Wales. It will not be easy, I apprehend, to find examples, in those times, of bishops holding Sees so distant from one another, and separated by intervening dioceses. 3. Even if it were ascertained, that the bishop of Menevia did hold the diocese of Caerleon, it would not remove the difficulty. Any person acquainted with such matters, in speaking of the metropolitan of a province, would speak of him, as bishop of the See to which the archiepiscopal dignity was attached. It is admitted that the archiepiscopal dignity was transferred to the See of Menevia, in the synod of Brevy in 519.† The examples brought by Bingham,‡ of the bishop of Man, being also bishop of Sodor in the Hebrides, and of the bishops of Porto and Ostia, who, being Cardinals, have resided in Rome for centuries back, are not to the purpose. In ecclesiastical language, a See is not transferred because its bishop resides elsewhere. The See of Sodor is not transferred to Man; both Sees are united; the Sees of Porto and Ostia are not transferred to Rome; their bishops merely reside there. The first example would, at most, explain, how it might have been said of a person residing in the diocese of Caerleon, that he was subject to the bishop of Menevia; but neither explains how the privileges of one See can be attributed to another, because both happen to be held by the same bishop.

“IV. Bede must have known nothing of it, or of the sentiments it expresses, otherwise he would have mentioned it. He is very severe on the Britons, perhaps unduly so,§ for their mode of celebrating Easter. Had he known, that they denied the supremacy of the Pope, he would not have omitted to mention it; it would have constituted a much more heinous crime in his eyes, than the erroneous manner of celebrating Easter. For he must be a bold writer, who will call in question Bede's attachment to the authority of the Pope: his account of Augustine's interview shall be discussed in my next.

“V. If to the above arguments, I could now add the mass of evidence which will be produced in the following letters, and which places it beyond all doubt, that the Primacy of Rome was admitted by the ancient British Church; the authenticity of this document—first

\* This will be seen by inspecting any map of Wales. Caerleon is a little above Newport in Monmouthshire, Landaff is a little to the South West in Glamorganshire, and S. David's at the extreme West in Pembrokeshire.

† See Wilk. and Spelm. ubi supra.

‡ Loc. cit.

§ Vid. Dollinger's Church History, vol. ii. p. 70.

produced in the seventeenth century, and written—no one knows by whom,—would not be admitted for a moment.

"You see, Sir, that the 'message' of Dinoth, is far from being of such an undoubted character, as might be imagined from the confidence with which it is quoted by most Protestant writers. When you return to the subject, you will be able to quote it with much force, if you succeed in refuting the above arguments one by one. It will not be amiss to let our readers see what Fuller, to whom you refer us for the original, says on the subject. His faith in its authenticity does not appear to have been so very strong; and it would seem that he almost, if not entirely, admits the modern character of the language.

He introduces it to his readers, with the pithy remark\* "let it shift as it can for its authenticity." After inserting it, in Welch and English, and making the remark quoted above about Caerleon, he continues,† "A late Papist much impugneth the credit of this manuscript (as made since the dayes of King Henry the Eighth) and cavilleth at the Welsh thereof as modern, and full of false spelling. He need not have used so much violence to wrest it out of our hands, who can part with it without considerable losse to ourselves, or gain to our adversaries; for it is but a breviat, or abstract, of those passages which in Bede and other authours appear most true, of the British refusing subjection to the See of Rome. Whilest therefore the chapter is canonically, it matters not if the contents be *apochrypha* (as the additions of some wel-meaning scribe).‡ And though this Welsh be far LATER than the dayes of Abbot Dinoth, and the English (added in the original) LATER than the Welsh (!); yet the Latin, as ancienter than both,§ containeth nothing contrary to the sense of all authours, which write this intercourse betwixt Augustine and the Welsh nation."

\* p. 60.

† p. 61. Fuller wrote in 1656, A. D., only 17 years after the document was first produced by Spelman. Fuller's own English has not a more modern stamp, than that of the version of the address of Dinoth.

‡ This hint is in accordance with what history tells us of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., in which "ingenious devices" appear to have been common. \* The forgery of documents was then so prevalent as to be made a source of fiscal gain. Pardons were issued at a small charge, and ran thus "perdonamus falsas fabricationes chartarum, scriptorum, monumentorum et publicationes eorum."—*Waterworth's Lectures on the Reform.* p. 383.

§ This is a piece of wit evidently without point. The Latin which Spelman gives is a translation of his own, made for the use of foreigners who did not understand even the English. (His words are, p. 109, in *alienigenarum beneficium Latinum addidi.*)

This being the character of the evidence offered, it is clear there is no solid ground for believing that the ancient Britons claimed any such independence as is now asserted. They were unwilling to acknowledge Augustin as their archbishop, because they apprehended that he would exercise over them a painful authority, but their resistance is easily reconcileable with the abstract and general admission of the superior power of the Roman See. They might object to this particular exercise of power as harsh and unjust, without denying that the power itself existed. Gregory, however, had not made their assent a condition for its exercise; but as one conscious of his own authority he had commissioned Augustin to use it for the advancement of the interests of piety: "We commit," said he, "the care of all the British bishops to you, Brother, that the unlearned may be instructed, the weak strengthened by advice, the perverse authoritatively corrected."\*

The defenders of Anglican independence maintain that there were anciently Churches *autocephalous*, dependent on no patriarch, and refer to the Churches of Cyprus as thus constituted, and allege that the British Churches enjoyed the same right of self-government and ordained their own prelates. In the council of Ephesus the bishops of Cyprus complained that the bishop of Antioch claimed the right of ordinations in their Churches, contrary to ancient immemorial usage.† The bishop, on the contrary, alleged that his predecessors had invariably exercised this power, up to the time of the prevalence of Arianism, when an interruption took place. He had obtained from the Pope a decree in his favor, but the facts were still questioned, and the council contented itself with ordering that the ancient usages and privileges of the Churches should be respected. This decision, though made apparently in the persuasion that the allegations of the bishops of Cyprus were correct, does not establish the fact. It supposes and sanctions the principle that there may be Churches so organized as to have the power of ordination, without the action of the patriarch. Before applying it to the ancient British Churches, the fact of their having been so constituted should be proved, not assumed as certain. If this task were accomplished, it should then be shown that the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy, which was immediately derived from Rome through Augustin, and constituted and modelled by Gregory, inherited the supposed privileges of the British Churches. It should further be proved that contrary usage during nine centuries could not induce a forfeiture of them. The usage of the last three centuries cannot be fair-

\* Ep. lxiv.

† Act. vii. col. 1617. t. i. Hard.

ly alleged as sufficient to correct the former usage, since it was not canonical, but introduced and effected by the civil power, contrary to the liberty and divine rights of the Church. Anglicans with evident inconsistency trace their orders to Augustin, the envoy of Rome, and their independence to the ancient Britons who resisted his authority ! If their orders were fully established, which I hold to have entirely failed in Matthew Parker, the fact should bind them to Rome, and make them, like Augustin himself, most obedient to her authority : but in no case can they derive privileges from the ancient British Church, with which they have no connexion whatever. There is no disposition on the part of the Holy See to interfere with ancient privileges of local Churches, wherever they are shown either from positive documents, or immemorial uninterrupted usage. "God forbid," said Gregory the Great, "that I should infringe the statutes of the ancients made by my fellow-bishops in any Church ; for I do an injury to myself, if I disturb the rights of my brethren. But as to ecclesiastical privileges, hold this, brother, for undoubted, that as we defend our own rights, so we preserve to every Church also its own."\*

The arrangement made by St. Gregory for the ordination of bishops in England may lead us to infer that in like manner provision was made by the Holy See in the foundation of each local Church in the West for the perpetuity of its hierarchy. Whatever mode was sanctioned was a sufficient exercise of the patriarchal, or primatial power, since to prescribe the conditions of the election is equivalent to a confirmation of it after it has been made. In Gaul the bishop of Arles was invested with extraordinary power as delegate of the Holy See, and thereby authorized to see that the election of bishops should be made canonically, if not expressly to confirm them. Through these apostolical delegates the Pope exercised great influence over the ordinations of bishops, as Thomassin remarks. When treating of "the confirmation of bishops elected during the first five centuries," he says : "I will not in this place dwell particularly on legates and vicars of the Apostolic See, who before the year 500 were appointed by the Pope over metropolitans. I will barely observe that of those the primate of Thessalonica was the most ancient : that the others resembled him very much : that the Gallican Church obeyed those papal legates, who presided even over metropolitans ; and that this is sufficient to demonstrate, that the Bishop of Rome not only held but exercised anciently no inconsiderable authority over the ordinations of all the bishops of the Roman patriarchate.†

\* L. i. ep. xxxvii.

† *Vetus et Nova Eccl. discipl.* p. II. l. II. c. viii.

Milan was an archiepiscopal See with nineteen suffragans so far back as the days of St. Leo the Great, as appears from the letter of Eusebius, bishop of that city, to the Pontiff:\* yet it depended on Rome to ratify the election of the bishop. When Deusdedit, a deacon, was chosen to that See, St. Gregory the Great, having received the report of his election, instructed his notary Pantaleon to ascertain whether it had been unanimous, as was stated, and whether his life was free from reproach, and in case the result of the inquiry was favorable, directed and solemnly decreed his ordination, by the authority of that letter.† In order not to infringe on the usages of the See, he willed him to be ordained by the suffragan bishops, in conformity with ancient usage, but with the pontifical assent. At the same time he rejected the individual nominated for that See by Agilulph, king of the Lombards.

In Greece, as well as in Italy, the Pope exercised his authority, dispensing in the canons in extraordinary cases, where personal merit and the interests of the Church so required. Boniface I. appointed Perigenes, Bishop of Corinth, who had been previously ordained for the See of Patras, but was opposed by the people. Some bishops resisted this exercise of authority, probably on the ground that the translation of bishops was forbidden by the canons. The Pope insisted that the act of the Holy See could not be called in question. In his letter to the bishops of Macedonia, Achaja, Thessalia, Epirus old and new, Prevalis and Dacia, he says: "The solicitude of the Universal Church, which he undertook, rests on the blessed apostle Peter, by the decree of the Lord, since, according to the testimony of the Evangelist, he knows that it was founded on him: nor can his honor be free from solicitude, as it is certain that all depends on his deliberation. These things expand my mind to the provinces of the East; which our solicitude makes present to us." He proceeds to observe: "the Apostolic See, after mature examination of all the facts, appointed Perigenes bishop of Corinth:" and he dwells on the grievousness of the sin of resisting the authority of blessed Peter, "in whom," he says, "our Christ established the high priesthood. Whoever rises contumeliously against him, cannot become an inhabitant of the kingdom of heaven. 'To thee,' he says, 'I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven: into which no one shall enter without the favor of the gate-keeper. 'Thou art,' he says, 'Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church.' Whosoever, therefore, desires to be considered a priest in the sight of our God, since we come to God through Peter, on whom as we before

\* Apud Labbe con. III. p. 1334.

† Ad Mediol. l. xi. ep. iv.

mentioned, it is certain that the Universal Church is founded, should be meek and humble of heart." Boniface,<sup>2</sup> understanding that a synod was to be held at Corinth to take into consideration the appointment of Perigenes, strongly denied the right to canvass the act of the Apostolic See: "No one has ever daringly laid hands on the Apostolical supremacy,\* whose judgment cannot be reviewed."† This shews not only his own sense of the high dignity and inviolable character of the solemn acts of the Holy See, but also his confidence that all the precedents of antiquity were in harmony with his views.

In regard to the election of bishops, having merely diocesan jurisdiction, the Pope did not usually interfere out of Italy, but was satisfied that the ordination should take place conformably to the canonical rules which he had sanctioned. The liberty of election was guarded with the utmost jealousy by pontifical decrees, and its popular character was maintained, until abuses, accompanied by tumult, violence and bloodshed, forced the Pope to reserve to himself the approval of all elections, a patriarchal privilege recognised by the council of Nice in the bishop of Alexandria. The Holy See was guided by no narrow policy, but on all occasions shewed the most liberal and enlightened views, as Clinch remarks: "This parent Church not only introduced, but maintained in all its colonies of the faith, the greatest possible scope of freedom, as long as that freedom remained unassailed by the passion of separate independence, and untampered with by secular domination."‡

The primacy of the Apostolic See was particularly displayed in the special privileges wherewith some bishops were invested, and which were modified and changed, according as the interests of religion, in the altered circumstances of various countries, required. The See of Arles from ancient times was invested with extraordinary authority recognised and confirmed by Pope Zosimus: "We ordain that the bishop of the city of Arles shall have, as he has always had, chief authority in ordaining priests. Let him recall to his jurisdiction the provinces of Narbonne the first, and Narbonne the second. Let whoever hereafter, in opposition to the decrees of the Apostolic See, and to the commands of our ancestors, shall presume to ordain any one in the above provinces, without the authority of the metropolitan bishop, or whoever shall suffer himself to be unlawfully ordained, know that each is deprived of the priesthood."§ Not only are the ancient privileges of the See of Arles confirmed, but a most severe penalty is attached

\* Culmini.

† Ibidem.

‡ Ep. xv. Constant. t. i. col. 1042.

§ Ep. i. Constant. t. i. col. 936.

to their violation. Bishops who usurp the power of ordaining, in places subject to the jurisdiction of that bishop, are suspended altogether from the exercise of episcopal functions. This jurisdiction was, nevertheless, restricted by St. Leo, who transferred to the See of Vienne a portion of the diocese of Arles;\* and it was again enlarged by other Popes, by constituting the bishop Apostolic Legate. Guizot attempts to account for these changes, and for the jurisdiction subsequently granted to the Sees of Lyons and Sens, by the jealousy of the Roman Bishop lest a Gaulish prelate with extensive authority permanently attached to his See, should become a rival in the Western patriarchate :† but facts and documents plainly shew that the papal action was in all cases solicited, and that it was based on the representations of those concerned, and the change of local relations. The learned Clinch with more discernment and justice has observed : “The synod of Turin adjudged a primatial right to Vienne, as being a civil metropolis. The diocese of Arles appealed from this decision to Rome, and by Rome it was annulled. Leo I. took away from St. Hilary a portion of his diocese, and transferred it to Vienne. The See of Arles obtained from after-Popes a compensation for this loss by an apostolical delegation. The bishop of Lyons next set up for the Primacy, as being successor to Irenæus. In the mean time the ancient civil boundaries are shifted by the introduction of foreign princes, and the metropolitan power, which originally had meant Primacy, being divided against itself, and undermined by time, required helps from that authority, which alone remained confessedly the first.”‡

The delegation of authority to bishops as Vicars of the Apostolic See is among the most splendid evidences of the Primacy. Barrow acknowledges that in the fourth century the Popes bestowed the title of Vicars on various bishops : “The Popes indeed in the fourth century began to confer on certain bishops, as occasion served, or for continuance, the title of their Vicar or Lieutenant, thereby pretending to impart authority to them ; whereby they were enabled for performance of divers things, which otherwise, by their own episcopal or metropolitan power, they could not perform. Thus did Pope Celestine constitute Cyril in his room. Pope Leo appointed Anatolius of Constantinople. Pope Felix, Acacius of Constantinople. Pope Hormisdas, Epiphanius of Constantinople. Pope Simplicius to Zeno, bishop of Seville : ‘We thought it convenient that you should be held up by the vicariate authority of our See.’ So did Siricius and his successors

\* Ep. lxi.

† Cours d'histoire moderne t. II p. 24.

‡ Letters on Church Government p. 245.

constitute the bishops of Thessalonica to be their vicars in the diocese of Illyricum. So did Pope Zosimus bestow a like . . . vicarious power upon the bishop of Arles. So to the bishop of Justiniana prima in Bulgaria, (or Dardania Europæa,) the like privilege was granted (by procurement of the Emperor Justinian, native of that place.) Afterwards temporary or occasional Vicars were appointed (such as Austin, in England, Boniface in Germany).”\*

When Maximus, a philosopher, had been ordained bishop by some Egyptian prelates, and placed in the See of Constantinople, Pope Damasus addressed a letter to Acholius, bishop of Thessalonica, and other bishops, and reprobating the irregularity of his ordination, directed them in a synod to be held at Constantinople to proceed to the election of a bishop, blameless, orthodox and peaceful. He urged the observance of the ancient canons which forbade a bishop to be transferred from one See to another, lest ambition should be favored.† By a special letter he instructed Acholius, as his Vicar, to see that hereafter a Catholic bishop should be chosen, with whom peace could be permanently had.‡ This is the first instance of the appointment of an Apostolic Vicar throughout Illyricum, the reason whereof is conjectured by Tillemont to be, that these provinces having been added by Gratian, in the year 379, to the Eastern empire, the Pope could no longer conveniently exercise a direct inspection over them, as he was wont to do over the remainder of the provinces of the West. Syricius addressed Anisius, bishop of the same See, and ordained “that no one should presume to ordain bishops in Illyricum without his consent.”§

Innocent I. constituted Rufus, bishop of Thessalonica, Vicar, to determine “all cases that might arise throughout the Churches of Achaia, Thessalia, Epirus old and new, Crete, Dacia, of the Mediterranean, and Ripensis, Mæsia, Dardania and Prævalis;|| alleging the examples of his Apostolic predecessors, who had given like power to Acholius and Anysius. Boniface, having appointed Rufus bishop of Thessalonica, Vicar Apostolic, addressed him as charged with the care of all the Churches of Illyricum: “The blessed Apostle Peter has entrusted to the Church of Thessalonica all things, in his own place.”—“You have the blessed apostle Peter for your defence, who can oppose your enemies, according to that strength which is peculiarly his own.” “The

\* Treatise on the Supremacy Supp. vi. p. 733.

† Ep. viii. Damasi ad Acholium et alios. Constant. t. i. col. 535.

‡ Ep. ix. St. Innocent speaks of Acholius as having been Vicar Apostolic.

§ Ep. iv. Syricii, apud Constant t. i. col. 649.

|| Ep. xiii. n. 2.



fisherman does not suffer the privilege of his See to be lost, whilst you are laboring.”\*

Boniface I. addressing Rufus, bishop of Thessalonica, says: “The blessed apostle Peter, to whom the citadel of the priesthood was granted by the voice of the Lord, rejoices exceedingly, when he sees that the children of inviolable peace are careful of the honor granted him by the Lord.”† Some of the bishops having resisted the authority of Rufus, as Vicar Apostolic, Boniface reproaches and threatens them: “The apostle says: ‘What will you? Shall I come to you with a rod, or in charity and in the spirit of meekness?’ You know that blessed Peter can do both,—treat the mild with meekness—punish the proud with the rod. Therefore give due honor to the head.—Certainly if in any respect the reproof (*of the Vicar*) appeared excessive, since the Apostolic See holds its principality that it may freely receive the complaints of all, we should have been addressed on this point, and an embassy sent to us whom you see charged with the ultimate settlement of all things. Let there be an end to this novel presumption. Let no one dare hope for what is unlawful. Let no one strive to set aside the regulations of our fathers, which have been so long in force. Let whoever considers himself a bishop, obey our ordinance.”‡

Pope Xystus sustained Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica, in his privileges as Vicar Apostolic, and reminded Perigenes, bishop of Corinth, to respect his authority, as he owed his own place to the favor of the Holy See.§ He addressed the synod of Thessalonica, and insisted on the maintenance of the authority of the Vicar.||

St. Leo the Great, acting in accordance with the example of his predecessors, committed to Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica, the authority of Vicar over all the Churches of Illyricum, assigning as the reason of this delegation his anxiety to discharge his duty as general pastor. “Since,” he says, “our solicitude extends to all the Churches, as the Lord requires of us, who entrusted to the most blessed apostle Peter the Primacy of the apostolic dignity as a reward of his faith, establishing the Universal Church in the solidity of the foundation itself, we communicate this necessary solicitude to those who are united with us by the affection of brotherhood. Following, therefore, the example of those whose memory we venerate, we have constituted our brother and fellow-bishop Anastasius our Vicar, and enjoined on him to see from his watch-tower that nothing unlawful be attempted by any one: and we admonish you, beloved, to obey him in all that re-

\* Constant t. i. col. 1035.

† Ep. iv. col. 1019, t. i. Hard.

‡ Ep. xiv. Constant.

§ Ep. vii. Constant, t. i. col. 1269.

|| Ep. ix. col. 1263.

gards ecclesiastical discipline : for your obedience will not be rendered to him, but to us who are known to have entrusted him with this office in those provinces, in consequence of our solicitude.”\* Such was the language addressed to the metropolitans of Illyricum by this great Pontiff. He decreed that the disputes of bishops should be determined by his Vicar, and he reserved to him the consecration of metropolitans. He will not that any one contumaciously infringe on the privileges granted by apostolic authority, but he leaves liberty of appeal to the Holy See itself, according to established custom ; the appeal, however, to be forwarded with the statement of the Vicar. No bishop could be consecrated by the Metropolitan without the knowledge and authority of the Vicar.† These documents shew that the power exercised was founded on the divine commission to Peter.

Whilst the Holy See by means of its Vicars exercised in so conspicuous a manner its prerogatives, it watched with special care over each local Church to preserve order and harmony among bishops by maintaining their respective rights. Pope Hilary in the year 465, writing to bishops says : “ We will not, dearest brethren, that the privileges of the Churches, which should always be preserved, be confounded, nor do we permit one priest to exercise authority in the province of another.”‡ The bishop of Euria was denounced to St. Gregory the Great for having exercised jurisdiction in the town of Cassiopus, which was subject to the bishop of Corfu, as the metropolitan of Nicopolis by his judgment affirmed. The Pope “ by the authority of the Apostolic See,” confirmed the rights of the diocesan, allowing however to the clergy of Euria a temporary residence in Cassiopus, and the privilege of depositing there the remains of the Blessed Donatus, without prejudice to the rights of the Ordinary.§

In the whole arrangement of the hierarchy the authority of the Roman Bishop is manifest, and its exercise has ever been directed to the maintenance of order and unity, and to the support of the just rights of the episcopate : “ Our solicitude,” says St. Leo, “ not seeking our own interests, but those of Christ, did not detract from the dignity divinely given to the Churches, and to the priests of the Church.”|| It is a great delusion to suppose that the admission of the pontifical authority lessens the dignity of the episcopal order, which on the contrary it sustains, or that it interferes with the rights of the clergy, which it protects.

\* Ep. v. ad episcopos Metropolitanos per Illyricum.

† Ep. vi. ad Anastasium, Thessalonicensem. Vide et ep. xiv. ad eundem.

‡ Ep. ad Leontium t. II. conc. Hard. col. 792.

§ L. xiv. ep. vii. et xiii.

|| Ep. x. ad ep. per prov. Vien.

The rights of individual clergymen are vindicated by the Apostolic See without prejudice to order, and the episcopal authority. Thus St. Gregory instructed Vitalis, the *defensor* of Sardinia, to unite justice with moderation: "If there be any who seek justice, the aid of the Apostolic See, through you, is not to be denied them. Yet reverence is to be observed for each bishop, so that the discipline of the clergy may not be relaxed by your defence."\* He would have clergymen tried by their own bishops, and in case they lodged a complaint against their bishop, he directed the Defender to interpose for its settlement, or to procure the election of judges by mutual agreement. "If," he says, "the jurisdiction of each bishop is not maintained, what ensues but that the ecclesiastical order is disturbed by us, who should guard it?"† He even occasionally interposed to obtain for priests some favor which they desired. He wrote to the bishop of Syracuse, in behalf of Cosmas, who had been a monk, and was afterwards subdeacon in the city of Syracuse, but on his promotion to the priesthood, was sent to a country charge, and he suggested that it would be a great act of kindness to attach him to the Church of Syracuse, as he was melancholy in his actual situation.‡ To the bishop of Palermo, at the solicitation of the clergy, Gregory wrote to urge the fulfilment of the stipulations made with them, and admonished him not easily to believe reports to their prejudice, but to examine the charges in presence of the elder clergy.§ On the return of Exhilaratus, bishop of the same See, where the Pope had detained him in punishment of his severity to his clergy, Gregory wrote to the Defender to be attentive, lest the bishop should treat the clergy unjustly, and to use his authority that these should respect their prelate.|| When an Abbot alleged that he had been deposed without fault on his part by the bishop of Cesena, Gregory wrote to the bishop of Ravenna, directing him to ascertain the fact, and reinstate him, if he had been unjustly deposed.¶

\* L. ix. ep. lxiv.

† L. xi. ep. xxxvii.

‡ L. xiii. ep. xxviii.

§ Ep. xlv.

|| L. xiv. ep. iv.

¶ L. xiv. ep. vi.

## CHAPTER XII.

## DEPOSITION OF BISHOPS.

THE office of bishop is perpetual, a sacred character, which can never be effaced, being impressed in ordination : yet the exercise of the power may be for just causes inhibited, and the governing authority, or jurisdiction, may be entirely taken away. The eminence of the dignity, which is no less than that of successor of the apostles, does not secure him who is adorned with it, from the danger of error, should he listen to the whisperings of pride, rather than guard that which is committed to his trust, or of vice, if he be neglectful of the approaches of temptation. For this reason the apostle addressed strong exhortations to Timothy and Titus, to fulfil the duties of their sacred office, and instructed them in what circumstances they should receive accusations. The power of suspending bishops from the exercise of their functions, or of removing them altogether from the ministry, is among the most awful and sublime functions of the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries. In the early ages it was exercised by metropolitans, or other superiors, especially in councils, where the collection of bishops judged and deposed the delinquents. Territorial limits were not always accurately observed, especially where one of the patriarchs intervened, whose high rank gave a coloring of authority even to acts performed beyond the province in which he presided. Thus Flacillus, bishop of Antioch, presided at a Council in which Athanasius of Alexandria was condemned, and Theophilus of Alexandria undertook to try and depose Chrysostom of Constantinople, who, however, protested against his authority. The power was at all times exercised by the Roman Bishop in a manner to leave no room for doubt, that he claimed authority to judge and punish by censure all bishops, even the patriarchs themselves, and that he grounded his claims on his office as successor of Peter. These claims were put forward with entire confidence, as admitting of no question, and the exercise of the power was implored by bishops occupying the highest Sees, and it was submitted to by those against whom it was exercised, or if resisted, resistance was ineffectual. St. Leo, in his instructions to his Vicar in Illyricum, directed that cases of

difficulty and importance should be reserved to his own judgment ;\* whence Bianchi maintains† that the deposition of bishops was from that time reserved to the Holy See. The reservation was well established in the ninth century, since the Council of Troyes implored Nicholas I. to provide for the dignity of the episcopal office, by restraining metropolitans who sometimes attempted to depose bishops without the Apostolic judgment, contrary to the decrees of his predecessors.‡ The deposition of Rothade, bishop of Soissons by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, gave occasion to this complaint, and Nicholas rescinded it as unjust, and done without his knowledge.

I have elsewhere briefly narrated the origin of the schism of Novatian. I shall now state in the words of archbishop Potter, of the Anglican communion, the punishment inflicted by the lawful Pope on the weak prelates who had lent themselves to the sacrilegious ordination : “ Three bishops, who ordained Novatian, the schismatic bishop, were deposed, and others ordained to succeed them by Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, whose proceedings in this matter were generally approved all over the world.”§ Cornelius acted as of his own authority in proceeding to this measure, which met with universal approbation, the crime of the schismatical ordination being deemed by all most enormous, as tending to destroy, or render doubtful, the essential authority of the Church.

Not long afterwards another occasion arose for a similar exercise of power, no longer in the neighborhood of Rome, but over a bishop of an illustrious See in Gaul. Marcian held the See of Arles, and being known to be infected with Novatianism, the bishop of Lyons and the other bishops of the province applied to Pope Stephen for his removal. To secure the success of their application, they addressed letters to St. Cyprian, who accordingly wrote to Stephen, urging him to prompt and decisive action. “ Faustinus, our colleague, residing at Lyons, has repeatedly written to us, dearest brother, stating matters which, I know, have been reported to you also, both by him, and by our other fellow-bishops in the same province, namely, that Marcian, who resides at Arles, has joined Novatian, and departed from the unity of the Catholic Church, and the harmony of our body, and of the priests.—Wherefore it behooves you to write at length to our fellow-bishops in Gaul, that they may no longer suffer Marcian, an obstinate and proud man, and an enemy to divine mercy and to the salvation of

\* Ep. vi. ad Anastasium Thessalonic.

† Dell exterior politica t. v. p. 1, p. 478.

‡ Ep. synod. Tricaasin. ad Nicolaum I.

§ On Church Government p. 392.

the brethren, to insult our college, inasmuch as being an abettor of Novatian, and imitating his obstinacy, he has withdrawn from our communion, whilst Novatian himself, whom he follows, was formerly excommunicated and judged to be an enemy of the Church, and when he had sent ambassadors to us in Africa, wishing to be admitted to our communion, he received for answer from a numerous council of bishops, who were assembled, that he was without, and that none of us could communicate with him, since, whilst Cornelius was ordained bishop in the Catholic Church, by the judgment of God, and choice of the clergy and people, he was endeavoring to raise a profane altar, and to erect an adulterous See, and to offer sacrilegious sacrifices in opposition to the true priest.—Let your letters be directed throughout the province and to the people of Arles, whereby, Marcian being cut off (*from the communion of the Church*), another may be substituted in his place, and the flock of Christ may be gathered together, which, hitherto being scattered and wounded by him, is despaired.”\* It has in vain been attempted to account for this call for the interposition of Stephen, by reference to the fact that Novatianism had sprung up at Rome, on occasion of the opposition to the election of his predecessor. This was no reason why the bishops of Gaul should not, of themselves, proceed to the deposition of the heretical bishop, if Stephen were not the lawful and proper judge. They were not wanting in zeal against the heresy, since they had already addressed Stephen and Cyprian, urging the former to come to their aid, and begging the influence of the latter for the speedy success of their application. Of Stephen it was plainly expected that he should remove the perverse teacher: “*ABSTENTO MARCIANO* ;” and to him Cyprian looked for authoritative information of the successor.

The power of deposing bishops was recognized in the Pope by a Roman council held in the year 378, and by the emperors Gratian and Valentinian. In addressing the emperors, the fathers state that “numberless bishops from various parts of Italy had assembled at the sublime sanctuary of the Apostolic See.” They compliment the emperors as “observing the precept of the holy apostles,” inasmuch as having banished Ursinus, the leader of the schism, and separated his partisans from his society, they had decreed “that the Roman Bishop should try the other priests of the various Churches, so that the Pontiff of religion with his colleagues should judge of religion, and the priesthood should not suffer in its honor, by subjecting the priest to the judgment of a secular judge, as might otherwise hap-

\* Ep. lxvii. alias lxviii.

pen." They complain that some bishops, his partisans, still endeavor to persuade others "not to submit to the judgment of the Roman priest;" and they mention several instances of deposed bishops who retain possession of their Sees, and they ask the aid of the civil authority to give effect to the ecclesiastical sentence. They pray that a bishop, who declines to appear for trial, may be compelled by the Governor, or his Vicar, to repair to Rome, or if he be far distant, to appear before the metropolitan, or if the metropolitan be accused, that he be compelled to come to Rome without delay, or to appear before judges appointed by the Roman Bishop. In cases wherein the metropolitan, or other judge, is open to suspicion, they wish an appeal to lie to the Roman Bishop, or to a council of fifteen neighboring bishops.\* The emperors granted the request, giving civil force to the sentence of the Roman Bishop, passed with the advice of five or seven bishops, and terming the See itself most holy.† Those documents shew clearly the eminence of the Roman Bishop, as occupant of the Apostolic See, and his right to judge, whether alone, or surrounded by his colleagues. The reason of the qualifications prescribed in the imperial edict was that the sentence should be passed solemnly, maturely and advisedly: and although it had force independently of these circumstances, yet it was in the power of the emperors to limit the civil sanction to sentences clothed with them. Mosheim, and Maclaine, his translator, refer to these measures as imprudent concessions of the emperors and bishops, which prepared the way for Roman supremacy:‡ but it is easy to see, on inspection of the documents themselves, that the belief that Rome was "the sublime sanctuary of the Apostolic See," preceded and gave rise to these decrees. Those who in the investigation of ecclesiastical history set out with the persuasion that the Papacy is an invention of later ages, ingrafted on the original system, can only discover in the many documents of an early date "steps by which the Roman Bishops mounted afterwards to the summit of ecclesiastical power;" whereas they obviously shew the exercise of high authority derived from a divine source, and recognised alike by bishops and by emperors.

So fully acknowledged was the power of the Pope to depose bishops, when false to the faith, or recreant to their duty, that the Eastern bishops solicited Pope Damasus to depose Timothy, a bishop infected with the heresy of Apollinarius, and received for reply that the sentence of deposition had already been passed by the Apostolic See

\* Ep. vi. apud Coustant t. i. col. 528.

† Ep. vii. ibidem col. 532.

‡ Fourth Century part II. ch. II. p. 108.

against the master and the disciple, in a solemn council at Rome, at which the bishop of Alexandria was present : " Why do you ask of me anew," said the Pontiff, " the deposition of Timothy, who together with Apollinaris, was already condemned here by the judgment of the Apostolic See, in presence even of Peter, bishop of the city of Alexandria ?" \* The same zealous Pontiff, in a Roman synod, deposed Ursacius and Valens, and received the thanks of St. Athanasius, who urged him to proceed to the deposition of Auxentius, the Arian occupant of the See of Milan. Ursus and Tuentius having received episcopal consecration unlawfully, Zosimus addressed a letter to the African, Gaulish and Spanish bishops, in which he says : " Dearest brethren, we have sent letters to your holiness, and throughout the whole world, wheresoever and in whatsoever part of the earth the fountain of the Catholic religion flows, that you may not think that Tuentius and Ursus are to be received in any ecclesiastical rank, in the communion of the Church, from which they are wholly anathema." † Thus did he most effectually depose them from the episcopate.

Pope Boniface I., in June 418, addressed the bishops of Gaul concerning Maximus, bishop of Valentia, who had been accused to the Pope by his own clergy, and had neglected to appear when called to trial by those to whom the cognizance of the cause was delegated. He appointed a synod to be convened by the first of November, sent a summons to Maximus, and directed it to be published throughout all the provinces, lest he should avoid the citation, and plead ignorance ; ordered the bishops to proceed, even in case of his absence, and promised to ratify their sentence. ‡

Celestine, his successor, delegated to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne, power to try the bishop of Marseilles. § He separated Daniel from the body of bishops, who had in vain sought to elude trial by pleading his episcopal character. || Some Eastern nuns, whose monastery he had violently entered, had implored the authority of the Pontiff against him. Celestine directed all bishops holding the errors of Nestorius to be separated from the episcopal body, and ordered John of Antioch to be notified, " that unless he hold our sentiments and condemn in writing the new blasphemy, the Church would take such measures in his regard as the interests of faith might demand." ¶

The Council of Chalcedon in deposing Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, professed to act in the name of Pope Leo : " The most holy

\* Ep. xiv. t. i. col. 514, Constant.

† Ep. iv.

‡ Ep. II. t. i. conc. col. 1239, Hard.

§ Ib. col. 1260.

|| Ib.

¶ Ep. xxii. ad Syn. Ephes. apud Constant t. i. col. 1202.



and blessed Leo, archbishop of great and elder Rome, by us, and by the present holy synod, has stript him of the dignity of the episcopate.\* "The Apostolic See," as Pope Gelasius testifies, "by its own authority condemned Dioscorus, the prelate of the second See." Sixtus III. deposed Polychronius, bishop of Jerusalem.

The bishops of the province of Tarragona, having stated to Pope Hilary the irregular ordination of a bishop by the bishop Silvanus, conclude in this way: "We beseech your See to instruct us by your apostolic words, what you wish us to observe in this matter, so that assembling the brethren, producing the enactments of the venerable synod, supported by your authority, we may, with God's assistance, understand what must be done with him who ordained, and him who received ordination. It will indeed, be a triumph for you, if in the time of your apostleship, which the chair of St. Peter holds, the Catholic Church hear that the new tares have been torn up."† The Pope ordered the bishop Irenæus to retire from the Church of Barcellona, and threatened him with deposition from episcopacy, in case of disobedience.

Pope Simplicius rebuked severely John of Ravenna for forced ordinations; prescribed some conditions, and threatened to inhibit the exercise of his functions, should he refuse to obey.‡

The same power was exercised by the Pope over the patriarchs themselves and other bishops of high rank. Peter Mongus, bishop of Alexandria, was excommunicated by Pope Simplicius. Peter Cnapheus, bishop of Antioch, having fallen into various heresies, especially that of Eutyches, was admonished by Felix III., and finally struck with anathema, and deposed. The Pope says: "Having written two letters to you, I now proceed, to pass sentence against you: yea rather he (sentences you) who is the head of all pastoral Sees, the glorious Peter, truly the greatest of the apostles."§ Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, was summoned by the same Pontiff, to answer in the assembly of bishops to St. Peter, to whom, in the person of Felix, the accusation was made.|| He was afterwards cut off utterly from the Catholic Church. "Being separated from the honor of the priesthood, and from Catholic communion, and likewise from the number of the faithful, know that the name and office of the priestly ministry are taken from you, being condemned by the judgment of the Holy Ghost and by apostolic authority."¶ Mosheim relates the deposition of Acacius

\* Act III.

‡ Ep. Tarrac. ep. t. II. conc. Hard. col. 789. Some of the phraseology is obscure.

† Ep. ad Joan. Raven. ib. col. 804.

|| Ib. col. 829.

§ Hard. t. II. col. 836.

¶ Ib. col. 832.

in these terms: "The Roman Pontiff, Felix II., having assembled an Italian council, composed of sixty-seven bishops, condemned and deposed Acacius, and excluded him from the communion of the Church, as a perfidious enemy to the truth." The opposition of the Greeks he takes as a denial of the right of the Roman See to pronounce such a sentence on the bishop of the imperial city, but he admits that Rome maintained its validity, and finally succeeded in exacting its acceptance. "Hence," he says, "arose a new schism and a new contest, which were carried on with great violence, until the following century, when the obstinacy and perseverance of the Latins triumphed over the opposition of the Oriental Christians, and brought about an agreement, in consequence of which, the names of Acacius and Fullo were erased from the diptychs, and sacred registers, and then branded with perpetual infamy."\* This is no equivocal proof of the exercise in the fifth century of the power of deposing bishops, over an Oriental prelate protected and supported by the emperor. It is not however true that the Orientals generally resisted the sentence. Acacius indeed remained obstinate, but died in a few years. Flavita his successor sought the communion of the Holy See, which was, however, denied him, until he should remove the suspicions which fell on his faith, and cancel from the diptychs the name of Acacius. Euphemius, who soon succeeded him, a man of sound faith, pleaded in vain with the Pontiff, that the memory of Acacius might be spared. Among other things he objected that he should not have been condemned by a single bishop. Pope Gelasius, who then occupied the chair of St. Peter, answered that he was condemned in virtue of the council of Chalcedon, since he professed heresies which it had condemned; and he relied on the supreme authority of the Holy See, the high court of Appeal, whose judgments are final. He shewed that Acacius had previously accepted and executed a commission of the Holy See for the deposition of several bishops. "In this very case," says Gelasius, writing in 493, "Timothy of Alexandria, and Peter of Antioch, Peter, Paul and John, and others, not one only, but several bearing the priestly title, were cast down by the sole authority of the Apostolic See. Of this fact Acacius himself is witness, since he was charged with the execution of the sentence. In this manner, then, falling into the company of those who have been condemned, Acacius is condemned."†

St. Gregory the Great exercised in a marked manner the right of judging and deposing bishops, which was fully recognised in him by

\* Mosheim, Church History, p. II. ch. v. §. xxi.

† Ep. xiii.

the emperor of Constantinople, as well as by all his colleagues in the episcopate. The emperor wished him to proceed in the case of the primate of Byzantium, but he hesitated to come to a final decision, not feeling assured of the sincerity of the accused in his professions of submission : "As to his saying that he is subject to the Apostolic See, I know not what bishop is not subject to it, when any fault is found in bishops. But when delinquency does not require it, all of us are equal, on the principle of humility."\* Accordingly he directed the mode of trial, and authorized the deposition of Lucillus, bishop of Melita, and the substitution of another in his place.† To the bishops of Ravenna and Milan he committed the trial of Maximus, bishop of Salona, promising to ratify their judgment, the particulars whereof he required Castorius the notary to report to him.‡ On his professing repentance, he restored him the episcopate, reminding him that he had throughout "tempered the exercise of the authority of the Apostolic See with moderation,"§ and directing him, inasmuch as he was "restored to the communion of the Apostolic See," to send one to Rome, to receive the *pallium* as usual.

I shall mention but two instances out of many of the exercise of the power in England, at a much later period. The bishop of Litchfield was deposed by the Apostolic Legates, and he retired to a monastery : whereupon Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, consulted Pope Alexander II. how he should proceed to provide for that See.|| Godfrey, archbishop of York, brother of King Richard, was denounced to Celestine III. for grievous neglect of his pastoral duties and other misconduct ; wherefore the bishop of Lincoln with others were commissioned to take cognizance of the facts, and to suspend him from the administration, if he were found guilty. The Pope himself in 1195 pronounced the suspension.¶

It is unnecessary to give further examples, since those already adduced plainly shew that the Roman Bishop, as the superior of all other bishops, judged and deposed them, either in solemn council, or with less solemnity by his own act. No prelate, however elevated, was exempt from his judgment, and, in case of conviction, from his sentence. Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople enjoyed privileges, but remained subject to the supervision, correction, and censure of Rome. The imperial favor availed nothing against the prerogative of Peter. His successor, however, did not always appear in a menacing attitude. He could heal, as well as strike, and was often appealed to, that the wounds inflicted by others might be remedied by his indulgence and authority.

\* Ep. lix.

§ Ep. lxxi.

† Ep. lxiii.

|| Baron. an. 1095.

‡ Ep. lxvii.

¶ Ibid. an. 1159.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## APPEALS.

IN all governments there is a tribunal of appeal, whose judgment is final. By it the sentences of the inferior judges are strengthened and confirmed, when found conformable to justice and law; or reversed and corrected, if proved to be contrary to sound principle. The existence of such a tribunal is an evidence of its supremacy: the judge must be the sovereign, or his representative, or the depository of supreme power, since he exercises the supremacy of the law. The usage of appealing to the Bishop of Rome from the judgment and censures of bishops, and councils, in every part of the Church, is of the highest antiquity, and shews that he was believed to possess a power superior to all other bishops.

In urging this point, I do not wish to discuss questions as to the limits of this power. I care not, at present, to inquire when appeals should lie to Rome, and what intermediate tribunals should be resorted to previously, or whether in any extraordinary or possible contingency, an appeal lies from the decision of a Pontiff to a General Council. My object is, to shew from unquestionable facts of history that in all ages appeals were made from all parts of the Christian Church to the Roman Bishop, and consequently that his superior authority was by all acknowledged.

St. Epiphanius relates of Marcion, that having been excommunicated for a grievous sin, against chastity, by his father, the bishop of Sinope,\* he fled to Rome, about the year 141, and sought to be restored to communion, but that the chief clergy, (the See being vacant) declared that, without the consent of his father, they could not grant him relief, being united with him in faith and friendship.† The journey and the application shew that the superior power of Rome was recognised, and the refusal which he met with, proves that the clergy, who exercised authority during the vacancy, were unwilling to rescind the sentence,

\* In the early ages men who had been married but once, "the husband of one wife," were often assumed to the ministry, as they still may be, after the death of their wives, or on a mutual and voluntary profession of continency.

† Hær. xiii. n. ii.

without the consent of the bishop, to preserve peace and unity, especially as they had reason to believe that the father was not severe without necessity. It is not an evidence of want of authority in the Roman Church, but of discretion and moderation in its exercise. The case may not be strictly styled an *appeal*, since it does not appear that the injustice of the sentence was complained of, but it shews that the superior power of the Roman Church was acknowledged, whereby even a just sentence of a distant prelate could be remitted.

It is evident from the testimony of St. Cyprian, that in his time the Bishop of Rome took upon himself to restore bishops deposed by the council of their province. Basilides, bishop of Legion and Asturica in Spain, had been deposed on the charge of idolatry, and other crimes, and had repaired to Rome to plead his cause, and succeeded in inducing Pope Stephen to restore him. Another bishop Sabinus had, in the interval, been consecrated and placed in the See. St. Cyprian held that he should not be dispossessed of it, since the decree for the re-instatement of Basilides had been surreptitiously obtained. "His ordination," says Cyprian, "which has been regularly performed, cannot be rescinded, merely because Basilides, after the discovery of his crimes, and his own public confession of guilt, going to Rome, deceived Stephen our colleague, who is far distant from the scene of action, and was unacquainted with the proceedings, and with the facts which were suppressed: ambitioning to be reinstated unjustly in the episcopate from which he had been justly deposed. This only shews that the crimes of Basilides are not cancelled, but aggravated by the additional guilt of fraud and circumvention, together with his former sins. Nor is he who has been imposed on unadvisedly, so blameable, as he who fraudulently practised on his credulity, is deserving of execration. If Basilides has succeeded in deceiving men, he cannot deceive God, since it is written: 'God is not mocked.'"<sup>\*</sup> St. Cyprian opposes the execution of the sentence, not on the ground of an utter want of authority, as would be the obvious reason, if the power of Stephen admitted of any question, but because he had proceeded on false information. The authority to reverse the sentence, if the merits of the case admitted it, not being denied, was acknowledged. In maintaining the incapacity of Basilides, and also of Martialis, another deposed bishop, to hold the bishopric, St. Cyprian relies on the law regarding persons guilty of idolatry, made by Cornelius, the predecessor of Stephen: "In vain," says he, "such men attempt to usurp the bishopric, whilst it is mani-

\* Ep. lxviii.

fest that they should neither preside over the Church of Christ, nor offer sacrifice to God, especially since long ago, in union with us and with all bishops, without exception, throughout the whole world, even CORNELIUS OUR COLLEAGUE, a pacific and just priest, and honored with martyrdom, through the special favor of God, DECREED that such men might indeed be admitted to do penance, but are precluded from clerical ordination and priestly honor.”\* This reference to the decree of Cornelius, to which the whole episcopal body had assented, shews the eminence of his authority, as well as the harmony of his brethren.

In a letter to Cornelius, St. Cyprian makes mention of Privatus, a heretic, in the province of Lambesita, many years previously condemned by a council of ninety bishops. He had in vain attempted to have his cause re-opened in a council of Carthage. Disappointed in this effort, he had recourse to Rome, and during the vacancy of the See, urged the Roman clergy to reverse the sentence. The letter of Cyprian put them on their guard: but independently of it, they judged unfavorably of his case. In reply they commend the conduct of Cyprian in giving them, as was customary, full information, that they might better discharge the duty incumbent on them in behalf of all the Churches. “As to what concerns Privatus of Lambesita, you have, as usual, been careful to call our attention to the case, as one of moment: for it behoves us all to keep guard for the body of the entire Church, whose members are spread throughout the various provinces. But even before the receipt of your letter, the frauds of the crafty man did not escape our notice. For, when one of his impious band, Futurus, a standard-bearer of Privatus, had come, and was endeavoring to procure letters from us, his true character was not unperceived by us, wherefore he did not receive the letter which he desired.”† Thus it is clear that Privatus appealed to the Roman Church, whose authority was exercised by the clergy, during the vacancy of the See, and that they refused redress, because they knew him to be undeserving of it. They exercised vigilance over the whole body of the Church, because exercising *ad interim* the functions of the Roman Bishop. St. Cyprian, nevertheless, complained of the appeals of the minor clergy as derogatory to the judgment of their bishops and of the councils by which they had been condemned, and as tending to relax discipline and defeat justice. He also most justly complained of the artifices of heretics, whereby they sought to abuse the good faith of the Bishop of Rome. Fortunatus had been ordained bishop in Car-

\* Ep. lxviii.

thage in opposition to Cyprian, and had despatched to Rome an abettor of his schism, the priest Felicissimus, to preoccupy the ears of the Pope. Cyprian expresses his surprise at the audacity of the schismatics. "What cause," he asks, "had they to come (to Rome) and announce the false bishop who was created against the other bishops? For they are either pleased with what they did, and persevere in their wickedness, or, if they are sorry, and abandon it, they know whither they can return. For since it was determined by us all, and is equally just and proper, that the cause of every one should be tried where the crime was committed, and since to each of the pastors a portion of the flock is given, which each one may rule and govern, being to render an account of his conduct to the Lord: it is certainly meet, that those over whom we preside, should not run about, nor with crafty and deceitful temerity destroy the unity and harmony of the bishops, but plead their cause in the place where the accusers and witnesses of their crime may be present, unless perchance a few desperate and abandoned men regard as insufficient the authority of the African bishops, who have already pronounced judgment on them, and have recently by their weighty sentence condemned them as guilty of many crimes, whereof they themselves are fully conscious. Their case has been already tried, sentence has been passed on them already; and it is not consistent with the gravity of sacerdotal judgment, that it should be rescinded easily and lightly, since the Lord teaches us, saying: 'Let your speech be: yea, yea: no, no.'"<sup>\*</sup> He was delighted to find that Cornelius had repelled them.

The fourth century offers us an illustrious instance of an appeal made by the great champion of the divinity of Christ, the persecuted bishop of Alexandria. In the year 335, whilst Constantine was still alive, he had been condemned and deposed by a council in Tyre, at which Flacillus, patriarch of Antioch, presided. Constantine banished him, under the influence of the Eusebians, but towards his death he relented, and his sons, after his decease, in compliance with his wishes, permitted Athanasius to return.—The Eusebians, mortified at his restoration, made every effort for his ruin, sent legates to Constance and Constans, and wrote against him to Julius, the Roman Pontiff. Without awaiting any act of the emperors or Pontiff, they held a council at Antioch in 341, and regarding the restoration of Athanasius as irregular, chose Gregory of Cappadocia, an Arian, to be bishop of Alexandria, and sent him with the prefect Philagrius, and a military escort, to

<sup>\*</sup> Ep. lix. alias liv. lv.

take possession of the See. They had previously sent Martirius and Hesychius, two deacons, as deputies to Rome, who meeting there the deputies of Athanasius, and failing to sustain the charges, found themselves under the necessity of calling for a trial,\* in order not utterly to abandon their cause. Julius accordingly called a council, in order to have a full investigation. In the mean time Athanasius arrived at Rome, having fled from the violence of the intruder Gregory, and his partisans. The Pontiff sent legates to summon his accusers, and determined to institute inquiry into the crimes which they, or their partisans, had committed, and punish them accordingly.† They detained the messengers, and in the end, wrote an offensive letter, in which, however, they admitted "the pre-eminence of the Roman Church, as avowed by all, as having been FROM THE COMMENCEMENT THE SCHOOL OF THE APOSTLES, AND THE METROPOLIS OF PIETY,"‡ but they complained of the intended re-opening of the cause of Athanasius in a new council. Notwithstanding their opposition, Julius proceeded to examine the cause of Athanasius in a council consisting of fifty prelates. The acts of the Council of Tyre, and of the committee of bishops who were appointed to examine the facts at Mareotis, where they were said to have occurred, were submitted, and judged to be irregular and unjust: and Athanasius was acquitted by the unanimous judgment of the Pope and his colleagues. These requested Julius to communicate by letter the result of their investigation, which he accordingly did in the admirable letter which has been preserved by Athanasius, and which unites mild persuasion with authoritative judgment.

The complaint made by the Eusebians in their letter of the re-opening of the cause in a new council, shows that they had not seriously asked for a council, and that the demand made by their deputies was the last subterfuge, when they failed to substantiate their charges in the less solemn discussion with the deputies of Athanasius.§ It is for

\* "Concilium indici postularunt, litterasque et ad Eusebianos, et Athanasium Alexandriam, quibus convocarentur, mitti, ut coram omnibus justo iudicio de causa cognosci posset: tum enim se de Athanasio probaturos esse, quod jam nequirent.—Epist. Julii, p. 391.

† "Certe fratres nostri Romæ anno superiori infensi prioribus eorum factis, quum nondum scelera ista accesserant, pro ultione sumenda concilium indici, celebratique voluerunt."—S. Athanas. ad Orthodox. P. 338.

‡ Φρειν μὲν γὰρ πανί φιλοτομίαι τῇ ρωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν ταῖς γραμμασί, ἀπολέγου, ὡς ἀποστόλων προτυπῶν, καὶ ἐνσεβίμῃς μετρίτεσσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς γειγνημένῃ. Sozomen. l. 3. Hist. Eccl. c. viii.

§ "Id enim eorum legati, quum se vinci animadvertent, postularunt."—Athanas. ad vitam sol. agentes, p. 440.



this reason that they expressed themselves as willing to abide by the judgment of Julius, if he should please to undertake the investigation. They hoped that he would not; and when their offer was accepted, those who had sent them, shrunk from the trial, and sought by every frivolous pretence to excuse their default. They had applied for a confirmation of their sentence by the only authority which could render it final and conclusive: but as Athanasius sought to be released from their unjust censure, the actual proceedings were in the nature of an appeal. The decision although made in a synod, and with the assent of all, was emphatically and justly styled the judgment of Julius. It is spoken of as *his* judgment by the council subsequently held at Sardica. It has all the qualities that constitute a real exercise of judicial authority. Complaints had been lodged with Julius against Athanasius, as with a judge and superior; and the exercise of his authority had been called for; afterwards, the cause proceeded entirely against the will of the party in whose name the investigation had been demanded. This is manifestly the exercise of a supreme and independent judicial power, *not derived from the voluntary act* of the parties concerned. Julius in his letter claims, distinctly, the right of summoning all the parties to his tribunal. At the head of the accusers was Flacillus, patriarch of Antioch:—the accused Athanasius was the patriarch of Alexandria, the highest dignitary after the Roman Bishop; and yet all were embraced within the jurisdiction of the Pontiff. As a proof of the innocence of Athanasius, Julius alleges that he freely presented himself in Rome, and a year and-a-half awaited the arrival of his accusers. He adds, that “by his presence, he put them all to shame, for he would not have presented himself for trial, were he not confident of his innocence, nor would he have spontaneously appeared, but called to trial by our letters, as we summoned you in writing.”\* After this, no doubt can be entertained that the judgment was official, and proceeded from a recognised tribunal. The details of the proceedings, as given in that letter, are such as constitute a trial. The accusations had been communicated in letters written by Eusebius, and his adherents against Athanasius; the crimes were stated for which he had been condemned at Tyre, on the report made by a committee of bishops which sat at Mareotis; the records of that trial were presented by Martyrius and Hesychius on the part of the accusers; the leading

\* “Suaque presentia padefecit omnes: non enim iudicio stetisset, nisi sui fiduciam habuisset, neque sponte, sed litteris nostris ad iudicium vocatus comparuisset, quemadmodum vos per litteras citavimus.”—Julii. Ep. apud. Athanas. Ap. 2, p. 396.

accusers were absent by default; Athanasius was heard in his defence; a number of witnesses were examined, and the sentence of acquittal was pronounced on the double ground of irregularity in the proceedings, and falsehood in the accusations. At Mareotis the liberty of defence had been denied to Athanasius, and he and his witnesses had been excluded, whilst his accuser alone was heard: "This we know," says the Pontiff, "not merely from his statement, but from the records of the acts brought by Martyrius and Hesychius; for on reading them, we found that Ischyrras his accuser was present, but that Macarius and Athanasius were not present, and that the priests of Athanasius were not admitted, though they earnestly demanded it. Dearly beloved, if indeed that trial were carried on fairly, it was necessary that not only the accuser, but the accused should be present."\* The Pope had evidently a just idea of the regular forms of trial. He felt, likewise, that in virtue of his office, he could annul this irregular sentence, as he could, if Athanasius had been guilty, have condemned him. The merits of the case had been canvassed, no less than the mode of proceeding. It was proved from the very records of the former trial, that the chief accuser, Ischyrras, was convicted of perjury by his own witnesses. "Since, then," says Julius, "these things were brought forward, and so many witnesses appeared in behalf of Athanasius, and he made so just a defence—what was it becoming us to do?—Was it not our duty to proceed according to the ecclesiastical canon? Should we not therefore abstain from condemning the man, and rather admit, and regard him as a bishop, as in truth he is?"† The Pope complains severely of their proceedings whilst the cause was pending before his tribunal—the Eusebians having violently intruded Gregory into the See of Alexandria without awaiting the decision: "For in the first place," continues the Pontiff, "to speak candidly, it was not right that, when we had issued letters for the celebration of a synod, any one should anticipate the judgment of the synod."—He also intimates that the Eusebians themselves would have been put on trial, had they appeared; and states distinctly, that accusations had been formally presented against them, and accuses them of contumacy for neglecting to appear to stand their trial.‡

\* "Oportebat autem, dilectissimi, si quidem sinceriter illud iudicium ageretur, non solum accusatorem, sed et reum presentem sisti."—P. 394.

† "An non quod ecclesiastici canonis est? hominemque proinde non condemnaremus, sed potius reciperemus?"—P. 395.

‡ "A'acrius a vobis et sine recusatione occurrendum fuit, ne qui hactenus infamia istorum scelerum laborant, contumacia non comparendi in iudicio, libellos contra se datos, videantur refellere non potuisse."—*Ibid.*

I believe these extracts will satisfy most readers, that, at that early period of the Church, the Bishop of Rome exercised real jurisdiction in the most important causes, in whatever part of the world the parties resided, or whatever rank they occupied in the hierarchy. The exercise of his high authority is marked in almost every line. He complains that the ecclesiastical canon has been violated; and he speaks plainly, as the authoritative guardian of the canons. To him, as such, and as the divinely constituted ruler of the whole Church, not only Athanasius and Marcellus, "but also many other bishops from Thrace, Cælosyria, Phœnicia, Palestine,"\* came complaining of the wrongs which they had endured, and which had been inflicted on their respective Churches. The plea that the Eusebians offered for filling the Sees of Athanasius and Marcellus, could not be put forward to palliate the violence by which these were driven away from their Sees.—"Suppose," said Julius, "that Athanasius and Marcellus, as you write, were removed from their Sees;—what can you say of the others, who, as I have said, have come hither from various places, both priests and bishops?—for they also affirm that they have been driven away, and that they have suffered similar outrages. O! beloved! ecclesiastical trials are no longer conducted in conformity with the Gospel, but with a view to exile or death. If, as you say, they were absolutely guilty, the trial should have been carried on according to the canon, and not in that way. You should have first written to us all, that so what is just might be decreed by all. For they who suffered these things were bishops, and not of an ordinary Church, but of one which the apostles themselves had by their labor instructed in the faith. Why then have you neglected to write to us any thing, especially concerning the city of Alexandria? DO YOU NOT KNOW THAT IT IS THE CUSTOM TO WRITE FIRST TO US, THAT WHAT IS JUST MAY BE DETERMINED? Wherefore, if suspicions of that kind had fallen on the bishop there, it should have been reported to our Church. Now, after having done as they pleased, without informing us at all, they wish us to approve of their sentence of condemnation, in which we had no share. Such are not the ordinances of Paul—such is not the teaching of the Fathers—but this is arrogance and innovation. I beseech you, hear me willingly: I write for the general advantage. I intimate from you what we have learned from the blessed apostle Peter; nor would I write things which I am persuaded you know already, had not the transactions filled us with affliction."

The splendid evidence of the Primacy, afforded by these documents, is nowise affected by the sequel of the history of Athanasius. The Council of Sardica was subsequently summoned by the emperors, Constantius and Constans. Gregory, the intruder Arian, was in actual possession of the See of Alexandria: the Eusebian faction were powerful at the court of Constantius, and used every effort to prevent the execution of the decree of Julius. To give it effect, it was necessary that the civil power should concur, and that concurrence could not be hoped for, unless Constantius were undeceived. It was with this view that Julius urged the Catholic emperor Constans to prevail on Constantius, his Arian brother, to hold a council of the Eastern and Western bishops, that the facts of the case might be placed in a true light, and Athanasius put in possession of his See. Sozomen assures us of it,\* and Socrates tells us that the Eusebians ascribed to Julius the holding of the Sardican Council.† Athanasius tells us, "that it was summoned lest those who had been wrongfully treated should suffer further injury, or the aggressors should continue to inflict outrages."‡

The Fathers observe that the accusers of Athanasius, though present at Sardica, "did not dare appear in the council of the holy bishops: from which circumstance the justice of the judgment of our brother and fellow bishop Julius most clearly appeared, who passed sentence not rashly, but after mature deliberation." In the letter of the Fathers of Sardica to the Egyptian and African bishops, they mention the accusations preferred to Julius, Bishop of the Roman Church, against Athanasius,—the letters written to him by bishops of various places in his defence,—the summons issued to the Eusebians to appear, and their shrinking from the trial: whence they infer their guilt,—"because being summoned by our beloved fellow minister Julius, they did not present themselves for trial."§ The innocence of Athanasius was fully established by the judgment of Julius; but the violence of his enemies was not subdued, and the intruder, who was sustained by the civil power, was not ejected. Hence the Fathers of this council, in their first letter, implore the emperors not to suffer the public officers to pass sentence on clergymen, or to molest the brethren, but to leave every one at liberty to follow the Catholic and Apostolic faith, without being subject to the violence of persecution. They make known to him, likewise, that Gregory, the intruder into the See of Alexandria, is deposed. These things may explain how matters were settled at Sardi-

\* Sozomen, l. iii. Hist. c. x.

† Socrates, l. ii. Hist. c. xx.

‡ Athan. ad Solit. Vitam Agentes, p. 442.

§ "Judicio non asterant."

ca, if, indeed, the sentence of this venerable assembly had put an end to the sufferings of Athanasius, but his own writings give us melancholy proofs that heretical outrages were not even then repressed.

The Fathers of this council bore the most splendid testimony to the privileges of the Primacy. Osius proposed, "If any bishop be condemned in any cause, and thinks that his cause is good, and that a trial should again take place, if it meet your approbation, let us honor the memory of the holy Apostle Peter, and let those who investigated the case write to the Roman Bishop, and if he judge that a new trial be granted, let it be granted, and let him appoint judges. But if he judge that the cause is such that the proceedings should not be called in question, they shall be confirmed. Is this the will of all? The synod answered: It is our will."\* Gaudentius, a bishop, then proposed an amendment, that should an appeal be lodged to Rome, no bishop should be ordained in place of the deposed prelate: which was agreed to. These canons were adopted by the council, and report was made of the whole proceedings to Julius, the actual Bishop of Rome, in a synodical letter, in which the Fathers say: "This will seem to be excellent and most suitable, if the priests of the Lord report to the head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter, from the several provinces."†

This council was held a few years after that of Nice, Osius being present at both. Rome is recognised by the Fathers as the See of Peter, and the mode of proceeding in ecclesiastical causes is regulated with a marked deference to its bishop. It is acknowledged to be the head, and Julius is requested to admonish by his letters all bishops not to communicate with those whom the council had condemned. It has been said by some that the council of Sardica conceded the right of appeal; but a close inspection of the two canons that regard this matter, will shew that they merely recognised its existence. The first enactment which they made on this subject, was intended to correct an abuse, not to confer a privilege. Before this, a condemned bishop had the facility of obtaining a new trial from the bishops of the neighboring province, without alleging satisfactory reasons. To prevent this, it was enacted that no new trial should be granted, unless by the special authority of the holy See, who should appoint the judges. This

\* Sardic. Conc. Can. iv. Tom. I. Conc. Hard. Col. 640.

† "Hoc enim optimum et valde congruentissimum esse videbitur, si ad caput, id est, ad Petri Apostoli sedem, de singulis quibusque provinciis Domini referant Sacerdotes." Ep. Synod. Sardic. Apud. Hard. Col. Conc. Tom. I. Col. 653.

enactment abridged the power of the Metropolitans, who could no longer grant a new trial, which, before, was left to their discretion. With regard to appeals to the Pope, "from the judgment of those bishops who belonged to the neighboring parts," the council, at the suggestion of Gaudentius, decreed, that if a bishop "should proclaim that his cause should be heard in the city of Rome, another bishop should not, after his appeal, by any means, be ordained in the place of him who appears to be deposed, unless the cause be determined by the judgment of the Roman Bishop." This enactment supposes the right of appeal, and does not create it; but it restrains the provincial bishops from proceeding to the ordination of a new bishop, even after a second trial, should the condemned bishop interpose an appeal for a final hearing in the Roman court. It determines this appeal to have the effect of *suspending* all provincial acts. The case of Athanasius, into whose See, whilst his cause was pending at Rome, Gregorius had been intruded, gave occasion to these canons. Had the right of appeal been conferred by that council, it would still be worthy of remark that it was with a view to honor the chair of Peter. The influence of the Roman Bishop, had it at all originated in the greatness of the imperial city, must have been on the wane ever since Constantine raised the new seat of empire at Byzantium. The prejudices of Constantius should have made him view with peculiar jealousy every new privilege of a See whose bishop was the avowed and implacable enemy of Arianism, and had so lately sustained Athanasius against the Arian faction, which that emperor so much favored. The Fathers of Sardica had been called together by the letters of this Arian emperor, at the instance of Constans, whose influence Julius employed for that purpose. Every thing, then, concurred to persuade them to diminish, rather than augment, the prerogatives of that See; and nothing could have induced them to recognise its superiority, or admit its rights, but the deep-rooted conviction that they were the rich inheritance bequeathed by the prince of the apostles to his successors.

The exercise of the power of receiving appeals before the holding of this council, proves that it was not derived from it. It is a right which clearly flows from the office of chief Bishop, and which must consequently be deemed of divine institution. In giving to Peter the keys of His kingdom, Christ made him highest in authority, with a governing power over all, and authorized him to bind all by his decrees, or loose them by reversing the sentences of his colleagues. This is not to be done capriciously, but justly, in conformity with the divine law, and with a strict regard to the interests of the Church at

large. The exercise of the power may vary, and may be regulated by the canons, with the assent of the Pontiff, but the power itself cannot be taken away, or restricted by positive enactments, since it flows from a higher source—the will of Jesus Christ, who constituted Peter, under Himself, Chief Ruler and Chief Pastor.

Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, was deposed by an Eastern council, as entertaining heretical opinions, and was denounced to Julius. He repaired to Rome, awaited during a long time the arrival of his accusers, and they not appearing, he presented to the Pope the exposition of his faith, and was restored to communion and to his See. His letter to Julius commences with these words: “Since some of those who were formerly condemned for heterodoxy, whom I exposed in the council of Nice, have dared write against me to your Holiness, as if I did not entertain correct sentiments, conformable to the teaching of the Church, endeavoring to transfer to me their own fault, on this account I thought it necessary to repair to Rome, and suggest to you to send for those who wrote against me, that on their appearing, I might confound them in both respects, by shewing that what they have written against me is false, and that they themselves still continue in their original error, and that they are guilty of criminal machinations against the Churches of God, and against us who preside over them; but since they have declined to come, although you sent messengers after them, and I have waited a year and three entire months at Rome, I have thought it necessary, before my departure, to deliver you the profession of faith, which I have written, in all sincerity, with my own hand, which I have learned, and in which I have been instructed from the divine Scriptures.”\* He concludes by requesting Julius to transmit a copy of this profession to the other bishops, that his orthodoxy might thus be manifest. The council of Sardica, in conformity with the judgment of Julius, acknowledged Marcellus and Athanasius as partakers of Catholic communion.

Socrates in the most emphatic terms, relates the recourse of various bishops to the authority of the Pope. “At the same time (*when Athanasius arrived*) Paul also, the bishop of Constantinople, Asclepas of Gaza, Marcellus of Ancyra, a city in lesser Galatia, and Lucius of Hadrianople, each accused of a different offence, and driven from their Churches, reach the imperial city. When they had stated their case to Julius, Bishop of the Roman city, he, according to the prerogative of the Roman Church, sent them back into the East, bearing with

\* Vide ep. Marcelli inter ep. Rom. Pont. Coustant. p. 390.

them strong letters, and restored them to their Sees, and severely rebuked those who had rashly deposed them. They accordingly setting out from Rome, sustained by the letters of the Bishop Julius, took possession of their Churches, and sent the letters to those to whom they were directed.”\*

Sozomen, the Greek historian,† speaking of the same bishops, says : “ The Roman Bishop having taken cognizance of the cases of each of them, and finding them all to harmonize in the Nicene faith, admitted them to his communion. And since ON ACCOUNT OF THE DIGNITY OF HIS SEE, THE CARE OF ALL BELONGED TO HIM, HE RESTORED EACH ONE TO HIS CHURCH.”‡

St. Basil is an illustrious witness of the exercise of the privileges of the Primacy in absolving, on appeal, a bishop deposed in an Eastern synod. Eustathius of Sebaste, in Armenia, had in various circumstances professed Arianism, and was in consequence of it deposed from his Sec. St. Basil in a letter to the Western bishops, thus relates his successful artifice for obtaining his lost office : “ Being cast out of his bishopric, from which he had been already deposed in Melitina, he thought on this plan of recovering his place, to undertake a journey to you. What things were proposed to him by the most blessed Liberius, and what he consented to, we know not : but he brought back with him a letter reinstating him, which being presented to the synod of Tyana, he was restored to his place.”§ No stronger evidence could be given of the authority of the Pope. He reversed the decree of an Oriental synod, and restored the deposed bishop, and another synod acquiesced, even when there was strong reason to believe that the Pontiff had acted on false representations.

St. Chrysostom sent to Pope Innocent an embassy consisting of four bishops and two deacons, to state plainly and clearly all the wrongs which he had suffered from the violence of Theophilus of Alexandria, and his abettors, and to obtain redress without delay. He shews that the Egyptian could have no authority in Thrace, and he implores the Pontiff to shew becoming fortitude and zeal for the remedy of these disorders. “ Lest so great confusion should become general, I beseech you to write to the effect that these irregular proceedings, which were

\* Hist. Eccl. l. II. c. xv.

† “ The opinion of the Roman See’s supremacy, seems to have prevailed very much in the fourth century. Fleury brings remarkable proofs of this from the writings of Socrates, Sozomen, Ammianus, Marcellinus, and Optatus.”—Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. vii. p. 270.

‡ L. iii. hist. eccl. c. vii.

§ Ep. cclxiii. alias lxxiv.



carried on in your absence, and from *ex parte* information, whilst we did not decline trial, are of no effect, as they are in fact null of themselves, and that the authors of these illegal measures shall be subjected to the penalty prescribed by the ecclesiastical laws. Grant us likewise who have not been convicted, reprov'd, or denounced as guilty of crime, to enjoy your letters immediately, and your love, and that of all others as hitherto.”\*

In some manuscripts it is stated that Chrysostom wrote in like terms to Venerius, bishop of Milan, and Chromatius of Aquileja ; but there is reason to believe that this is an unauthorized statement of some one who supposed that the two letters addressed to these prelates, which are still extant, were written at this time, although their contents be different. If, however, it be admitted that Chrysostom addressed to them letters of the same tenor, it must have been as to the ordinary counsellors of the Pope, with a view to obtain their influence and co-operation.

The Pope addressed the clergy of Constantinople, who likewise had written to him on the same subject, and he pronounced the deposition of their bishop irregular, unjust and void.† This sentence was intended to replace Chrysostom in his station, and determined his right of possession,‡ without deciding the merits of the case,§ for which maturer examination, and more solemn judgment were desirable. The adverse parties were Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, and the empress Eudoxia, supported by the emperor in her hostility to the stern reprover of her luxury and injustice. For this reason it was proper that the case should be fully examined in a synod, wherein the Pope by his legates should preside, that the solemnity of the proceedings might conciliate respect for the final sentence. On this account Innocent directed a synod to be held, saying that there was no other method of allaying the storm.|| There was no deficiency of authority on his part, but the desperate character of the case rendered these circumstances important for its successful exercise. Chrysostom, who by providential interposition, was in the mean time restored to his See, felt grateful for the kind solicitude of Innocent, and knowing the perilous nature of his situation, still implored his protection: “You continue,” he says, “to imitate excellent pilots, who are most attentive, when they see the waves raised up, the sea swelling, the waters rushing, and

\* Ep. iv. apud Constant. col. 786.

† Palladius in *vita Chrysostomi*: ἀδίκως.

‡ In possessorio.

§ In petitorio et devolutivo.

|| T. i. ep. Rom. Pontif. col. 799.

thick darkness in the midst of day.”\* He represents the Pope as exceeding the benevolence and affection of parents in zeal for his relief. Thus did the bishop of the imperial city acknowledge the superior power and tender solicitude of the successor of Peter. Theophilus likewise recognised it and sent ambassadors to support his sentence in the trial at Rome.”†

In the early part of the fifth century considerable difficulty on the subject of appeals arose between the Pope and the bishops of Africa. In sending legates to this country, Zosimus instructed them as to the mode of proceeding pointed out by the canons, both in regard to bishops and to the inferior clergy. To bishops immediate recourse to the Apostolic See was permitted, without seeking relief from a local tribunal superior to that which inflicted censure: clergymen of inferior rank were directed to apply to the neighboring bishops, who were authorized to grant redress. He added that the bishop Urban, who had excommunicated Apiarius, and was thought to disregard his appeal to the Holy See, should be excommunicated, or called to Rome, unless he corrected his faults. Two hundred and seventeen bishops, with Aurelius, primate of Numidia, at their head, convened in the year 419, in the latter end of May, and after considerable warmth and contention, addressed Pope Boniface, who had succeeded Zosimus in the chair of St. Peter. The legates of the Holy See had sustained the claims and views of the Pontiff: the bishops opposed them, as calculated to relax the discipline of their Churches, and pleaded ignorance of the canons which were alleged. At Rome these were called Nicene, although made at Sardica, in a council held in 347, a little more than twenty years after the Nicene Council, many of the bishops of Nice being present in it. In Africa these canons were unknown. The Pope referred to them because he was willing to exercise his power moderately and wisely, as the assembled Fathers had pointed out: and the bishops hesitated to change the established usages of their Churches, until they had seen the canons themselves. The abstract point of the power of the Pope to force these regulations on the African Churches, was not in question. He had not rested on it, that he might not appear arbitrary in its use. The bishops had occasion only to inquire into the authenticity of the canons, on which the Pope relied, as shewing the equity of his use of authority. They felt that constant usage was not easily to be abandoned, and yet they were unwilling to cling to it, contrary to the order established by an Œcumenical council: wherefore

\* Ep. xi. col. 810.

† T. i. ep. R. P. 804.

they promised to observe what had been determined at Nice. When it was proposed to send to the Churches of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, for authentic copies of the canons of Nice, Faustinus, the legate of the Roman Church, observed that it could not be the intention of the Fathers to prejudice the Roman Church, in any way, and to lead the other bishops to believe that there was strife of any kind between the Churches: wherefore he suggested that they should write to the Pope himself, and await fuller information from him on the point; which proposal was agreed to. With regard to the appeals of minor clerks to neighboring bishops, St. Augustin, who was present, promised in the name of all to observe it, saving the right to inquire into the alleged decrees of the synod of Nice. They viewed with alarm the appeals of priests and inferior clergymen, and enacted that any one so appealing should not be admitted to communion by any of the bishops of Africa.\*

The appeal of Apiarius, a priest excommunicated by Urbanus, bishop of Sicca, had given rise to this controversy. In the council he was induced to acknowledge his guilt, and on professing repentance, the matter was compromised by his removal to another diocese.

In the letter to Boniface the bishops insinuate that they had suffered much by reason of the abuse of the privilege of appeals, but promise that they will abide by the canons, and observe them, such as they have been proposed, until their authenticity shall have been ascertained.

A council held at Carthage in 425, addressed Celestine, the successor of Boniface, on the same subject. Of Faustinus, the legate of the Holy See, they say: "he opposed the whole assembly, uttering various insults, as if maintaining the privileges of the Roman Church, and wishing him to be received into our communion, whom your Holiness had restored to communion, under the impression that he had appealed, which, however, he could not prove to be the case. This was quite wrong, as you well know from the perusal of our proceedings." They urge the Pontiff not to admit appeals hereafter. Having styled him: "Lord brother;" they say: "Having discharged the duty of becoming salutation, we earnestly entreat you, hereafter not easily to give ear to such as come hence, nor any more to receive to communion persons excommunicated by us: for your Holiness will easily perceive that this also was determined by the Nicene Council: for since provision was made concerning the inferior clergy, or laity, how much more did the council wish this to be observed concerning bishops, lest those

\* *Can. cxxv. Afric. can. Hard. I. col. 931.* It is the xxii. canon of the II. council of Mela.

who were suspended from communion in their own province, should appear to be either hastily, or prematurely, or unduly restored to communion by your Holiness. Let your Holiness reject, as becomes you, the perverse appeals of priests also, and of inferior clergymen: since in this respect the African Church has suffered no diminution of authority by any determination of the Fathers, and the decrees of Nice most plainly left both the inferior clergy and the bishops themselves to their metropolitans.”\*

The receipt of the decrees of Nice from Constantinople and Alexandria had confirmed the African prelates in their opposition to appeals, whereof they found no sanction in them. The mistake of calling the decrees of Sardica by that name left the matter so involved that the Pope appeared to allege a false authority. Thus occasion was given for writing this strong letter, in which the council pleads against the receiving of appeals, but in language that sufficiently indicates that the Pope possessed, in the abstract, the power, although its exercise would be deemed a grievance. The council adopted no measure to prevent the appeals of bishops, contenting itself with earnest entreaty, and feeling that it was useless for them to do more than expostulate.

The whole tenor of this controversy shews that the superior power of the Pope was indisputable. He received the appeal of Apiarius: he sent his legates to see him reinstated, and to insist on the correction of the bishop who had excommunicated him. The fathers of the council were persuaded that Apiarius had practised deception, and they remonstrated against the appeal. The legate Faustinus insisted that he should be received to communion, as having been absolved by the Holy See; and the council was content to receive from him a confession of his guilt, with declaration of sorrow, and to effect a compromise. The bishops submitted *ad interim* to the claims of the Pontiff, and when they afterwards thought that these were not sustained by the canons, they confine themselves within the limits of earnest remonstrance. This is not the mode usually observed when authority is manifestly usurped.

The occasion of this difficulty was the appeal of a priest, and the canon which the African fathers enacted was directed against appeals of the inferior clergy only, although appeals of bishops were likewise complained of; but this complaint must have regarded the mode, rather than the appeal itself, since the African bishops at all times exercised the privilege. When Anthony, bishop of Fussala, had been removed

\* Ep. Conc. Afric. ad Cæs'est. t. i. Conc. Hard. col. 947.

from the administration of his diocese, on account of his excesses, by a sentence of St. Augustin, who had formed that diocese out of his own, and had procured his ordination, "he artfully persuaded the holy old primate, a man of the highest character, to believe his statement, and induced him to recommend him as altogether irreproachable, to the Venerable Pope Boniface." St. Augustin shews that the sentence passed on him, whereby he was left to exercise the functions of his order, but removed from the administration of his diocese, was not without precedents: "There are," he says, "examples, wherein the Apostolic See itself pronounced the sentence, or confirmed the sentences of others, of some who for certain faults were neither stripped of the episcopal honor, nor left altogether unpunished." Boniface had granted relief to Anthony, but qualified the concession, by requiring that the statements should be verified. Anthony, nevertheless, without caring to substantiate the facts, sought by the aid of the civil authority to recover possession of his See. In these circumstances Augustin addressed Celestine, the successor of Boniface, and endeavored to interest his sympathies, and to obtain a reversal of the Papal sentence. "The most blessed Pope Boniface, with pastoral care and vigilance, inserted in his letter, when speaking of the bishop Anthony: 'provided he has faithfully represented the facts to us.' " Augustin then continues: "Either he, or general report, threatens us with civil process-es, and the public authorities, and military force, as it were to put in execution the sentence of the Apostolic See."—"May both parties deserve your mercy—the faithful that they may not suffer wrong—the bishop that he may not inflict it—that they may not hate the Catholic Church, if they see no relief from Catholic bishops, and especially from the Apostolic See itself, against a Catholic bishop; and that he may not contract the enormous guilt of estranging from Christ those whom he seeks to subject to his authority."\* The power of the Apostolic See to receive the appeals of Anthony was not called in question by Augustin, although he wrote this letter in the year 423, when the dispute about appeals had long been agitated. This cannot be explained by reference to the engagement assumed by the African bishops to observe the canons proposed to them, until the question of their authenticity should be settled, for some indication at least would have been given of the questionable character of the power, whose exercise was in this instance so prejudicial. When, then, the council of Carthage states, that the bishops were left by the council of Nice to their

\* Ep. ccix. alias cclxi. Aug. Cælest.

metropolitans, the fathers must be understood to object to appeals of bishops made directly, and without previous recourse to the local superior, and when they call the appeals of the inferior clergy perverse, they indicate that they are generally designed to escape the just censure of their diocesan. If the clause of the canon, which asserts that a like enactment has been often made concerning bishops, be genuine, contrary to the opinion of some learned men, it seems simply to mean that the liberty of appeal to bishops, from the sentence of the diocesan, had been often before allowed, and that a further and final appeal to the primate was now permitted. Otherwise it is impossible to reconcile the statement with the known facts, since no enactment forbidding episcopal appeals is found, and many examples are recorded by St. Augustin himself. Victor, primate of Casarea, Priscus and Laurentius, bishops of the same province, are mentioned by him as removed from their Sees, or restricted in their jurisdiction, in penalty of misconduct, and the sentences are said to have emanated from the Holy See, or to have been confirmed by it, which shews that their cases had come under its cognizance by way of appeal.

From a review of this controversy it is plain that the power of receiving appeals was exercised and acknowledged, and that the question agitated, regarded its expediency. If the African bishops did not recognise the primacy of the Pontiff, their opposition to his claims would have been determined, unconditional and unqualified. In asserting them, he could have relied simply on the right flowing from his office, but it was more consistent with the meekness and justice of ecclesiastical government, to point to the canons of a General Council, wherein the mode itself of exercising this authority had to all seemed just and equitable. Appeals of bishops continued to be made, and we find St. Leo restoring to communion Lupicinus, an African bishop, who had appealed to his judgment, and delegating Potentius to revise the cause on the spot.\*

Shortly afterwards, in the year 445, St. Leo had occasion to exercise his right to receive appeals in the case of Chelidonius, deposed in a council at which St. Hilary of Arles presided. Writing to the bishops of the province of Vienne, he confidently referred to the immemorial custom as authorizing him to decide at Rome the appeals lodged there against decrees passed in Gaul, contrary to the pretensions of Hilary, who sought to have judges appointed in the province: "You, brethren, will with us acknowledge that the Apostolic See in consequence of the reverence due it, has been consulted by the priests of your province

\* Ep. xii. ad episc. Afrie.

likewise, in innumerable instances, and that in various cases of appeals, conformably to ancient custom, the decisions were either rescinded, or confirmed.”\* Accordingly he overruled the objections of Hilary, restored Chelidonius to his See, and obtained a rescript of Valentinian III. that his decree might have civil force, and be put in execution.

We have elsewhere seen that Eutyches, when condemned by Flavian, in the synod of Constantinople, had recourse to Leo, falsely alleging that he had lodged an appeal, which shews that the right to appeal existed. Flavian himself, being unjustly condemned by Dioscorus in the tumultuous assembly of Ephesus, put into the hands of the Apostolic legates an appeal against the iniquitous sentence.† The Pope annulled the acts, recognised Flavian as of his communion, and cautioned the people of Constantinople from receiving any other bishop in his lifetime.‡ Pope Gelasius speaking of this appeal, and that of Chrysostom, says: “The Apostolic See by not consenting to the sentence absolved them.”§

Theodoret, bishop of Cyr, was condemned in the false council of Ephesus, but like Flavian appealed to the just judgment and high authority of the Apostolic See. Writing to Leo he says: “I await the sentence of the Apostolic See, and I implore and entreat your Holiness to succor me who appeal to your righteous and just tribunal.” He adds that “this most Holy See has on many accounts the principality over all the Churches throughout the Universe.”|| He asks a command to present himself at Rome, that he may there render an account of his faith. Leo recognised his orthodoxy, annulled the sentence pronounced against him, and restored him to his See. “Blessed be our God,” says he in a letter addressed to Theodoret, “whose invincible truth, according to the judgment of the Apostolic See, has shewn you to be clear of all taint of heresy.”¶ When the bishop presented himself at the council of Chalcedon, he was hailed by the fathers: “Let the most reverend bishop Theodoret enter in, to partake in the proceedings of the synod, since the most holy archbishop Leo has restored to him the bishopric.”\*\* In the course of the proceed-

\* Ep. x. ad ep. per prov. Vien.

† Leo ep. xlv. Ball. edit. col. 915. Liberatus cap. xii.

‡ Ep. xlv. et xlv.

§ Ep. xiii. The American editor of Moeheim's Church History observes, that “Flavian before his death appealed to Leo; and this appeal pursued by the Pontiff, occasioned the council in which Eutyches was condemned, and the sanguinary Dioscorus deposed.” *Church History*, p. II. c. v. p. 162. *Note*.

|| Ep. cxiii. ad Leon. also ep. cxvi. inter lit. Theodoret.

¶ Ep. cxi. Ball. edit. col. 1226.

\*\* Act. i.

ings, the formal action of the council was asked that he might be put into actual possession of his See, conformably to the pontifical decree, or as the acts express it, "that he might receive his Church as the most holy archbishop Leo has judged."\* The bishops with acclamation assented: "Theodoret is worthy of his See." "Leo has judged conformably to the divine judgment."†

John Talaja was raised to the See of Alexandria, in the decline of the fifth century. Acacius, the heretical bishop of Constantinople, contrived to draw down on him the anger of the emperor Zeno, who banished him from his See, and substituted Peter Mongus in his place. Calendion, bishop of Antioch, whither he fled, advised him to seek redress from the Bishop of Rome, to whom he gave him letters of recommendation. Liberatus relates that "having got letters of intercession from Calendion, patriarch of Antioch, he appealed to the Roman Pontiff, as the blessed Athanasius had done."‡ Pope Simplicius, recognising the justice of his cause, used all his influence to procure his restoration to his See, since the pontifical decree for that purpose could not be executed without the imperial concurrence; and his successor, Felix III., finding the obstacles insuperable, gave him the administration of Nola, a bishopric in Italy, without taking from him his title of patriarch. A priest named Solomon, degraded by Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, appealed to Felix, who wrote to the clergy of that city, instructing them to treat him as a brother.

Barrow the professed enemy of the papacy, relates numerous cases of appeal: "Thus did Marcion go to Rome, and sue for communion there. So Fortunatus and Felicissimus, in St. Cyprian, being condemned in Africk, did fly to Rome for shelter, of which absurdity St. Cyprian doth so complain. So likewise Martianus and Basilides, in St. Cyprian, being ousted of their Sees, for having lapsed from the Christian profession, did fly to Stephen for succor to be restored. So Maximus (the Cynic) went to Rome, to get a confirmation of his election at Constantinople. So Marcellus, being rejected for heterodoxy, went thither to get attestation to his orthodoxy, (of which St. Basil complaineth). So Apiarius, being condemned in Africk for his crimes, did appeal to Rome. And on the other side, Athanasius being with great partiality condemned by the synod of Tyre, Paulus and other bishops being extruded from their Sees for orthodoxy; St. Chrysostom being condemned and expelled by Theophilus and his accomplices; Flavianus being deposed by Dioscorus, and the Ephesine synod; Theodoret being condemned by the same,

\* Act. viii.

† Ibidem.

‡ Liberatus c. xviii.



—did cry out for help from Rome. Chelidonius, bishop of Resanon, being deposed by Hilarius of Arles, (for crimes) did fly to Pope Leo. Ignatius patriarch of Constantinople, being extruded from his See by Photius, did complain to the Pope.”\*

The authority of the Holy See to receive appeals from any quarter of the Church was strongly asserted by Pope Gelasius, at the close of the fifth century, when answering Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople, in regard to Acacius, who, it was alleged, was uncanonically condemned, because no council had been summoned to investigate his case, as its importance seemed to demand: “They object to us the canons, which they violate whilst they refuse to obey the first See, that asks nothing of them, but what is just and right. The canons direct that appeals of the whole Church should be made to this See, and no appeal should lie from it, so that it should judge the whole Church, and itself be judged by none, and no one should revise its judgments.”† It is not probable that language so strong would have been used to an Oriental bishop, if it admitted of contradiction. To the bishops of Dardania the same Pontiff wrote in the same tenor: “The whole Church throughout the world knows that the See of Blessed Peter the apostle has the right to loose what has been bound by the sentences of any bishops, since it has power to judge every Church.”‡

The right of hearing appeals was fully acknowledged in the time of St. Gregory the Great. Sending a defender into Spain he directed him to examine the case of Januarius, who had been deposed, and if he found him innocent, to reinstate him in his bishopric, to hand over to his authority the intruder, that he might be confined, or sent to the Pontiff, and to subject the bishops who had pronounced the unjust sentence to do penance in a monastery, and to be deprived of holy communion for six months.§ On this case, in conjunction with another, a modern Protestant remarks: “The power of the Papacy,” says Guizot, “in Spain was so real that in 603, two Spanish bishops, Januarius of Malaga and Stephen, having been irregularly deposed, Gregory the Great sent a commissary, named John, with order to investigate the matter; and without assembling any council, without looking for the assent of the Spanish clergy, John declared the deposition irregular, annulled it, reinstated the two bishops, thus exercising the acts of the most extensive supremacy.”|| He likewise directed the bishop of Numidia to investigate the case of the deacon Donadeus, deposed by his

\* Suppos. v. n. 12.

† Apud Fleurium l. xxx. §. xxvii.

‡ Ep. vii. ad episcopos Dardaniz anno 495, t. II. coll. Hard. coll. 909.

§ L. xlii. ep. xlv.

|| Cours d'histoire moderne t. III. p. 66.

bishop, Victor, and if he found him unjustly condemned, to treat the bishop with canonical severity, after proper investigation in a council, "for it is evidently wrong and contrary to ecclesiastical order, that an individual should be wantonly deprived of his office, at the caprice of others, without fault or crime rendering him unworthy of his rank."\*

From English history I shall take leave to adduce one instance which occurred at the commencement of the eighth century. Wilfred, archbishop of York, was deposed by Bertuald, archbishop of Canterbury, but restored on appeal to the Holy See, although Alfred, king of Northumberland, was among his enemies. In a council convened for the purpose, the bishops endeavored in vain to induce him to resign. "Wilfride," says Fuller, a Protestant<sup>\*</sup> historian, "persisted loyall to his own innocence, affirming such a cession might be interpreted a confession of his guiltinesse, and appealed from that councill to his Holinesse, and this tough old man, being 70 yeares of age, took a journey to Rome, there to tugg it out with his adversaries. . . . The sentence of Pope John the Seventh passed on his side, and his opposers were sent home with blame and shame, whilst Wilfride returned with honour, managing his succeſse with much moderation; equally commendable, that his innocence kept him from drooping in affliction, and his humility from insulting in prosperity. Bertuald, archbishop of Canterbury, humbly entertained the Pope's letters in behalf of Wilfride, and welcomed his person at his return: but Alfride, king of Northumberland, refused to re-seat him in his bishoprick, stoutly maintaining, that 'twas against reason to communicate with a man twice condemned by the council of England, notwithstanding all apostolick commands in favor of him. But soon after he fell dangerously sick, a consequent of, and therefore caused by his former stubbornnesse; as those that construe all events to the advantage of the Roman See, interpret this a punishment on his obstinacy. Suppled with sicknesse, he confessed his fault; and so Wilfride was restored to his place."<sup>†</sup> Thus the king finally yielded to the authority of Rome, and put her judgment in execution. The right of the Pope to receive appeals, and grant relief, was acknowledged in England, as in every other part of Christendom.

\* L. xii. ep. viii.

† The Church History of Britain endeavored by Thomas Fuller, London, 1656. Century viii. Book II. p. 93.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER.

THE Primacy is essentially a spiritual office, and has not, of divine right, any temporal appendage : yet the Pope is actually sovereign of a small principality in Italy, designated *the patrimony of St. Peter, or the States of the Church*. It has been so styled because it has been attached to the office, through reverence for the prince of the apostles, and is governed by the visible head of the Church, as its temporal lord, or prince. As it has no necessary connection with the Primacy, and as Catholics, not living within the Roman States, are not subject to the civil authority of the Pope, it is not necessary to treat of it in a work directed to vindicate the divine rights of his sacred office : yet it is a matter of no small interest to trace the origin of this temporal principality, which Providence, in the progress of time, has annexed to the Holy See, and most wonderfully maintained, amidst the revolutions of States and kingdoms.

Christ sent forth his disciples without scrip or staff, and gave them no dominion over the least spot of earth. In making Peter the ruler of His kingdom, He gave him no territory, nor wealth, nor any of the appendages of royalty. The Master had not whereon to lay His head ; and the chief disciple could not complain that he was unprovided with any earthly possession. Gold and silver he had not, but he had powers of a supernatural order, for the government of men in order to salvation.

The generous zeal wherewith the first disciples devoted themselves to the service of God, led many of them to sell their property, and lay the purchase money at the feet of St. Peter, to form thence a common fund for the general necessities. When the apostle fixed his See at Rome, he left to his successors no inheritance save the labors and dangers of his office, and for three centuries they continued exposed to the fury of persecution ; yet the generosity of the faithful consecrated to the service of religion, under their direction, a considerable portion of their worldly riches. The effort of the persecutor to obtain from the deacon St. Laurence the wealth of the Church, deposited in his hands, and the means which he resorted to, in order to defeat the ava-

rice of the tyrant, shew that there were considerable riches belonging to the Roman Church, even at that early period.

St. Cornelius states that in his time there were at Rome forty-six priests, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolythes, fifty-two exorcists, lectors, and janitors, and more than one thousand five hundred widows, with other afflicted and distressed persons, to all of whom the grace and bounty of the Lord furnished support.\* The treasure of the Church must have been considerable before the middle of the third century.

It was long believed that Constantine, on his conversion to Christianity, bestowed ample possessions on the Bishop of Rome, and thus laid the foundations of the Roman principality, and although the document of *donation* is now justly exploded as supposititious, it can scarcely be doubted that he exercised great munificence. The palace called of Lateran was in the possession of the Pope in the year 313, when Melchiades held a council in the cause of the Donatists, as St. Optatus of Mela testifies.† Voluntary offerings of individuals augmented considerably the pontifical possessions, and the successor of the fisherman became a vast proprietor having numberless tenants dependant on him. His wealth was not the result of sordid speculation, or of rapacity, nor was it spent in luxury, pomp, or vice. It was a treasure formed by the contributions of willing hearts, and it was employed for the splendor of divine worship, and the relief of the poor of Christ.

By gradual accessions the wealth of the Roman Church had increased to a vast amount before the close of the sixth century, since its possessions were found throughout Italy, Sicily, Corsica, Gaul, and even in Africa, as appears from many letters of St. Gregory the Great, directed to his agents in those countries, and to others, whose influence he sought for the collection of the revenues.

The moderation used by the Pope towards his tenants made them regard it as a privilege to depend on a proprietor so equitable and indulgent. Whilst earthly princes, or proprietors of landed estate, usually estimate the services of their agents by the amount of their revenues, the utmost care was taken that justice should be done to all the tenants of the Church, and that wrong should be repaired. St. Gregory addressed a letter to Sabinian, the bishop, exhorting him to see that the citizens of that place, which was dependant on the Roman Church, should not be oppressed with excessive burdens.‡ On being informed

\* Ad Fabium Antioch. col. 150, Constant. t. i.

† L. i. contra Parmen.

‡ L. ix. ep. c.

that Pantaleon, the Notary of Syracuse, had discovered injustice, which, in the name of the Roman Church, had been practised on her dependants, he praised him, and directed strict inquiry to be made into the wrongs already suffered, and ordered reparation: "for," he says, "like the Teacher of the nations, I have all things, and abound: and I do not seek money, but a heavenly recompense."\* He instructed Peter, his agent in Sicily, to cause restitution to be made, if, as was alleged, the possessions of individuals, or their personal property, or their slaves, had been seized on in the name of the Roman Church, within the preceding ten years, and to save the aggrieved the trouble of coming to Rome for redress. Strict impartiality was enjoined by him, as the best evidence which the agent could give of his devotedness to the Apostolic See: "for then," says he, "you will be truly a soldier of St. Peter, if in cases which concern him, you maintain what is right, without regard to his interests."† Guizot, after citing some humane regulations of Gregory, observes: "It is easy to understand why people were at that time eager to place themselves under the dominion of the Church: lay proprietors were certainly far from shewing like solicitude for the condition of the occupants of their domains."‡

The possessions of the Roman Church were regarded as a trust for the poor, whose interests St. Gregory felt that he was guarding, whilst he attended to the collection of the revenues, which he dispensed with liberality and discernment. He directed two thousand bushels of wheat to be given by the deacon, Cyprian, his agent in Sicily, to the bishop Zeno, for the relief of the poor of his city.§ Sending the priest Candidus into Gaul, to manage the small patrimony of the Roman Church in that kingdom, he ordered the revenues to be employed in buying clothes for the poor, and in purchasing English boys of 17 or 18 years of age, that they might be rescued from the bondage of error and sin, and instructed in some monastery where they might serve God.|| He thanked the Prefect of Africa for the protection afforded by him in what regarded the interests of the poor of Blessed Peter, prince of the apostles.¶ Talitan, another guardian of the patrimony, was exhorted by him to defend it, as being the portion of the poor.\*\* Gregory thus discharged the duties of an indulgent landlord, and father of the poor, whilst he otherwise acted almost as an independent prince, prescribing modes and rules of trial, and directing the infliction of punishment according to the nature of the crime.

\* L. xiii. ep. xxxiv.

† Cours d'histoire moderne t. iv. p. 259.

‡ L. v. ep. vii.

\*\* L. xi. ep. x.

¶ L. i. ep. xxxvi.

§ L. vi. ep. iv.

¶ L. x. ep. xxxvii.

Property in those ages brought with it dominion over the occupants of the soil. Although the feudal system was not as yet developed, yet much that characterised the ages strictly designated feudal was observable in the relations of landlord and tenant; so that the remarks of Guizot may be applied to that period, and may help to solve the enigma of the exercise of a power apparently supreme in many respects, and yet confessedly subordinate to the imperial authority. "The landed proprietor," says this acute writer, "as such, exercised in his possessions some of the rights now reserved to the sovereign. He maintained order, administered justice, or caused it to be administered, led forth, or sent forth to battle the occupants of his lands, not in virtue of a special power styled political, but of his right of property, which included various powers."\*

In fact, we find Gregory issuing orders to the Defender in an authoritative form : *præcepti nostri pagina*.† and confirming the acts of his agents in the most express manner, to prevent their being called in question : *per hujus tuitionis paginam confirmamus*.‡ He directed the attention of the Defender to the case of an injured woman, whose complaints had reached him, and ordered an inquiry to be made into it, by arbitrators to be chosen by the parties.§ He prescribed rules to be followed in trials of the right of property, and directed possession during forty years to be taken as a presumptive proof, barring any adverse claim.|| He instructed Sergius, the Defender at Otranto, to force Fruniscendus to answer a claim made against him, and he directed him to pronounce and execute the sentence without admitting any appeal.¶

It may be questioned whether Gregory acted as a landed proprietor in several instances, wherein he took upon himself to direct military movements for the defence of various parts of Italy. Doubtless he had vast interests at stake, but zeal for the common safety may have prompted him to give orders, which all were disposed to receive with gratitude and reverence. We find him appointing Constance the tribune to guard the city of Naples, and exhorting the soldiers to obey him.\*\* Maurentius, another officer in command of the troops at Naples, was directed to relieve Theodosius, abbot of a monastery in Campania, from the necessity of guarding the walls.†† Apprehending that Ariulphus, the Lombard might attack Ravenna, or Rome, he issued or-

\* Cours d'histoire moderne t. iii. p. 75.

† L. ix. ep. lvii.

‡ L. i. ep. ii. et l. vii. ep. xxxix.

\*\* L. II. ep. xxxi.

† L. ix. ep. xl. et. l. x. ep. x.

§ Ep. lxxxiii.

¶ L. ix. ep. ci.

†† L. ix. ep. lxxdii.

ders for defence to the commanders of the troops.\* He advised Januarius, bishop of Cagliari, and Gennadius, who appears to have been a layman, in high office, of the danger of the invasion of Sardinia, by the Lombards under Agilulph, that they might prepare to repel it, and declared that on his part he would neglect nothing in his power : subsequently he informed them of the conclusion of peace, but bade them guard the walls, and be on the alert, until its ratification, lest they should be surprised by the enemy.† Again he exhorted them to fortify the city, and procure the union of the citizens, both Jews and Christians, for its defence, since Agilulph was likely to proceed to hostilities, on the termination of the truce.‡

The negotiations which he carried on with the Lombard king shew that his own position was equivalent to that of an independent prince. He urged Severus the Assessor of the Exarch to advise this prince to make peace with Agilulph, king of the Lombards, who offered to accept any reasonable terms, intimating that should the Exarch decline any arrangement, the king offered to make peace with himself, who must have been consequently in a position nearly equal to that of a Sovereign.§ He afterwards made peace with the Lombards on terms no wise prejudicial to the commonwealth.|| He wrote to Agilulph, to thank him for the peace, urged him to see that his officers respect it, and assured him that he received his messengers affectionately, as bearers of good tidings.¶ To Theodelinda, the wife of this Lombard king, he addressed, at the same time, letters of thanks, for her kind offices in procuring peace, and he begs her to continue them that Agilulph “ may not reject the society of the Christian republic.”\*\*

That at Rome he had civil authority, appears from the plea of Boniface, of Africa, who excused himself from presenting himself before Gregory to give an account of his faith, stating that his friends feared the employment of force against him : “ Those who partake of your doubts, if they will come to me, need fear no violence from me,” says the Pontiff, “ as if I should employ my authority against them. For in all causes, but especially in those which regard divine things, we are eager to bind men by reason, rather than by power.”†† The great civil influence of Gregory is apparent from his observation, when he was calumniated as having caused the death of the bishop Malchus : “ On this point it suffices for you to remark to our most serene lords, that if I, their servant, had been willing to interfere in the death of the

\* Ep. iii. xxix. xxx.

§ L. v. ep. xxxv.

\*\* Ep. xliii.

† L. ix. ep. iv.

|| Ep. xl.

†† L. iv. Ep. xliiii.

‡ Ep. vi-

¶ Ep. xlii.

Lombards, the nation of the Lombards would at this day, have neither king, nor dukes, nor counts, but would be in unutterable confusion.”\*

Long before the Roman Bishop ranked as a temporal prince, his influence in matters which regarded the safety of Rome was successfully employed. When Attila, “the scourge of God,” at the head of 500,000 Huns advanced to the imperial city, spreading desolation around his path, and with the fixed resolve to leave of the proud mistress of nations, but the remembrance, Leo went forth to deprecate his wrath, and obtain mercy for the Roman people. Eloquence, sanctity, and the majesty of his appearance concurred to strike the fierce warrior with reverence, and the vision of the Prince of the apostles in a menacing attitude, determined him to abandon his purpose. “Having devastated all around him after he had entered Italy,” says Cassiodorus, “when he was ready to rush down upon Rome too, Leo, the great Pope, rendered him so mild that, in an instant (*illico*), promising a most firm peace, he retired with his Huns beyond the Danube.”† In less than two years after, Genseric, at the head of the Vandals and Moors, advanced on Rome, and again Leo averted the threatening storm: “The fearless spirit of Leo, his authority and eloquence, again mitigated the fierceness of a barbarian conqueror; the king of the Vandals promised to spare the unresisting multitude, to protect the buildings from fire, and to exempt the captives from torture.” Such is the testimony of Gibbon.‡

The influence of another Pope was sought even by a barbarian king: “When it was perceived by king Theodohatus—that but little hope remained of dissuading Justinian from invading Italy, he wrote letters to Pope Agapitus, in which he threatened to have every one of the Senators, their wives, and children, put to death, unless means were found to turn aside the Greek emperor from his design. To ward off a stroke so terrible, the venerable Pontiff did not hesitate to expose himself to all the perils and fatigues of a long and tedious voyage, the expenses of which could not be met but by pawning the sacred vessels of St. Peter’s.”§

Notwithstanding the greatness of the temporal power which towards the close of the sixth century was exercised by the Roman Bishop, he was not as yet an independent sovereign. The Eastern emperor continued to send his laws for promulgation, and Gregory the Great

\* Ep. xlvii.

† Iornandes, (the Gothic historian) c. xxxv. p. 661.

‡ Ch. xxxiii. p. 23, vol. iv.

§ Rome under Paganism vol. ii. p. 206.



professing his dependance on the imperial throne,\* promulgated a law which he deemed exceptionable, as being injurious to piety. Mauricius forbade soldiers and public officers to enter into the monastic state, which Gregory knowing to be for many almost a necessary remedy, he expostulated with the emperor, but published the law.

The jealousy and tyranny of the emperors, and their gross neglect of their Italian dominions, hastened that consummation for which all things seemed to prepare the minds of men. At the close of the seventh century an imperial order was issued for the arrest and transportation of Sergius to Constantinople, because he would not approve of the acts of the Trullan council, which Justinian had caused to be held. The military of Ravenna, of the dukedom of Pentapolis, and of the neighboring districts, rushed to the defence of the Pope, and but for his interposition, would have cut to pieces Zacharias, the officer, charged with the odious commission.† The Lombard king Arepert contributed to enlarge the papal possessions by giving the *Alpes Cottie* to John VI.‡ The Roman people looked up to the Pontiff in all their necessities and dangers, and humanity and paternal feeling prompted him to take measures for their protection and relief. One of the first objects which interested Sisinnius on his elevation to the papal chair, was to repair the walls of the city, which, however, he could not accomplish, being snatched out of life on the twentieth day after his election. Of this undertaking the eloquent writer before quoted, says: "Pope Sisinnius taking up the determination, in the year 708, of restoring the walls, had prepared materials for the purpose, when he died rather unexpectedly; however, the work was commenced in 715, by Pope Gregory II., near San Lorenzo's gate. This noble undertaking had been nearly completed, when the violent commotions arising out of the insane attempts of Leo, the Iconoclast, caused it to be suspended. Again, when the city was threatened with an attack by Desiderius, the king of Lombardy, the various townships of Tuscany and Campania, with those of the Roman duchy, were all invited by Pope Adrian I. to join in completing what his predecessors had not been able to finish. To the men of each province and town, he allotted a separate portion of the entire circuit commensurate with their numbers, and paid them liberally for their work."§

\* "Ego quidem jussioni subjectus."—"Imperatori obedientiam præbui." L. iii. ep. lxxv.

† Fleury l. xl. §. liv.

‡ These embraced Genoa and all the sea coast to the frontiers of France.

§ Rome under Paganism, vol. II. p. 263.

The fortress of Cumæ, which belonged to the Roman Church, had been seized by the Lombards, but was recovered by the bravery of the duke of Naples and his troops acting for the Romans, in the pontificate of St. Gregory II. Both Romans and Lombards co-operated for the defence of the person of this Pontiff, when the satellites of the Eastern emperor, Leo the Isaurian, sought to assassinate him.

The state of dereliction in which the West was left by the emperor, exposed the various provinces of Italy to the invasion of the Lombards, and forced the Pope to take measures for the protection of Rome, and the possessions of the Church in various parts. Unable to recover them by force of arms, he implored the aid of Charles, the Mayor of the palace in Gaul, whose successful arms and generous zeal placed them once more in the hands of the Pontiff. In return, Gregory III. bestowed on Charles the title of Patrician, which in that age designated the highest dignity under the Sovereign. It is sometimes asked, by what authority the Pope gave this secular distinction. The answer is obvious. All civil honors are conventional, the expressions of popular will, or the consequences of victorious arms, or the grants of superior power. Charles, by the fortune of war, had acquired a title to the exarchate of Ravenna, and the Roman dukedom; but as he interfered as the friend and ally of the Pontiff, he willingly relinquished into his hands the fruits of his victory, content with a title which partially expressed what he had gained by his noble deeds. The Pope was virtually sovereign, by the force of circumstances, and he was looked up to as one whose wisdom and justice could best determine the relative ranks of men: wherefore his act declaring Charles *Patrician* was hailed as a just homage to successful valor, and an engagement made in the name of religion, implying a corresponding obligation of protection to the Church and Holy See.

The dignity of Charles took nothing from the civil influence, or from the majesty of the Pontiff. Luitprand, king of the Lombards, yielded into the hands of Zacharias four of the captured cities. Rachi, the successor of Luitprand, abandoned the siege of Perugia, by his persuasion, and exchanged the sceptre for the cowl. When Aristulph, the Lombard king, besieged Rome, Stephen III. entrusted to Pepin the protection of the holy Roman Church, and of his people, the citizens of the republic of the Romans. The victorious prince delivered over to the Pontiff twenty cities rescued by his valor from the hand of the enemy. Stephen, likewise, on the death of Aristulph, treated with Desiderius, who aspired to the crown, concerning the surrender of cities still held by the Lombards, and used his influence in behalf of

the aspirant, in the hope of obtaining the promised restitution. On several occasions successive Popes implored protection and aid from Pepin, Charles, and Carloman, to repel the violence of the Lombards, and obtain justice. St. Leo III. at the special request of Charlemagne, confirmed him in the dignity of Patrician; and subsequently of his own accord, proclaimed and crowned him emperor, amidst the acclamations of the Roman people, in the temple of St. Peter on the festival of Christmas in the year 800. From that time the same protection, in a more ample form, was to be given to the Holy See, but the Pope retained and exercised his civil influence and authority, as prince of the Roman States.\* In the middle of the ninth century, St. Leo IV. sent his troops to Ostia, in conjunction with those of Naples, and other allies, to repel the Saracen invaders, and victory crowned their arms. John X. in the early part of the tenth century successfully repelled them in like manner. Benedict VIII. in the eleventh century protected the shores of his temporal dominions against the infestation of the same determined foes, and compelled the Greek inhabitants of Apulia to seek peace. The violence of the Normans in this last country, at the close of this century, put St. Leo IX. under the necessity of sending troops against them, whom he accompanied, not to share in deeds of blood, but to witness the fortunes of his people. God permitted that he should fall into the hands of the foe, who after having triumphed over the prince, paid homage to the Pontiff.

St. Gregory VII. exercised sovereign power by pardoning the assassin, from whose dagger he had narrowly escaped on the festival of Christmas, and changing the punishment of death into a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It may not be easy to determine with precision the relations of the Pontiff and emperor. The sovereignty of the Roman States appears to have been in the Pope, who looked to the emperor for support whenever his mild rule was resisted. "We acknowledge," said Alexander III. "the lord emperor, in virtue of his dignity, advocate and special defender of the Holy Roman Church."† It was the intention of the Pope that the emperor should not interfere in the States of the Church, unless at his request, and with his assent, but that when called on, the Romans should own him as lord and ruler in the emergency. It is, nevertheless, plain that he sometimes acted with independent and sovereign authority, and contrary to the will of the Pope. Guizot is of opinion, that "the sovereignty was not fully as-

\* See Cardinal Orsi *Della origine del dominio e della sovranità de Romani Pontefici sovra gli stati loro temporalmente soggetti.*

† Apud Baron. an. 1159, p. 439.

cribed either to the Pope, or to the emperor; uncertain and divided it floated between them.”\* Hence he says all the difficulties of the question have arisen, from not knowing the epoch and notions which prevailed. There was a municipal authority in Rome itself, fostered and protected by the Pope, which oftentimes revolted against him, and became an ally of his enemies. At the head of this body was the Prefect of the city, who for a long time swore fealty to the emperor. In the narrative of the consecration of Innocent III. in 1198, it is remarked that this officer made the oath of allegiance to the Pontiff, which up to that time had been made to the emperor, and received from him the robe of office. In 1208 the Pope yielded to the wishes of the people, and allowed them to have fifty-six Senators, who all swore allegiance to him: but in a little while the people again besought him to reduce the number to one.

Under the influence of the seditious declamations of Arnold of Brescia, the Romans, during a considerable part of the twelfth century, were in revolt. Several Popes were forced to flee from their capital, and erect their chair in Perugia, Viterbo, or some other city of Italy, or to take refuge in France, which gained the glorious title of the asylum of Popes. Sometimes the emperor came to their relief, and placed them in safety on their throne, having compelled the revolters to submit. On other occasions heaven itself seemed to take their cause in hand, and by pestilence brought the disobedient Romans to a sense of duty. In 1230, after a calamitous visitation of this kind, occasioned by the inundation of the Tiber, they sent an embassy to Gregory IX. who for two years had been an exile in Perugia, and besought him to return and bless his penitent children. The venerable Pontiff lavished gifts on them, and “built a noble palace for the use of the poor;” as his biographer assures us.

The character of the pontifical government has been at all times paternal and protective; whence although popular discontent has often manifested itself, especially through the intrigues of schismatical emperors, the people generally sought to enjoy its advantages. In the eighth century, as we learn from Anastasius, “some of those of Spoleto and Rieti came to Rome, entreating to be shaved ‘*alla maniera de Romani*,’ in token of their subjection to the Pope, rather than to the Lombards,” and after the defeat of the Lombard king, Desiderius, the entire dukedom eagerly sought the same privilege. The paternal character of the pontifical government is stated in a letter from the Senate and the Roman people to king Pepin in the year 763, in the

\* Cours d'histoire moderne t. iii p. 76.

pontificate of Paul I. "They protest that they are firm and faithful servants of the holy Church of God, and of our most blessed father and lord Pope Paul, because he is our father and excellent pastor, and labors incessantly for our salvation, as his brother Pope Stephen likewise did, governing us as reasonable sheep committed to him by God, and exhibiting clemency always, and imitating St. Peter, whose vicar he is."\* On the elevation of Innocent III., Conrad, duke of Spoleto and Assisi, seeing the eagerness of his subjects to enjoy pontifical protection, freed them from their oath of allegiance and surrendered various fortresses into the hands of the Pontiff Reate, Spoleto, Assisi, Fulginium and Nuceria, with their whole districts, thus came into his power. Perugia likewise, Eugubium, Tudertum, and the city of Acquapendente, Montefiascone and Tuscany acknowledged his authority.

The pontifical principality was greatly embarrassed by the high pretensions of the princes or barons within the States of the clergy, until the reign of Alexander VI. when they were crushed by the strong arm of Cesar Borgia. From that time the Pope figured as a sovereign, and was a partner of the confederacies of princes, to maintain their respective rights and promote their interests. Censure has been freely dealt out to various Popes for their alliances, and change of allies. It is foreign to my purpose to view them in their political relations, or to vindicate their conduct as temporal sovereigns: but the principality itself, although unconnected with their spiritual office, is certainly compatible with it, and has served, in the order of Divine Providence, for the free and independent exercise of its duties. As subjects of a powerful prince, they could not easily escape the suspicion of partiality in their relations to Christian sovereigns, and could scarcely exercise freely and fully their important functions: whilst with a small but independent principality, they are free, and are provided with moderate means for the endowment of religious institutions.† The iron arm of the mighty Napoleon wrested these possessions from the aged Pius VII. Yet the empire of the child of fortune has since vanished like a dream, and the patrimony of St. Peter is once more in the hands of his humble successor. The temporal principality of the Pontiffs which counts eleven centuries, precedes by a long lapse of time every existing sovereignty: as princes of the Roman States they are many ages anterior

\* "This letter is the thirty-sixth of the Caroline letters." I quote from *Rome under Paganism*, vol. II. p. 317.

† This is eloquently stated in the Bull of excommunication, published by Pius VII. 10 Junii, 1809, against Bonaparte and his abettors: "*Quum memoranda.*"

to every reigning dynasty. Gibbon well remarks: "Their temporal power is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years; and their noblest title is the FREE CHOICE of a people, whom they had redeemed from slavery." Yet there is no divine guarantee that it shall continue. It is subject to the vicissitudes of every human principality, and it may be separated from the Popedom by popular or royal violence, whilst the pastoral office of the successor of Peter can only cease with the world's duration.

## CHAPTER XV.

## CIVIL INFLUENCE.

It cannot be denied that the Popes exercised during several ages great civil influence beyond the territory subject to their immediate dominion. The principles on which they acted deserve consideration, and the facts themselves should be weighed, with all their circumstances, if we would judge fairly. The investigation, indeed, may be omitted by whosoever seeks only to know what Catholic faith requires us to believe : but it may be made with pleasure and advantage, if we be guided by a calm and Christian spirit. It will be necessary to go back to first principles, and slowly and cautiously to examine the relations of the chief Bishop to Catholic princes.

The general question as to the origin of civil power has been often discussed with great vehemence, some maintaining as a revealed doctrine that God is its author, since the apostle says : "there is no power, but from God :"\* whilst others affirm that it originates with the people, and is a trust to be exercised for them. The two opinions, may, perhaps, be reconciled, by saying that the governing power, inasmuch as it involves the right to inflict death, and as it binds consciences, can only come from God, who alone is Lord of life and death, and who alone, by his supreme authority, can bind the consciences of men ;† but that it is a trust to be exercised for the people, and emanates from them, as the immediate channel, whenever by their free choice they designate their ruler. Whenever it is seized by violence, or passes, without any action of the people, to the heir of a royal line, it is still a trust for the common benefit, and may be said to come from the people, virtually, or remotely, inasmuch as they originally formed the framework of society, or as they now acquiesce in the actual order of things. Mamachi, a learned Greek, who wrote on the antiquities of the Church, understands the expression of St. Peter ἀνθρώπινη κτίσις‡ *human creation* as marking the origin of civil power, which he traces to a social compact, and considers St. Paul as declaring the divine sanc-

\* Rom. xiii. i.

† Suarez L. iii. de leg. c. iii. n. 3.

‡ I. Peter ii. 13.

tion.\* The prince is minister of God, bearing the sword by His authority. What is said of kings and emperors is applicable to every form of civil government.

The Church always taught that the constituted authorities should be obeyed, not only through fear of punishment, but from a conscientious sense of duty, since, whatever may be their immediate origin, they are directed by Divine Providence to the maintenance of society. The faithful were required to respect the authority even of the heathen emperors and magistrates, and without regard to their errors, or vices, to render obedience to them in all that regarded public order. Persecution the most sanguinary did not exempt them from that duty, which they performed with extraordinary fidelity, whilst in matters of religion they obeyed God, rather than men. The duty of obedience was not relaxed by the conversion of Constantine to Christianity : on the contrary, it was hallowed by higher considerations, when the monarch was connected with his subjects by the sacred bonds of religious communion. In embracing the faith, he conceived high reverence for the Church and her prelates, who were at all times foremost in testifying their respect for the authority of him whom Divine Providence had entrusted with the guardianship of social order. The emperor was supreme and independent in the exercise of the civil power : the prelates, and especially the chief Bishop, derived their power from God, and acknowledged no dependence, as to their sacred functions, on any secular tribunal. They taught and practised obedience to the civil magistrates, and enjoined the observance of the laws : whilst the prince listened with docility to their teaching, and obeyed their injunctions in the things that regard salvation.

Lest I should give a fanciful view of the relations of Popes to emperors and kings, as understood at an early period, I shall borrow the exposition of them from the letter of Pope Gelasius, addressed to the emperor Anastasius, at the close of the fifth century. Anastasius was suspected of entertaining heretical sentiments ; and yet he complained that the new Pope had not written to him, as respect for the imperial authority seemed to require. Gelasius wrote in terms which shewed that attachment to truth was above every consideration of mere courtesy. "God forbid," he says, "that a Roman prince should feel offended at the declaration of the truth. There are two things, August Emperor, whereby this world is chiefly governed, namely the sacred authority of Pontiffs, and the royal power : wherein the weight of

\* See also Bianchi Della potestà e della politica della chiesa l. i. §. i. n. 2.



priestly authority is so much the greater, as in the Divine judgment priests must render to the Lord an account for kings themselves. For you know, most clement Son, that although you preside over men, you devoutly bend the neck to the dispensers of the divine mysteries, and ask from them the means of salvation : and in the reception, and proper administration of the heavenly sacraments, you know that you should be subject to them according to the religious rule, rather than preside over them. You are aware, then, that as to these things you depend on their judgment, and that they are not to be forced to compliance with your will. For if, as regards public order, the prelates of the Church, knowing that the empire has been confided to you by Divine Providence, obey your laws, lest they should appear to oppose your will in things of this world, with what affection should you obey them, who are appointed to dispense the awful mysteries ? Wherefore, as the Pontiffs incur a serious responsibility if they suppress what they should declare for the honor of the Deity, so the danger is great of others who insolently refuse obedience. And if the hearts of the faithful should be submissive to all priests in general who treat divine things properly, how much more should assent be yielded to the prelate of this See, whom the supreme Lord ordained to preside over all priests, and the piety of the Universal Church has always honored ? You clearly understand that no one can by any human device oppose the prerogative or confession of him, whom the voice of Christ preferred to all others, whom the holy Church has always acknowledged, and now devoutly regards as her primate.”\*

This has been deservedly regarded as an admirable exposition of the relations of Catholic princes to the prelacy. The power of the prince is supreme in the civil order : the power of the Pontiff is supreme in things spiritual. The civil and the ecclesiastical powers are from God ; the former by His implied sanction of the means of maintaining social order ; the latter by the direct institution of Christ. In both the sovereignty of God must be honored. The civil power extends to all things necessary for the maintenance and welfare of society, but cannot command any thing opposed to the Divine law. The ecclesiastical authority is chiefly engaged in the promulgation of truth, and the maintenance of discipline, with a due respect for public order, as regulated by the civil power.

The influence of the higher orders of the clergy in matters of a civil nature soon became great in consequence of the veneration which

\* *Gelasii ep. iv. ad Anastasium col. 893, t. II. Hard.*

princes and people entertained for their sacred character, and of their reputation for wisdom and integrity. Our age, for the most part, excludes them from the public councils, and from all interference in matters of state : in the ages of faith they were the counsellors of princes, and their influence on public sentiment was proportioned to the general confidence in their justice. The influence of the Pope, in a moral point of view, was necessarily great, since by the authoritative declaration of what was conformable to the Divine Will, he guided such princes as were docile to his instructions in the general principles by which they should govern : but it was a moral influence, addressed to the understanding, and operating on the conscience. It depended on the prince to pursue the course which his judgment approved.

A remarkable instance of ecclesiastical influence in civil matters occurs in the history of Spain, in the decline of the seventh century. King Wamba fell dangerously sick, and received from the archbishop of Toledo the habit of a penitent, which implied, as he thought, the obligation of passing the remainder of his life in the monastic state. Under this persuasion he abdicated the throne in the year 680, in favor of Ervigius, whom he recommended to the nobles of the kingdom, requesting the archbishop to anoint him king. The new king convened a council at Toledo in 681, and procured the recognition and confirmation of his title to the throne by thirty-five bishops therein assembled; and held a second council in 683, wherein enactments of the same character were made.\* At that time the solemn act of a large number of bishops must have given great weight in the public mind to the authority of the reigning monarch, and taken from the seditious all pretext for disturbing public order, through a feigned regard for the rights of the prince who had abdicated. It is clear that such was the feeling of Ervigius, and it is idle now to inquire, whether this interposition of the prelates, in declaring the validity of his title, at his request, was injurious to royal independence. It certainly was calculated to preserve the public peace. Many would acquiesce in their judgment, who might otherwise have opposed the actual occupant of the throne as an usurper, fancying they were sustaining the rights of an injured prince.

The first instance of the interference of the Pope to determine the title to the crown, occurred in the middle of the eighth century. Pope Zacharias, on being consulted by the nobles of France, approved of the transfer of the title and authority of king from Childeric III. to Pepin, then mayor of the palace. I see nothing in this decision,

\* Fleury l. xi. §. xxix. xxx.

but a declaration of the right of a nation, through its leaders, to choose for ruler a man capable of protecting the public interests. That the inert heir of royalty—*magni nominis umbra*—may be set aside, to make room for an active and capable ruler, when the public safety is in jeopardy, no supporter of the received theories of civil polity will question. But it may be asked: why invoke the authority of the Pontiff? In order that all might know that justice and the common good were solely had in view, and that no occasion might be furnished for tumult, or disorder. It was an easy means of revolution, without shedding human blood. The conscience of the people at large was interested, lest they should appear to resist the Divine ordinance, and purchase to themselves damnation. The father and judge of Christians was consulted, and he deemed the reasons of the change just and sufficient. Whatever influence in civil matters was thus given him, was the consequence of a free act of those who sought his counsel, or implored his judgment. He decided authoritatively a case of conscience of the highest importance,\* with evident advantage to the nation. A sanguinary struggle was prevented, and the impartial judgment of one removed from local influences, which might bias the mind, was patiently awaited, and received with general acquiescence. Guizot, speaking of this transfer of power, says: "Pepin in his turn had need of the Pope. He wished to declare himself king of the French, and however firmly established his power was, he desired a sanction for it. I have already more than once observed, and I am not tired repeating it, that force is not sufficient for itself: it desires something more than mere success: it seeks to change itself into right: it asks this character sometimes from the free assent of men, sometimes from religious consecration. Pepin invoked both."† "This revolution," the same writer says, "cast the last of the Merovingian race into a cloister, and placed the Carlovingians on the throne of the Franks. It was consummated in the month of March 752, in an assembly, partly lay, partly clerical, held at Soissons, where Pepin was proclaimed king, and consecrated by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz. Never was a revolution accomplished with less effort and noise: Pepin possessed the power: the fact was changed into right: no resistance was made: no reclamation was deemed sufficiently important to be recorded, although doubtless some was made. All things appeared unaltered: a title alone was changed. It is, nevertheless, beyond all question, that a great event was then accomplished: no doubt this change was the

\* See Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. i.

† *Cours d' Histoire moderne* t. II. p. 257.

symptom of the end of a certain social state, and of the commencement of a new state, a crisis, a true epoch in the history of French civilization.”\* The change effected was plainly this, that royal descent was deemed an insufficient title to the crown, where personal disqualifications existed, and that the general interests of the nation were deemed a sufficient reason for transferring the title and authority of king to the individual of the nation’s choice. Individual interest had to yield to the general welfare : and the sanction of religion being invoked for the transfer of the diadem, it was acknowledged that all power comes from God, and must be exercised subordinatedly to His authority. Before that time the brave soldier who had won the favor of his comrades, was raised on a shield, and hailed king : now Pepin would be crowned by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, acting in the name of the Pontiff. The prince sought the support and influence of religion with the nobles and vassals to secure their obedience, and he bound himself by solemn obligations to reverence her ministers, to respect her laws, and to be the most zealous and faithful of her disciples. Society was thenceforward organized on a religious basis, and nations and princes concurred in acknowledging the Pontiff as the expounder of their duties, and the arbiter of their disputes.

In order to understand the relations of the two powers as then developed, we may consider the ceremony of coronation contained in the Roman Pontifical, which is taken from ancient Rituals, and may be fairly presumed to be substantially the same as was used in the middle ages. The prince, according to the favorite figure of Homer, is regarded as a shepherd of the people, and is admonished that he must render to God an account of the flock of which he is to be pastor. “ You must, in the first place,” says the archbishop, “ cultivate piety, worship the Lord your God with all your mind, and with a pure heart, retain inviolate, to the end, the Christian religion and Catholic faith, which you have professed from your infancy, and defend it, according to your ability, against all its adversaries. You shall render due reverence to the prelates of the Churches, and to other priests. You shall not trample under foot ecclesiastical liberty. You shall fearlessly administer justice to all, without which no society can long subsist, and you shall reward the good, and punish the wicked as they may deserve. You shall defend widows, orphans, the poor and the weak from all oppression. You shall, as becomes your royal dignity, be kind, meek and affable to all who approach you : and you shall act in such a manner,

\* Cours d’ Histoire moderne t. II. p. 226.

that all may see that you reign, not for your own advantage, but for the welfare of the whole nation, and that you look for the reward of your good deeds, not on earth, but in heaven." The oath which the king elect made on the holy gospels corresponded with this instruction. "In the presence of God and of His holy angels, I declare and promise, that to the utmost of my power and knowledge I will henceforward perform and observe law, justice and peace, to the Church of God, and to the people subject to me, with due regard for the Divine Mercy, according as I shall be able to discern in the council of my faithful men. I will render due and canonical honor to the prelates of the Churches of God, and inviolably observe whatever has been given and rendered to the Churches by emperors and kings. I will give due honor to abbots, and to my counts and vassals, according to the council of my faithful men." Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of this system, the fact that it existed should not be lost sight of, if we wish to judge fairly of the acts of Pontiffs and princes. It was after a compact thus solemnly confirmed that the right arm and the shoulders of the prince were marked with sacred oil, that he might be "a valiant, just, faithful, provident, and untiring governor of the kingdom and people, a successful opponent of infidels, a lover of justice, a rewarder of merits and demerits, a defender of the holy Church and Christian faith." I care not to explain minutely any of the terms, or to defend the various clauses; as it is sufficient for my purpose to shew, that the prince bound himself by solemn oaths to maintain the faith which he and the nation in common professed, and the rights and privileges of the prelates and Churches. Hence it is not to be wondered that the Popes in those ages constantly acted on the maxim, that kings so created had no power to enact any thing contrary to the divine or ecclesiastical law.\* Absolute power could not exist in that state of things. There was a check on rulers much stronger than the conditions of a charter, or the fear of popular insurrection.

The direct civil influence of the Pope had become great before the close of the eighth century. The imperial control being removed, and the Lombards driven back by the valorous Franks, Leo III. found himself at the head of the Roman people, and lord of considerable possessions. The French princes, his allies and benefactors, approached him with the veneration due to his sacred office, and regarded his approval as the highest earthly reward for their exertions. Charlemagne, king of the French, came to Rome, elate with victory, to renew, con-

\* Vide Mamachi orig. et antiq. Christian. t. iv. p. 75.

firm, and increase the offerings of Pepin, to the prince of the apostles, and was assisting at the Divine mysteries in the basilic of St. Peter, on the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, when the Pontiff, as if by inspiration, hailed him **EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS**, and placed on his head the imperial diadem. The title had scarcely escaped the lips of the successor of Peter, when it was re-echoed from all parts of the temple by the faithful Romans, and by foreigners of various nations, who had come to the holy city in the suite of the monarch. It is useless to ask by what right Leo took on himself to bestow the title and the crown. Charlemagne was already a powerful monarch, whose vast dominions might well be called an empire : the Western empire was extinct for three centuries, and the claims of the Eastern emperor were nullified by long neglect and abandonment of his Western dependencies. In such circumstances Leo recognised and declared the title of Charlemagne to the empire, and expressed what he knew to be in accordance with the feelings of all, and to be demanded by the general wants. The acclamations of the soldiery to some triumphant general, or the homage of a subdued nation to the Victor could not give a title so sacred as the mild salutation of the Bishop of the imperial city, re-echoed by the faithful Romans, and confirmed by the mysterious unction. Whatever right the sword can give, was already won by Charlemagne ; but as a Christian prince, he felt more gratified by the declaration of the Pontiff, than by the military achievements, which had made him monarch of vast dominions. "A seal," says Hallam, "was put to the glory of Charlemagne, when Leo III. in the name of the Roman people, placed upon his head the imperial diadem."\*

An eloquent writer remarks, that "the festival of the nativity in the year of our Lord 800, beheld the successor of the 'fisherman' bestowing the diadem of the Cæsars upon a barbarian king : that king binding himself by vows and promises in the name of Christ, to devote himself, with all the vast resources at his command, to defend and protect the empire of Peter. During the celebration of the divine mysteries, the venerable Pontiff took from the altar an imperial diadem, and with his sacred hands placed it on the brow of Charlemagne. Then it was that the faithful Romans, remembering the devotedness of this hero in the defence of the Church of Christ, and of his vicar, burst forth, as if by divine inspiration, into this acclamation—'Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned of God, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans.' Thrice was this accla-

\* Middle Ages, vol. i. ch. i. p. 10.

mation taken up by the people, the princes and the hierarchy, and all with joyful voices united in the litanies of the saints that were chanted before the shrine of St. Peter, while Charlemagne was anointed emperor with holy chrism by the blessed Pope on the natal day of our Lord Jesus Christ. Then it was that Charles the emperor made solemn oath in the name of Christ, before God and his blessed apostle St. Peter, to be, to the utmost of his knowledge, power, and ability, the defender and champion of the Roman Church.”\* The influence of this fact on European civilization is thus stated by the same writer: “Thus it is, that we again behold the hand of Providence bringing about, through the successors of the fisherman, its greatest designs; for it is impossible to overrate the importance of this event, apparently more the result of accident than of any preconcerted design. Not only was it conducive to the well-being of the Western nations, but it would appear to be a preliminary without which stability and civil order could not even have a beginning. That hand laid the foundation-stone of modern civilization, that placed the imperial crown upon the brow of Charlemagne; the unction of sacred chrism, the holy mysteries, the hymns and hallowed acclamations, that marked the ceremony of the coronation before the shrine of St. Peter on the festival of Christ’s nativity, were solemnities well worthy the baptism of infant Christendom. Up to that instant nothing but chaos had prevailed among the tribes that had overturned pagan Rome and its empire: if the confusion had been checked for a moment, it was by the mighty genius of one man. This is an axiom in the philosophy of history. Therefore, for the continuance of order, even such as it was in his reign, for a perseverance in the career of progress upon which this prince had started the aggregation of barbarian tribes, bivouacked, rather than dwelling, between the Elbe and the Ebro, there was no guarantee whatever, but the life of the aged monarch. The elements of discord and lawless violence, which it required all his energies to hold in temporary subjection and union, would have broken loose the instant he expired, and scenes of worse anarchy than ever must have ensued. But by the act of the Pontiff, the influence and the sanction of Charlemagne’s genius were rendered immortal, by being invested in a permanent institution. As if the voice of the people, in this instance, had been truly the voice of that God, ‘who separated the waters from the waters, till the dry land appeared,’ that solid firmament, upon which the brilliant and varied universe of European society still reposes, seemed to emerge, for the first

\* *Rome under Paganism*, vol. II. p. 269.

time, from the wide waste of anarchy, as the aisles of St. Peter reverberated with the acclamations, by which Charlemagne was hailed 'the crowned of God, the great and pacific emperor.'\*\*

We may fairly date from this epoch what I may term the *temporal* supremacy of the Roman Bishop. In the early ages the successors of Peter were viewed with jealousy by the emperors of Rome, and delivered over to death. The first Christian emperor, although indebted for his victories to the glorious cross, which was borne before his armies, did not owe his crown to the act of the Bishop of the imperial city. Pepin might be thought indebted to Zacharias for the French crown; but he had previously exercised the regal power under a less pompous name, and he had been chosen by the nobles to sway the sceptre. Charlemagne, although the heir of the French throne, and the conqueror of several nations, received from Leo the title of emperor. The Pontiff was justly regarded as resuscitating the empire in his person, and was looked up to as the head of all social order, from whom each prince was from that time forward anxious to receive the title for which his position qualified him. St. Stephen, king of Hungary, acknowledged to have received his crown and title from Sylvester II. Alphonsus, duke of Portugal, received the royal title from Alexander III. in reward of his exploits against the Arabs. The king of Bohemia was recognised by Innocent III. at the solicitation of the emperor Otho. Calo Joannes sought from the same Pontiff the crown and title of king of the Bulgarians. Peter of Aragon was not content with the title which his predecessors had borne, but asked of Innocent to be solemnly crowned, that a religious sanction might be given to his authority. Stephen, on succeeding to the crown of England, swore to preserve the liberty of the Church, and said that he had been chosen king with the assent of the clergy and the people, and had been confirmed in the kingdom by Innocent, Pontiff of the Holy Roman See.† I am far from ascribing to the Pope universal dominion, or any divine right to bestow sceptres: but I am equally unwilling to censure the Pontiffs that adorned with royal titles the national leaders. To me it appears manifest that they merely declared an authority which was already possessed under an humbler name, or exercised a power of designating the social position of princes, inasmuch as they themselves were placed by a concurrence of circumstances at the head of European society.

The king of Servia, on abandoning schism, sent an embassy to Ho-

\* Rome under Paganism, vol. II. p. 319.

† Baron. an. 1135, p. 341.



norius III. to obtain the pontifical recognition of his royal title. This act was intended to secure to the prince his proper place in the great Christian confederacy, and to obtain a divine blessing on his kingdom, which he acknowledged to be dependant on God, the King of kings, and Lord of lords. Addressing the Pontiff he says : " As all Christians love and honor you, and regard you as their father and lord, so we desire to be styled a child of the holy Roman Church, and your child ; being anxious that the blessing and confirmation of God, and your's should always be manifest on our crown and land."\* An irreligious age cannot comprehend the reason of these acts. The princes were not insensible of their titles to royal power, as derived from descent, conquest, or popular will ; but they felt that its original source was God, and that they needed the divine blessing in order to exercise it advantageously.

Many princes, from a feeling of devotion to the Holy See, freely offered themselves as vassals of St. Peter, which, according to the notions then prevalent, implied no degradation, but rather independence of the imperial power, with a nominal subjection to the Pontiff. The apostolic king of Hungary gloried in this vassalage : the king of Portugal made his dominions tributary : the king of Aragon swore fealty : the king of Dalmatia paid tribute to the Pope as liege lord, and Stephen, and Henry II. of England, before the humiliation of John, acknowledged that England was a fief of the Holy See. It is not just to form to ourselves a false idea of this dependance, and thence to take occasion to despise the princes who acknowledged it, and to censure the Popes who enforced it. It consisted chiefly in the payment of a small annual pension towards the general fund of the Apostolic See, for the most important wants of the Church, and in the manifestation of greater zeal for the defence of that See, when assailed by powerful enemies. It disposed the prince to listen with greater docility to the admonitions of the Pontiff, in behalf of religion, and of the people, and it procured for him pontifical protection, when the royal authority was assailed by rebels, or by rival princes. When Waldemar, king of Denmark, a vassal of the Holy See, was thrown into prison by Henry count of Zeverin, Honorius III. at the instance of the prelates and nobles, interposed his authority to rescue the king, and urged the emperor Frederick to come to his relief, beseeching him, however, to spare the life of the rebel count.† In Sicily and other original possessions of the Holy See, greater authority was claimed by the Pope as

\* Raynald. an. 1220.

† Raynald. an. 1223.

liege-lord ; but in kingdoms voluntarily made feudatory, the dependence was almost nominal.

The pontifical sanction was eagerly sought by kings to secure the succession to the throne, that strife and bloodshed might be avoided. The coronation of a young prince by the Pope, settled the title more effectually than a modern act of Parliament for the better regulating of the succession. His person was thenceforward considered sacred, since the judgment of the Pontiff, and the mysterious ceremony had ratified his title to the throne. Ethelwolph, king of the Western Saxons, sent to the eternal city his son Alfred, that he might be crowned by the Pope, and thus declared heir to the throne then occupied by his father. Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, considering the delicate state of the health of Louis the Fat, suggested to him to avail himself of the presence of Pope Innocent II. then at Rheims, in order to have the young prince crowned, and thus prevent any strife of aspirants to the throne. The king accordingly came to Rheims, with his queen and son, and the nobles of his court, and had his son Louis VII. crowned as his successor, in the presence of bishops from France, Germany, England and Spain. Hallam remarks, that "the first six kings of this dynasty (*the Capetian*) procured the co-optation of their sons by having them crowned during their own lives. And this was not done without the consent of their chief vassals."<sup>\*</sup>

In cases where the order of succession could not be observed, without danger to the public interests, the sanction of the Pope was asked for the necessary departure from the usual course. At the close of the twelfth century, the king of Armenia sought authority of Innocent III. to give effect to the will of Raymond, prince of Antioch, who excluded his brother, the count of Tripoli, from the succession, that the principality might pass to his own son and grandson. There were three claimants of the throne of Castile in the year 1218. Ferrandus, who was chosen king by the majority of the nobles, was disqualified by his birth, as the marriage of his parents was incestuous and invalid. To prevent civil war, Honorius III. legitimated his birth, and ratified the election. Gregory IX. was implored to confirm the title to the throne, which the king elect of Norway, whose birth was illegitimate, derived from the will of his father, to the prejudice of the rights of the legitimate heir. It was justly thought that the Pontiff would decree what was conformable to justice, and weigh well the respective claims of the aspirants to royalty, with a sacred regard to the interests of the nation.

\* Middle Ages ch. II. part II. p. 171.

The religious sanction given to regal authority by the rite of coronation confirmed and developed the obligations of the prince towards the Church, and clothed with the character of a sacred compact, what would otherwise be dependant on a sense of duty. From the days of Constantine the faithful occupant of a throne conceived himself bound in the exercise of his authority, to respect the laws of Christ and of His Church, and to do nothing in opposition to them : and when he deviated from the path of duty, the Pontiff felt authorized to admonish him, as Gelasius admonished Anastasius, and Gregory Mauritius. In the middle ages the relations between the prince and the Pontiff became more immediate : the obligations were therefore more distinctly marked and more solemnly avowed : and the spiritual power appeared invested with a temporal influence, especially where matters of a temporal nature were connected with religion. Guizot having observed the prevalence of "the conviction that the Pope is the interpreter of the faith, the head of the Universal Church, and that he is above all bishops, above national councils," adds also, "above temporal governments in matters of religion, and even in temporal affairs when connected with religion;" and says that "this conviction was established more and more in the minds of men, and may be considered as definitely formed in the middle of the ninth century."\* The spiritual supremacy dates as we have seen from the hour when Christ said to Peter : "feed my lambs," "feed my sheep." Its reference to temporal matters connected with religion is an historical fact proved by numberless documents of the ninth and following ages ; and whatever may be thought of it, it must be borne in mind, if we would understand the official acts of that period.

In the middle ages, the civil rulers were brought into closer relation with the Popes, in consequence of the part which these had in the revival of the empire, and the arrangement of the various kingdoms : whence we may not be surprised to find the spiritual authority extended to many things connected with civil polity, and the spiritual supremacy, with certain temporal appendages, asserted and exercised in a manner more marked and unequivocal. Thus ecclesiastical immunities, which implied the exemption of the clergy from the civil tribunals, and from taxation, and other burthens, were strongly claimed, as they had in fact been guaranteed by the oath of coronation ; and in vindicating them language was used which is strictly applicable to the supremacy of the Church and Pontiff in things spiritual.

\* Cours d' histoire moderne t. iii. p. 81.

St. Thomas of Canterbury deemed it the duty of his office to maintain the ecclesiastical immunities against the encroachments of his temporal sovereign, and ventured to rebuke him as deviating from the line of duty which became a Catholic prince. Addressing Henry II. he says: "If you are a good and Catholic king, and wish to be what we believe and what all still more desire, if I may say it with your leave, you are a child of the Church, not her ruler, you should learn from the priests, not teach them; you should follow the priests in ecclesiastical matters, not go before them. You have power peculiar to yourself, bestowed on you by God for the administration of the laws, that being grateful for His favors, you may do nothing contrary to the order divinely established."\* "Most beloved king, God wills that the direction of the things of the Church should belong to His priests, not to the powers of the world, which, if they be faithful, he wishes to be submissive to the priests of His Church."† Innocent III. wrote to Sanctius II. of Portugal in these terms: "We beseech you, most beloved Son, through the mercy of Jesus Christ, to be content with the authority which God has given you, and not at all to stretch your hands to matters ecclesiastical, as we do not stretch our hands to matters of royal prerogative."‡

The close relation of the Popes to the civil powers in the middle ages, made their sanction of vast importance in all undertakings of magnitude; hence we find kings and republics eager to secure their approbation in their enterprises, treaties and other solemn acts. Richard of England addressing Clement III. after the conclusion of peace with Tancred of Sicily, began in these terms: "The actions of princes are crowned with more success when they are strengthened and favored by the Apostolic See, and directed by consultation of the Holy Roman Church."§ The Venetians and French having formed a treaty for the affairs of the Eastern empire, the emperor Baldwin and Dandolo, Doge of Venice, applied to Innocent III. to sanction it by his high authority, that it might thereby be held more sacred, and the penalty of infraction might be dreaded.|| It is not wonderful that such sanction should have been sought, when the parties professed the same faith, revered the same authority, and were members of the great confederacy of Christian States, formed more by the community of religious feeling and interests, than by any express compact. At all events, the fact is beyond question, that during several ages, pontifical influence and au-

\* Apud Baron. an. 1166, p. 535.

† Ibidem. p. 536.

‡ Apud Raynald. an. 1211.

§ Apud Baron. an. 1190, p. 820.

|| Apud Raynal. an. 1205.

thority were appealed to in matters of a temporal character, connected only remotely with religion. The nations and princes were encouraged by that high sanction, and public sentiment was regulated, in a great degree, by the judgment of him whose station was presumed to place him far above local influences.

Much odium has been attached to the Holy See in consequence of the act of Adrian IV. authorizing Henry II. of England to invade Ireland, and subject it to the British crown. Partiality for his countryman is supposed to have influenced him to follow the extravagant notions of his age in regard to the extent of the Pontifical prerogative, and he is thought to have founded these pretensions on the fabulous donation of Constantine. In vindicating the Primacy, I am nowise concerned with special facts of this kind, nor am I bound to relieve the memory of each Pontiff from censure; yet I may be allowed to remark, that the character of Adrian for integrity and zeal, whereby, from the condition of a poor scholar, he rose to the pinnacle of ecclesiastical power, does not permit me to believe, that he was influenced by unworthy motives, and the grant of Ireland to Henry, although expressed in pompous terms, is, in the judgment of eminent Italian writers, no more than the sanction of the enterprise. The assertion made by the Pontiff, on the previous acknowledgment of the prince, that Ireland and all the islands, on which the light of Christianity shone, belonged to the Holy See, is explained by Bianchi of their dependence in spiritual matters, for which Adrian desired to provide by sanctioning the invasion of Henry, who professed to have in view the restoration of order and discipline in the Irish Church.\* This may appear too subtle an explanation to be true, but it is not without plausibility, and I notice it with satisfaction, inasmuch as this ardent defender of the rights of the Holy See disclaims any assumption by Adrian of temporal dominion or authority over Ireland. The justice of the sanction depends on the truth of the facts alleged, namely, that disorder prevailed among the rival princes, and anarchy and licentiousness among the people, and that the hierarchy itself suffered from the general corruption. Whether in such circumstances a neighboring king could interfere, on the invitation of one of the rivals, may be left for writers on the law of nations, and on civil polity, to determine. The Bull of Adrian supposes the facts and sanctions the interposition.

The Bull of Alexander VI. fixing limits whereby the dominions of the kings of Portugal and Spain in the new world should be distin-

\* Della potestà e della politia della Chiesa t. II. l. v. §. xiii. p. 353.

guished, is generally represented as the most absurd and extravagant assumption, but De Maistre more justly considers it as an instance of the salutary influence of the Papal authority.\* The object of the king of Spain in soliciting it was to obtain a solemn recognition of his discoveries, and to prevent war. He relied, as Washington Irving observes, on the right acquired by the fact of discovery; and Judge Kent has shewn that to this right reference was always made in the claims put forward subsequently by Spain. The Pontifical decree in these and like circumstances was the public sanction of that which in itself was just, on the general principles of the law of nations.

In judging of this and other acts of the Popes, we must not insist too rigorously on the words of the documents. The *giving, granting, bestowing, in the plenitude of Apostolic authority*, means oftentimes no more than the recognising and sanctioning of rights derived from discovery, conquest, or other just title. Those who are familiar with such documents, will not be easily startled at the high-sounding phraseology employed in them, with a view of expressing strongly and abundantly the title conveyed, or recognised. The Popes never pretended to have received from Christ universal dominion, or even any dominion in temporal matters; but in the middle ages they were at the head of the Christian confederacy, and they used the influence, authority, and power wherewith they were invested by the force of circumstances, for the benefit of all, sanctioning the governing authority by their blessing, and directing and controlling it by religious principles. "The Popes," says Luden, a Protestant, "acquired the full consciousness of the power, which, in those ages of vicissitude and tempest, the wants of men had accumulated upon their See."† A modern writer, speaking of the Papal power in the middle ages, says: "It was a moral sway, not like the temporal sovereignties of the time, one of brute force. It had comparatively nothing narrow, or personal: IT UNITED CHRISTENDOM INTO A VAST FEDERAL REPUBLIC."‡

The state of modern society is altogether different. The rite of coronation is rarely performed; the pledges now given, by swearing to uphold the Constitution and laws, regard chiefly objects of a mere temporal character: the prince does not assume the character of protector of the Church, and often does not at all admit her authority: the Pope is not placed in the same relation to rulers and nations, and does not obtrude a sanction which is not demanded. The former civil influence of

\* Du Pape l. II. c. xiv.

† Geschichte des Teutschen Volkes, von Heinrich Luden.

‡ London Quarterly, for February 1836.

the Popes is thus explained by the learned Leibnitz, although profess-  
edly a Lutheran. "It is certain," he observes, "that several princes  
were feudatories, or vassals of the Roman empire, or at least of the  
Roman Church; that some kings and dukes were created by the em-  
peror, or Pope; and that others in the ceremony of their coronation  
offered homage to Jesus Christ, and promised fidelity to His Church,  
at the moment when they were anointed kings by the bishop. Thus is  
verified the well-known formulary: CHRIST REIGNS, CONQUERS, GO-  
VERNS; since all history testifies that most of the Western nations sub-  
jected themselves to the Church with great alacrity and devotion. I  
care not to examine whether all these things be of *divine right*. They  
certainly were done by common consent, and could surely be done,  
being no wise opposed to the welfare of Christendom; for the salvation  
of souls and public good are often combined."\* "The close con-  
nexion between sacred and profane things led to the belief that the  
Pope had authority over kings themselves."† From these various con-  
siderations it is evident that the power exercised by the Popes in tem-  
poral matters, during the middle ages, was a natural result of the inti-  
mate relations of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, and had for  
its foundation and support the best of all principles of public law, the  
common consent of nations and their rulers.‡

\* Tract. de jure suprematus p. III. Op. t. iv. p. 330.

† Ib. p. 401.

‡ Pouvoir du Pape art. I. p. 60.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## UMPIRE.

THE spiritual relation of the Pope to Catholic princes and nations naturally disposed them to appeal to his judgment in the controversies that occurred between them, and induced him at times to interfere unsolicited. Urban IV. writing to Michael Palæologus, emperor of Constantinople, describes the advantages which princes and nations derive from the paternal interposition of the Apostolic See: "Catholic kings, when any dissension occurs between them, or when their vassals presume to rebel against them, immediately have recourse to this Church, as to a harbor of safety, imploring salutary counsel and aid, and unfailingly receive from her remedies, whereby tranquillity and peace are secured: by which means serene harmony and harmonious serenity are re-established among those who were discordant and troubled, the seditions of subjects are quelled, and the complaints of the litigious are hushed. Moreover, the same Roman Church acts as a tender mother to the infant heirs of such kingdoms, whenever they are left orphans, by the death of their parents during their minority, and she diligently and advantageously undertakes their government and protection, and defends their inheritance and kingdoms, in cases of necessity, even at her own expense, from any invaders and usurpers."\* Sir Edward Sandys speaking of Catholics observed, that they had in this respect an advantage over Protestants: "the other have the Pope as a common father, adviser, and conductor to them all, to reconcile their enmities, to appease their displeasures, to decide their differences."† Ancillon says of the Popes in the middle ages: "they formed a supreme tribunal, erected in the midst of universal anarchy; and their decrees were, in general, as respectable as they were respected."‡ In the actual divided state of Christendom, we may not easily conceive the relations of nations and kings to the Holy See, when unity of faith prevailed among them. The appeal to pontifical authority was then as natural, as it is for individuals to complain to their pastor of some

\* Apud Rayn. an. 1263.

† *Europæ speculum*, p. 202.

‡ Quoted by Fletcher, *comparative view*, p. 157.



wrong suffered from a brother in faith. Civil matters properly belong to secular tribunals ; but it has at all times been allowed to submit disputes to an arbiter, without any exception to his authority being taken, since the will of the parties gave or supplied the necessary power. To an individual who might solicit pontifical interposition, in order to obtain redress or justice, the Pope might answer, in the words of His Divine Master, " Who hath appointed me judge between you ?" \* but the reply could not be given, at a period when both parties alike appealed ; or when the usage, and if I may so call it, instinct of Christian nations, marked the Pontiff as the highest judge, whose decision should be respected in controversies between brethren.

In some instances the Pope was called on by one of the parties interested, to act as mediator, and obtain by his influence, just terms from the adversary. In such circumstances he felt himself authorized to judge of the justice of the terms, and by ecclesiastical censures to compel their acceptance by the party who sought his mediation. Andrew, king of Hungary, in the middle of the eleventh century, implored the good offices of Leo IX. to induce the emperor Henry II. to abandon the siege of the royal city. The Pope did not hesitate to travel to Germany for this purpose, and obtained peace on equitable conditions. The king refused to abide by them, and thereby drew on himself the censures of the Church, he being guilty of bad faith and injustice.

The claims of Harold and William of Normandy to the English throne were submitted to the judgment of Alexander II. as Matthew of Paris relates in these terms : " William, duke of Normandy, lest the justice of his cause should be injured by rashness in making war, sent ambassadors to Pope Alexander, that his undertaking might be confirmed by apostolic authority. The Pope, having taken into consideration the claims of both contending parties, sent a banner to William, as an omen of royal power." †

Oftentimes the judgment of the Pope was sought by one of the parties, and the use of his spiritual power invoked, that the adversary by ecclesiastical censures might be deterred from injustice.

Henry II. on the rebellion of his son, sought the interposition of Alexander III. avowing himself a vassal of the Holy See. " Since God has raised you to the eminence of the pastoral office, that you might give the knowledge of salvation to His people, although I be absent in body, yet present in spirit, I prostrate myself at your knees,

\* Luke xii. 14.

† Hist. Angl. Prolog.

demanding salutary counsel. The kingdom of England is of your jurisdiction, and to you alone I am responsible, and am bound as to what regards the obligation of feudatory right. Let England see the power of the Roman Pontiff; and since he does not employ material arms, let him defend the patrimony of Blessed Peter with the spiritual sword.\* The Pope accordingly issued an excommunication against whosoever should disturb the king's peace.

Where every thing depends on the force of arms, it is not easy to understand how it came to pass that the influence and authority of the Pope were invoked by princes themselves for the redress of grievances. When Richard Cœur de Lion, on his return from the crusades, was taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria, the chief hope of his afflicted mother, Queen Eleanor, lay in the pontifical authority. Addressing Celestine III. she says: "The nations that are convulsed by dissension, the people torn asunder by strife, the desolate provinces, and generally the whole Western Church sunk in grief, in a contrite and humble heart supplicate you, whom God has established over nations and kingdoms, with all fulness of power. Let, I beseech you, the cry of the afflicted enter into your ears, for our calamities are multiplied above number. You cannot dissemble them without guilt and infamy, since you are the Vicar of Christ, successor of Peter, priest of Christ, anointed of the Lord, and even god of Pharaoh. Let judgment, O! father, proceed from your mouth, let your eyes see justice. The desires of the people depend on your will, and your clemency; and unless your hand quickly lay hold on judgment, the whole of this criminal tragedy will redound to your detriment, since you are father of the orphans, and the judge of afflicted widows, the consoler of those that mourn, and a city of refuge to all."† The Pope having delayed to comply with her petition, the Queen addressed him in terms of reproach: "Since the innocence of the king, my son, is testified by those who are near, and by those who are afar off, you have no excuse for your sin: for what excuse can palliate your neglect and injustice, since all see that you have the power of liberating my son, and have not the will? Is not every kingdom, and every power committed to the direction of Peter the apostle, and in him to you? Blessed be the Lord who gave such powers to men. Neither king, nor emperor, nor duke is exempt from the yoke of your jurisdiction. Where then is the zeal of Phinees? where is the authority of Peter? where is one to say: 'The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up?' Let it be made manifest

\* Baron. an. 1173, p. 660.

† Bar. an. 1193, p. 863.

that it is not in vain that two-edged swords have been put in your hands and those of your fellow-bishops. 'Say to the unjust: Do not act unjustly, and to those that sin: Do not uplift your horn.' Let not the venerable succession of the apostolic dignity degenerate in the heir of Peter. Recognise your own principality, prove your zeal, gird yourself for the great work, and do honor to your ministry. Let your glory pass to posterity, and let a future age know how vain was the presumption of the tyrant, and how powerfully the Roman See punished it."\* Again the impatience of the weeping mother importuned the tardy Pontiff. "The Prince of the apostles still reigns and commands in the Apostolic See, and judicial severity is ready to be exercised. It remains for you, O! father, to unsheath against the wicked the sword of Peter, whom he established for this purpose over nations and kingdoms. The cross of Christ excels the eagles of Cesar, the sword of Peter is above the sword of Constantine, and the Apostolic See is superior to the imperial power. Is your power from God, or from men? Has not the God of gods spoken to you in the person of Peter the apostle, saying: 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed also in heaven?' Why then do you so long delay neglectfully, or rather cruelly, or why do you not venture to loose my son from his bonds? You may tell me that the power was given you over the souls, not the bodies. Be it so: we are satisfied if you bind the souls of those who keep my son in chains. You can easily set my son free, if the fear of God banish from your heart the fear of man."†

Strong as are the expressions of these letters, it is evident that they implore the exercise of the spiritual authority. The Pontiff is doubtless above kings and nations in his spiritual capacity, and the queen was confident that her son would be set at liberty, if Celestine menaced to strike with excommunication those who held him a prisoner. Accordingly Leopold, duke of Austria, was subjected to this penalty, with which even the emperor and king of France were threatened, being understood to concur in his confinement. These measures induced the liberation of the captive prince. King Richard himself, when set at liberty, implored the power of the Pontiff for the liberation of his hostages, and induced Celestine to issue an excommunication against the duke of Austria, and all others, who had concurred to his imprisonment, contrary to the security guaranteed to the crusaders.‡ The emperor Henry fell under a like censure.

\* Baron. an. 1193, p. 865. † Ibidem p. 867. ‡ Baron. an. 1195, p. 886.

It is plain from these documents, that in that age, the employment of ecclesiastical censures against sovereigns or inferior princes, to compel the reparation of injuries, was deemed just and proper, and that the princes themselves were foremost in urging it. It is useless for us to dispute the justice of their sentiments, or reasoning. We see that the Pope was in fact, and by common consent, umpire and judge, not only in cases strictly ecclesiastical, or in the private concerns of obscure individuals, but in civil matters, where flagrant wrongs were perpetrated by crowned heads. He was called on to interpose his authority: he was blamed if he hesitated: he was feared by delinquents of every class; by the haughty baron and proud emperor, as well as by the humble vassal; and when the thunder of his censure rolled, the prison doors flew open, and the hand of avarice let fall the wages of injustice, and the knees of the oppressor beat together, through fear. "Certainly nothing so hampered the free working of the lawless and arbitrary spirit of feudalism, as the existence of this system in the Church. Nations and their rulers could not feel that moral irresponsibility which they have since gained. They were members of Christendom, as well as distinct political bodies; united as *Christians* to others, and accountable as *Christians* to the whole Church. There was a standard recognized by all, higher than that of political expediency; a commonly acknowledged law, able to reach and visit crimes, which national laws were ready to screen, or were too weak to punish. There was an appeal from all earthly tribunals to one, not merely higher, but different in kind. An appeal to the See of Rome was not only virtually an appeal to the whole of Christendom, it was also an appeal to the judgment seat of our Lord."\*

Richard subsequently besought Innocent to oblige Philip, king of the French, to restore the fortresses belonging to the English crown, seized during the absence of Richard, engaged in the Crusade, when his possessions were under the special protection of the Pontiff. The ambassadors of the French king resisted the petition, and shewed causes of complaint against Richard, on the part of their royal master: which led the Pope to offer to act as umpire, and hear their complaints, and adjust their disputes; but the ambassadors of Philip alleged that they had no instructions to authorize them to accept the proposal. When, in 1203, Innocent sent ambassadors to both kings, to stop the ravages of war, Philip of France rejected his interference as regarding things beyond his spiritual office. The Pontiff in reply to this objection,

\* British Critic, N. lxx. p. 36.

showed that he had merely sought to establish peace, leaving the merits of the dispute to be canvassed afterwards, that justice might be done. "No one doubts," he says, "that it belongs to our office to judge of the things which appertain to the salvation or damnation of the soul. Is it not deserving of eternal damnation, and of the loss of eternal life to nourish discord, to attack those who are of the household of the faith, to destroy religious establishments, to give over to pillage the property destined for the wants and advantage of religious men, to oppress virgins consecrated to God?"—"Hearken then, dearly beloved Son, not to our word, but rather to the word of the Word, which was in the beginning with God, and which finally was made flesh, and dwelt among us: 'If thy brother sin against thee, go and reprove him between him and thee alone. If he will not hear thee, take with thee two or three, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand. But if he will not hear them, tell the Church; and if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican.' Behold! the king of England your brother, brother not by carnal kindred, but in the unity of faith, complains that you sin against him, and stretch forth your hands to injure him, as you have already done; he has rebuked you already between him and you alone, both by letters, and by word of mouth, not once, but frequently, and warned you to desist from injuring him. He has taken with him not merely two or three witnesses, but many nobles, to renew the bonds of peace which were broken, and to use their influence to induce you to desist from wrong. But inasmuch as hitherto he has not succeeded with your Highness, he has denounced you to the Church as sinning against him: and the Church has preferred to address you with maternal affection, rather than to use her judicial power, and therefore she has not authoritatively rebuked you,—but mildly admonished you to desist from injuring your brother, and to make with him a lasting peace, or, at least, a truce. What, then, remains, if you refuse to hear the Church, as hitherto you have refused, but, what it pains us to say, to regard you as a heathen and a publican, and to shun you after the first and second rebuke? If we must offend either you, or God, we choose rather to appease Him, although we incur your displeasure, than please an earthly king by offending the Divine Ruler.—Shall we hesitate to proceed according to the commandment of the Lord, when we shall have more fully investigated the case, and ascertained the truth? Shall we dissemble the carnage of bodies and ruin of souls, and not declare to the wicked their impiety, and restrain the violent from outrage?"\* This docu-

\* Apud Raynald. an. 1203.

ment claims for the Pope power to excommunicate princes for flagrant crimes, such as the atrocities of war, where satisfaction is offered by the adverse party, according to the judgment of a disinterested umpire. The king of England had appealed to the Pope, whose intention it was to have the investigation carried on in an assembly of nobles. The king of France was at liberty to decline this proposal ; but as a Christian prince, he should have offered some other means of adjusting their differences, and ceased in the mean time from the ravages of war. Wanton war seemed a just cause for excluding him from Catholic communion. Of any other penalty no mention is made in this document. Innocent instructed his legate to urge the peace, or truce, under penalty of anathema, and when successful, "to take cognizance of the complaint of the king of the English, and of the justice of the defence set up against it." He observed that the judgment concerning the fief appertained to the prince, but that the sinfulness of the act was a matter of ecclesiastical cognizance.\* The legate passed to and fro' between the two kings, without accomplishing any thing, and finally held an assembly of prelates in the city of Meaux, with a view to decide the case : but the French king appealed to the Apostolic See, and several bishops went to Rome to pursue the appeal. The king of England neglected to appear, and by his default forfeited his claims to Normandy, Angiers, and Aquitaine. In pronouncing judgment the Pontiff was careful to declare again that he did not mean to decide the right to the fief, which was a matter for the judgment of the prince, but the sinfulness of the act, which alone belonged to the cognizance of the spiritual judge.

This distinction is treated as sophistical by writers whom I am disposed to respect : yet it may not be as groundless as they imagine. The morality of an act is certainly distinguished from its legal character, and may be cognizable at a different tribunal. It is objected that under this pretext the Pontiff could usurp the judgment of all civil matters, and subject sovereigns capriciously to his tribunal. This would be a vain attempt, sure to be defeated, and is a mere dream of imagination. The Popes never interfered except where crimes of a flagrant character were committed. They claimed no right of interference in the administration of kingdoms : they did not hold princes responsible to them, as to a civil superior : but they admonished, rebuked, threatened

\* "Non ratione feudi, cujus ad eum spectat judicium, sed occasione peccati, cujus ad nos pertinet sine dubitatione censura." Ep. clxvi. apud Raynald. an. 1203.

and punished with censures manifest crimes against the Christian law, when perpetrated by sovereigns subject to them in the spiritual order.\*

The use made by the Popes of this authority, must be admired even by those who regard it as an undue assumption. Innocent II. repaired to Pisa, and summoned thither the citizens of Genoa, and received from the inhabitants of both places, a promise on oath that they would abide by his commands, in regard to the war existing between them and then ordered them to make and maintain peace.† We may remark with Hallam, that "their chronicles speak in recording these transactions, of the people, and not of their leaders, which is the true republican tone of history."‡ Clement III. sent a Cardinal Legate to the kings of England and France, Henry II. and Louis VI., exhorting them to peace, that they might unite in the effort to liberate the holy land. Entreaty, persuasion, and threats were successfully employed, until the princes consented to abide by the judgment of the Legate, and of four archbishops, two of whom were subjects of either king. The judges threatened with excommunication whoever should interfere to prevent peace.§

Innocent III. fell sick unto death on a journey which he undertook with a view to induce the citizens of Pisa, Genoa, and the Lombards to make peace, that with united forces they might hasten to the relief of their brethren struggling in the East. When James, king of Aragon, made war on Simon, count of Montfort, Honorius III. despatched ambassadors to enjoin peace, and invite them to determine their disputes justly and equitably, by submitting them to the Apostolic See, and not by force of arms. He threatened them with anathema, if they persisted in measures of violence. It was then thought that the effusion of human blood, when justice might be obtained by the disinterested decision of the Pontiff, warranted the infliction of ecclesiastical censure.

Honorius III. sent a legate to Louis VIII. of France, to induce him to make a truce with the king of England. In this, however, he failed. Louis subsequently invaded Provence, and Frederick the emperor, fearing lest his rights as lord paramount over count Raymond, the proprietor of a large district in that region, should be injured, applied to the Pope, who sent a legate to guard the interests of the empire, and promised to see them secured.|| He made a like promise to Henry of

\* De Maistre, *Du Pape* l. II. ch. viii.

† Baronius *Annal.* ann. 1132, p. 292.

‡ Middle Ages, vol. 1, ch. III. p. 1.

§ Baron. an. 1188, p. 815.

|| Raynald. an 1236.

England, forbidding him strictly to attack Louis whilst engaged in the Albigensian war.

John XXI. exerted all his influence with Philip, king of France, and Alphonsus, king of Castille, to produce a reconciliation, that both might unite in succoring the Eastern Christians. To the former he wrote in these terms : " We admonish, ask and earnestly exhort and beseech your Royal Highness, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, attentively to reflect that the execution of the affairs connected with the Divine glory, in which you are to be the chief actor, is impeded by this misunderstanding, and to turn to meekness what seems disposed to anger, and to prepare and change your Royal mind to the good of peace, and unity of concord." The Pontiff proffered his kind offices to settle the matters in dispute : " If any dispute still remain between you and the aforesaid king, the solicitude of the Apostolic See will not be wanting ; she offers herself, without sparing labor, to extinguish, to the utmost of her power, all matter of disagreement between you and the aforesaid king, and to procure and maintain unity with great care."\* He authorized his Legate to restrain by ecclesiastical censures both kings, or whichever should attack the other.

Nicholas III. offered to act as umpire between Michael Palæologus, the Greek emperor, and Charles, king of Sicily, and the emperor Philip, and urged them to submit their disputes to his decision, rather than engage in war.† By his persuasion Rodolph, king of the Romans, made peace with Charles, king of Sicily, and yielded to him Provence, saving the rights of Margaret, queen of the French.

Edward of England, and Philip the Fair of France, being engaged in war, Boniface VIII. sent ambassadors, most earnestly exhorting them to peace. He authorized the legates to threaten the infliction of censures, should they persist ; declaring it to be unworthy of Christian princes to lead their subjects to mutual slaughter. What to us may appear strange, is that the Pontiff took upon himself to order a truce to be observed for a year between the contending princes, and prolonged it for two years, under penalty of excommunication.‡ The attempt to interfere with the military operations of Sovereigns, is an extraordinary instance of ecclesiastical power ; but it was then thought that the penalty of exclusion from the Church might be inflicted by her ruler on princes acknowledging her authority, who recklessly sacrificed human life, in a contest, which, during the suspension of hostilities, might be amicably adjusted. With similar threats of censure, Boniface com-

\* Apud Rayn. an. 1276.

† Ibidem an. 1278.

‡ Rayn. an. 1296.



manded Adolphus, king of the Romans, to desist from hostilities against Philip, and urged the three princes to submit their disputes to the pontifical decision.

In several instances both the contending parties voluntarily submitted their disputes to the judgment of the Pope, and bound themselves to abide by his decision. When the emperor Frederick II. and various cities of Lombardy were at war, Honorius III. was chosen umpire by both parties, and succeeded in establishing peace.\* Gregory IX. performed the like office, when the perfidy of Frederick had caused another war. He employed his authority in favor of the emperor, so lately in arms against himself, and provided at the same time for the security of the cities.† On the breaking out of discord anew, he offered to judge their differences, and enjoined on them to fulfil the conditions of peace already agreed on : but Frederick eluded his authority, by complaining, although contrary to truth, that he had paid no regard to the imperial interests.

In all these cases it may appear that the supremacy of the civil power was invaded : but let it be recollected that princes and nations by their frequent appeals to pontifical authority acknowledged the right of the Pontiff to interpose, and by their own free acts furnished all necessary civil jurisdiction. It was certainly in the power of the nations to constitute a supreme civil tribunal to adjust their controversies, and prevent the effusion of human blood, and the fact of its establishment is equally proved by their acts, as by any formal compact. If they thereby parted with any portion of their sovereignty and independence, it was with great advantage to their common interests. Voltaire himself has remarked, that “the interest of mankind requires a restraint on sovereigns, and protection for their subjects : this power might be in the hands of the Popes, in virtue of a universal compact. The Pontiffs, interfering for the settlement of temporal disputes, admonishing kings and nations of their duties, reproving their crimes, inflicting excommunications, for great enormities, might be regarded as holding the place of God on earth ; but men now prefer to have the laws and usages of their country as their only protection, although the laws are frequently disregarded, and corrupt usages prevail.”‡ “We must,” says Saint-Priest, “agree with the Roman school, that the temporal power of the Holy See was far less the result of usurpation, than a consequence of the policy, or rather of the false position of princes. The secular powers themselves in their rivalries, wars, remorse and

\* Raynald. an. 1226. † Ibidem an. 1231. ‡ Essai &c. Tom. II. ch. ix.

scruples, invoked pontifical intervention, and sought its support sometimes for their inferiority in arms, sometimes for their trepidation and weakness of mind.”\* Michaud, the recent historian of the crusades, says: “Complaints were sometimes made of the injustice of the judgment pronounced by the head of the Church, but his right to judge Christian princes was scarcely called in question, and the nations almost uniformly received their judgments without a murmur.”† Leibnitz had long before observed: “Nothing was more common than for kings in their treaties to submit to the censure and correction of the Pope, as in the treaty of Bretigny in 1360, and the treaty of Etaples in 1492.”‡ He proposed, although not seriously, because he saw that it was impracticable, to establish a peace tribunal at Rome, with the Pope for its president, to judge and determine, as of old, the controversies of Christian princes, and observed: “Since we are allowed to indulge fancy, why should we not cherish an idea that would renew among us the golden age?”§

\* *Histoire de la Royauté*, vol. II. l. viii. p. 359.

† *Hist. des Croisades* t. iv. p. 163.

‡ *Dissert. I. de act. public usu* Op. t. iv. p. 299.

§ *Lettre II. a M. Grimaret* Op. t. v. p. 65.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## ECCLESIASTICAL CENSURES.

IN the course of the preceding chapter, we have seen that the means relied on by the Pontiffs for the enforcement of their judgment and decrees were ecclesiastical censures. By these are understood spiritual penalties of a medicinal character, that is to say, inflicted with a view to awaken the sinner to a sense of his guilt, and to repentance and amendment. The frequency with which these were employed, by the Popes especially, in the middle ages, renders it necessary that I should enter into details as to their nature, and the circumstances in which they were inflicted.

There are three kinds of ecclesiastical censure, namely, suspension, interdict and excommunication. Suspension is a temporary inhibition of the exercise of ecclesiastical functions. Of this I shall not treat more particularly, as my object is to explain the censures inflicted on princes, especially in reference to temporal matters submitted to the pontifical judgment, or considered by the Pope himself as falling under his cognizance.

An interdict is a prohibition of the use of sacred things, and is local, or personal, according as it affects a Church, or territory, in which sacred functions are forbidden, or a person who is denied access to the Church, or sacraments. A general interdict deprives a whole community, city, or nation of the solemnities of public worship, and of the reception of some sacraments, not of absolute necessity. When this was issued, all the Churches were closed, the bells ceased to toll, the sounds of religious joy were suppressed, and silence, and gloom, and desolation prevailed. On the chief festivals the solemn celebration of Mass was permitted; but care was taken to exclude from the Church those who were specially interdicted, whilst others entered by a private door, the gates remaining closed, and the bells still silent. The private celebration of Mass was permitted at other times, with like precautions. Infants were also baptized, the dying were absolved, and the necessary succors of religion were afforded to all. General interdicts were pronounced chiefly when the head of the nation was obstinate in crime.

It was thought that by the sudden transition of the whole nation to a state of religious desolation, the heart of the delinquent monarch would be touched, and that his speedy amendment would restore to his people the consolations of which, through his fault, they had been for a time deprived. Experience confirmed the conjecture. Thus, as Hallam remarks in regard to Philip Augustus of France, "it had the effect of subduing that obstinacy which had been proof against the considerations of honor and conscience."

Excommunication is the total separation of an individual from the communion of the Church. It is the highest penalty which the Church can inflict. After she has exhausted all the resources of maternal charity for the amendment of her unworthy child, she casts him away from her embrace, and leaves him "as the heathen and publican," an alien and an enemy. In this she obeys the mandate of Christ, and imitates the apostle, who delivered over to Satan the incestuous Corinthian, for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit might be saved in the day of Christ. The immediate and direct effect of this censure is the privation of all the external privileges of a member of the Church, and of all participation in those spiritual goods which form her treasure. The unhappy sinner no longer enjoys the communion of Saints. He partakes not of the prayers and good works of his brethren; but lonely and abandoned he bears the penalty of his obstinacy and contumacy. The withdrawal of social intercourse from one thus cast away, followed, as a matter of course, even in the days of the apostles, as is evident in the case of the Corinthian. Convivial familiarity with public sinners, was to be avoided,\* even before any formal excommunication was pronounced on them, and social intercourse with the refractory was to be shunned, that salutary confusion might result from this reserve.† The ordinary greeting was denied to the teacher of perverse errors, lest his course should seem to be approved.‡ Excommunication was attended with these consequences from the earliest period. In the middle ages civil disabilities and penalties were attached to it by the laws of the empire, and of the various kingdoms. Childebert II. in 595, disqualified excommunicated persons for public offices, and subjected their property to confiscation. Banishment was the penalty decreed in a council, held in 755, at Verneuil, against whoever should violate the restrictions, and the excommunicated person was incapable of legal process. In England infamy attended a person who remained during an entire year under excommunication. Vestiges of

\* 1. Cor. v. ii.

† II. Thess. iii. 14.

‡ II. John x. 11.

this severity still remain : “ With us,” says Blackstone, “ by the common law, an excommunicated person is disabled to do any act that is required to be done by one that is *probus et legalis homo*. He cannot serve upon juries, cannot be a witness in any court, and which is the worst of all, cannot bring an action, either real or personal, to recover lands or money due to him. Nor is this the whole : for if, within forty days after the sentence has been published in the Church, the offender does not submit and abide by the sentence of the spiritual court, the bishop may certify such consent to the king in chancery. Upon which there issues out a writ to the sheriff of the county, called from the bishop’s certificate, a *significavit* ; or from its effects a writ *de excommunicato capiendo* : and the sheriff shall thereupon take the offender, and imprison him in the county gaol, till he is reconciled to the Church, and such reconciliation certified by the bishop.”\* Thus the civil power concurred with the ecclesiastical to give effect to the censure ; and contumacy being presumed, when no effort to obtain absolution was made within a year, the loss of civil rights followed as a matter of course, according to the general laws of Christian countries. Excommunication was found a more powerful means for checking crime than any isolated action of the civil power, since the fierce baron, who was excited to deeds of arms by the threats of a foe, often quailed before the prelate, who threatened to cut him off from the Church of Christ. In the eighth century, Desiderius, king of the Lombards, when threatened with excommunication by Adrian I., stopped suddenly in his hostile career, retired from Viterbo, and left the cities which he had already taken, at liberty to return to the dominion of the Pontiff.

No doubt can be raised as to the right of the Pope to deprive of communion a monarch professing the Catholic faith, who violates flagrantly the duties of a member of the Church. All the members enjoy her privileges in virtue of their baptism, and on condition of obeying her laws, the breach whereof renders them liable to exclusion from her pale. Emperors and kings are no more than the lowest of their subjects in this respect, all men being equal before God and the Church. To preserve reverence for the authority of Christian princes, and to provide against any undue influence over the bishops civilly subject to them, their causes are reserved to the judgment of the Pope, who alone can issue censures against them.

It has been denied that ecclesiastical censures can be pronounced for temporal matters : but there can be no reasonable question that

\* L. III. n. 103.

whatever is criminal in the actions of men may be the just subject of censure. Our Lord authorizes the infliction of it on one who refuses reconciliation with his brother, without specifying the cause of dissension. Fraud, theft, and injustice of every kind regard matters which are temporal; and yet who will say that censure may not be inflicted on persons guilty of such crimes? The frequency with which censures were inflicted in the middle ages on persons invading the ecclesiastical territories, or other possessions of the Church, or violating the rights of others, has led to the indiscriminate reprobation of their employment in temporal matters; but the abuse of power does not warrant its total rejection, and the circumstances of the times may account for the employment of censures in cases where in it would be now unjustifiable. The fierce habits of those ages were such that each baron took on himself to exercise justice, and avenge his wrongs by the sword. There was no civil tribunal to which he could appeal, no law which he respected. Of the feuds of the French nobles, after the time of Charlemagne, Hallam observes: "After his time, all hope of restraining so inveterate a practice was at an end; and every man who owned a castle to shelter him in case of defeat, and a sufficient number of dependents to take the field, was at liberty to retaliate upon his neighbors, whenever he thought himself injured. It must be kept in mind, that there was, frequently, either no jurisdiction to which he could appeal, or no power to enforce its awards, so that we may consider the higher nobility of France as in a state of nature with respect to each other, and entitled to avail themselves of all legitimate grounds of hostility."\* Richard Cœur de Lion refused to agree to an article restraining this usage in his dominions.† The Church interposed her authority, laid the foundation of a legal code by her decrees, and menaced with anathema the disobedient.

Censures may be inflicted for all external crimes, although prudence and charity require that they be not easily or indiscriminately pronounced. Whenever the criminality of an act is flagrant and enormous, and generally pernicious, it may be justly punished with censure. It would be improper for the prelates of the Church to interfere with the administration of justice, the order of society, or the rights of individuals; but they may forbid under censure whatever is opposed to the Divine Law, or dangerous to the morals of the faithful.

The most frequent occasions of inflicting censure on princes, were crimes against morals, which were without remedy, unless the chief

\* Middle Ages, ch. II. p. II. p. 163.

† "In quibus consuetum erat ab antiquo ut magnates causas proprias invicem gladiis allegarent." *Ib.* p. 164.

Bishop interposed his authority to remove the scandal. Like the prophet Nathan, he reproached the monarch with his ingratitude to God, who had elevated him to the throne, and he awakened him to his responsibility, for having caused the name of God to be blasphemed, and given sanction to vice by his example. The bishops who were subjects of the delinquent, could scarcely venture to admonish him, but the Pontiff raised his voice from on high, and threatened him with Divine vengeance. Leibnitz remarks that "it is beyond question that the Popes checked many disorders by their efforts in season and out of season, remonstrating with princes, as their authority enabled them to do, and threatening them with ecclesiastical censures."\*

Clement IV. on learning the victory obtained by James, king of Aragon, over the Moors, congratulated with him, but admonished him to subdue his own passions, by putting away from him Berengaria, the object of unlawful attachment. The prince pleaded the infirmity of his wife Therasia, and asked for a divorce. The Pope began his reply in these words: "How shall the Vicar of God separate those whom God has united?" Subsequently James communicated to the Pontiff his determination to engage in the holy war. The Pope admonished him to dismiss his concubine in the first place, since no effort of zeal could otherwise be acceptable to our Lord: "You cannot," he observes, "please our crucified Lord, nor avenge His wrongs, if you will not abstain from offending Him. Moreover, we wish you to understand, that unless you obey our admonitions, we shall force you by ecclesiastical censures to dismiss her."†

Ladislaus, king of Pannonia, giving himself over to unbridled licentiousness, after solemn admonitions, was excommunicated by the Legate of Martin IV. The nobles, indignant at his excesses, rose up against him, and drove away his concubines.‡

In several instances injured queens found succor and protection from the Father of the faithful, who by the threat of ecclesiastical censures, forced the monarch to restore to them their rights. Theutberge, the wife of Lothaire I. was divorced from her husband on an allegation of incest, the truth of which she was induced to admit, and the divorce was approved of in the local councils of Metz and Aix-la-chapelle. The legates of Nicholas I. were even prevailed on to sanction it: but the Pope himself nobly vindicated the cause of the calumniated queen, annulled the decrees of the councils, and the acts of his legates, ordered the monarch to dismiss Waldrade, his concubine, whom he had

\* Dissert. i. de actor. public. usu Op. t. iv. p. 299.

† Raynald. an. 1267.

‡ lb. an. 1281.

taken as a lawful wife, under the pretext of the divorce, refused to give any credit to the forced confession of the queen, and successfully maintained her rights. Writing to Lothaire, he threatened him with excommunication, unless he dismissed Waldrade.\* Guizot remarks that this exercise of pontifical supremacy was applauded by the nation generally, because well known to be founded on justice and truth. It is no slight eulogium of the Holy See that it successfully supported the cause of an injured woman against a licentious and powerful prince.

The learned Hurter, the biographer of Innocent III. admired the constancy with which this illustrious Pontiff maintained the cause of Ingelburga, the wife of Philip Augustus, who appealed to his authority.† Friendless in a foreign land, the object of aversion to him to whom she had plighted her affections, divorced from him on false pretexts, the unfortunate Danish princess felt, that though France was false, her voice could reach her spiritual Father, at whose rebuke the proudest monarchs trembled. She cried for help, and found it. After sixteen years of unjust exile from the palace, she was reinstated in her rights.

In many instances the Popes inflicted censures on princes who violated the ecclesiastical laws by marrying within the forbidden degrees. The justice of this exercise of authority will strike only those who acknowledge the force of those laws. I would merely remark that the princes were subject to them equally as the humblest of the faithful, and consequently liable to be punished by ecclesiastical censures for their violation. The end of these laws is to preserve the purity of morals, by taking away the hope of intermarriage from such as are placed in intimate relations in domestic life, by reason of kindred. If their force had not been maintained in regard to princes, as well as people, not only would discipline have suffered, but Christian morals would have been deeply injured.

In like manner we may understand why censures were hurled against kings who violated the immunities of Churches and of Churchmen. We are not to consider these things according to the notions or laws of the nineteenth century. In the middle ages the clergy enjoyed exemptions, privileges and rights, which long usage had rendered sacred, and which each monarch at his coronation swore to maintain inviolate. When he imposed on them burdens from which they were by law and custom

\* See Fleury l. L. §. xl. xliii.

† Whilst yet a Lutheran, Hurter devoted twenty years of diligent research to the compilation of this splendid biography. God has recently consoled the Church by his conversion.



exempt, when he called them before tribunals, to which, according to the same rules, they were not amenable, when he subjected them to violence and outrage, he provoked the severest penalties which the Church could inflict. The rights of sovereignty were not then absolute and undefined : they were limited by the conditions inserted in the social compact : and the violation of these conditions drew after it ecclesiastical censures.

Among the causes of dissension between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, was the arrest of the bishop of Apamia, on a charge of treason, because he was said to have denied the dependance of that city on the French crown. Boniface strongly resented this insult to the episcopal character, and called the bishop to Rome, that the case might be examined by himself, and summoned a council of French bishops to aid him in the trial, but Philip prevented their departure. In both respects the immunities of the clergy, secured by the oath of coronation, were violated, and occasion was afforded for the employment of the censures of the Church. It is vain now to contend that these immunities were unwarrantable encroachments of the clergy on the civil power : at that period they were rights solemnly recognised, and the attempt to infringe on them implied a breach of faith, aggravated by the guilt of perjury.

An instance of the unjust imposition of taxes, or exaction of subsidies, occurred in the pontificate of Boniface VIII. In the wars between Philip the Fair, and Edward of England, each prince levied on his subjects, and even on the clergy, extraordinary contributions. Boniface interfered, and under penalty of excommunication forbade these exactions from the clergy,\* who by custom and law, were not subject to taxation, although they largely contributed to the public wants by free gifts. Philip, however, resisted this exercise of authority, and provoked the reproach of ingratitude from the Pontiff, who had, hitherto, shewn great solicitude to preserve him from the attacks of the king of England, and of the king of the Romans. Whenever the public necessities required a pecuniary sacrifice, the clergy were ever foremost in generosity, and the pontifical sanction, which was required, lest they should act under undue influence, was readily given ; nay the Pope often anticipated their wishes, and authorized the sovereign to apply to his wants and those of the public, a portion of the ecclesiastical revenues. Thus Boniface himself relaxed the law forbidding such exactions, when applied to by Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, to

\* Raynald. an 1296.

meet the expenses of his coronation. We may not understand, what in that age was very obvious, why the distribution of the revenues of the Church should depend on the will of the Pontiff, rather than of the sovereign. They were the fruits of donations consecrated by the piety of the faithful to religious purposes, and it was deemed sacrilege to divert them from those ends. As a recent writer justly observes: "Rights are created and governed by the admitted principles of the day, and at that time it was an admitted principle, that the king was a responsible member of the Church, and that Church property was sacred."\* The Pontiff was looked up to as the highest guardian of this sacred trust, and his act, in an extraordinary emergency, was virtually an interpretation of the will of the donors that such sacrifice should be made to public utility. In ordinary circumstances the exemption of ecclesiastical property from taxation was observed, as if the State were unwilling to detract any thing from the consecrated offerings of piety; and this immunity was guaranteed among the rights and privileges of the Church in the oath of coronation.

The exercise of pontifical authority was oftentimes implored by Sovereigns against their rebellious subjects; and anathema hurled against the rebels, or their leader, proved sometimes more effectual than the display of military force. The Pope interfered in support of established authority, and repeated the injunction of the apostle: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: for there is no power but from God, and he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist purchase for themselves condemnation."† In anticipation of the divine judgment, he cut off from the communion of the Church the revolters, tempering, for the most part, this severity by an offer and pledge to obtain redress of grievances, if they would desist from violent measures.

The power of Adrian II. was employed in support of the rights of Louis to the empire, and the nobles were threatened with excommunication, in case they resisted his just rights. He also warned the nobles of the kingdom governed by Charles the Bald, to use their influence with their Sovereign, in order to deter him from usurping the throne, which, by right of inheritance, belonged to Louis. In neither case did he usurp any temporal power; but he used his influence and authority in support of the rights of the brother and lawful heir to Lothaire the deceased emperor. He did not undertake to bestow the crown on a favorite of his own choice: he merely recognised the established order

\* British Critic N. lxvii. p. 94.

† Rom. xiii. i.

of succession, and to prevent civil war, forbade a departure from it, threatening to inflict censure on whosoever should disturb order, and violate right. A similar exercise of power occurred on the part of his successor, John VIII., in behalf of Charles the Bald, whose kingdom was laid waste by his brother Louis, king of Germany, whilst Charles was at Rome, engaged in receiving the imperial crown from the hands of the Pontiff. The bishops, who were at that time the chief advisers of Sovereigns, their knowledge and love of justice peculiarly qualifying them for the office, were commanded by the Pope under pain of anathema, to advise and urge Louis to desist from these unjustifiable depredations. This command regarded a temporal matter, but not one of doubtful obligation. It was not an exercise of civil power, but the employment of spiritual means to prevent new acts of injustice and violence.

Stephen IV., towards the middle of the tenth century, used his influence and authority, not without success, to induce the French nobles to return to the obedience of Louis VI., against whom they had revolted. In this he followed the maxims of the apostles, who taught men to obey their rulers, even if personally unworthy, and his remonstrances were listened to the more patiently and respectfully, because he addressed them as the common father of all, not as a royal partisan, and employed his influence to obtain justice and pardon from the Sovereign. In many like instances the pontifical authority has been most beneficially employed with subjects and with princes, without the least usurpation of temporal power by the Pontiff. Henry II. on the rebellion of his son, sought the interposition of Alexander III., avowing himself a vassal of the Holy See. "Since God has raised you to the eminence of the pastoral office, that you might give the knowledge of salvation to His people, although I be absent in body, yet present in spirit, I prostrate myself at your knees, demanding salutary counsel. The kingdom of England is of your jurisdiction, and to you alone I am responsible, and am bound as to what regards the obligation of feudatory right. Let England see the power of the Roman Pontiff; and since he does not employ material arms, let him defend the patrimony of Blessed Peter with the spiritual sword."\* The Pope accordingly issued an excommunication against whosoever should disturb the king's peace.

Innocent III. during a considerable time maintained the rights of the English bishops and barons against John of England, and at their

\* Baron. an. 1173, p. 60.

solicitation issued an interdict against the kingdom, and subsequently excommunicated the king, and at the end of four years deposed him. To extricate himself from his difficulties, in an assembly of the nobles at Dover, John resigned his dominions into the hands of the Pope, in the person of Pandulf, the legate, and consented to hold them as a feudatory, or vassal of the Holy See. "He knew that his father Henry, powerful as he was, had become the feudatory of Pope Alexander III."\* The act did not imply any extraordinary degradation, since princes were wont to place their kingdoms at the foot of the pontifical throne, and felt honored in being called vassals of the prince of the apostles. It detracted nothing from the majesty of the Sovereign, whilst it provided for the interests of the nobles and people, by placing him in direct relation with the Pontiff, whose advice and authority might guard him from oppressing his subjects. The nobles in arms wrested from John, at a subsequent period, the restoration of their ancient privileges, and of the national usages recognised by Henry I. and the confirmation of the Pope was sought and obtained. The prince disregarding his obligations, the barons were again in arms on the plains of Runnymede, and the pusillanimous king yielded; but soon complained to the Pontiff of the violence done to his vassal. The Pope rescinded all concessions violently extorted, and commanded the nobles to lay down their arms, under penalty of excommunication, promising them to obtain from the spontaneous act of the king, all that justice and equity demanded. The countenance given to the revolt by Stephen Langton, Cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, drew on him the censure of the Pontiff, who, however, soon restored him to favor.

The severest struggles of those ages, between the Church and the civil power, regarded *investitures*, or the right which emperors and kings claimed to invest bishops with their Sees, by delivering to them the crosier and the ring. In the abstract, the spiritual authority was acknowledged to proceed from the Church: but practically the emperor appeared to bestow it, not only by nominating the individual, but by delivering to him its emblems. There was a specious pretext for this practice in the temporal appendages of episcopacy, and the conferring of the emblems was explained as only intended to mark the temporal rights bestowed on the bishop, with the sanction of the civil power. Still the Popes perceived that the usage implied more than was compatible with the independent character and divine origin of ecclesiastical authority, and that it was pregnant with danger to the purity

\* Lingard, History of England, vol. III. p. 33.

and sanctity of the prelacy. They were willing that the monarch, by extending his sceptre towards the bishop, should signify the grant of the temporalities of the See, but they objected to the use of the emblems of spiritual authority. It was not a matter of ceremony that was in question. Investiture, as practised, gave the prince the facility of disposing of bishoprics, as of civil offices, or mere feudal tenures, placing in the episcopal chairs men likely to be the pliant instruments of the royal pleasure. "Investiture and homage, as they had long been exacted from the clergy, created not merely a spell and prestige in favor of feudal claims, but, according to prevailing principles, a real undeniable right. They were the links which bound the Church; and cost what it might—the Church was above all price—they must be snapped."\* The Pontiffs insisted that the prelate should do no act implying such dependence, but whilst he rendered to Cesar what was due to Cesar, should maintain inviolate the divine rights of the sacred office. The censures which were hurled against princes claiming the right of investiture, were grounded on reasons intimately connected with the divine institution of the episcopate, and its proper independence. Some of the greatest scandals which have afflicted the Church have arisen from the encroachments of the civil power.

When the nations were Catholic, the violation of any acknowledged principle of morality, or of any right, was deemed a just cause for inflicting censure, and to the frequency of those censures is owing the diminution of crime, and the progress towards civilization in the middle ages. No other means was found equally effectual to awe the fearless barons, or check cruel despots. The Church had an undoubted right to punish any immoral act by ecclesiastical censure, and she exercised it according as she found it necessary or expedient. The whole range of social duties thus fell within her influence: the *morality* of every act, whether of prince, or vassal, was a legitimate subject of her cognizance, and the privileges of religious communion were withdrawn from those who trampled under foot moral obligations.

It may appear that in this way the whole civil authority was virtually claimed by the Popes: yet it was not so in reality, unless as far as the circumstances of the times placed civil power and influence in their hands. To declare the sinfulness of an act was reserved to the judgment of the Pontiff; to punish it by the censures of the Church, was an exercise of his power; but to enforce the sentence by civil penalties required the action of the secular authority. His judgment and sentence were addressed to the conscience.

\* British Critic N. lxvii. p. 96.

The chief power of the Pontiff in civil affairs, consisted in the authoritative declaration of duties and obligations: it was the supremacy of religion, justice, and right, which he vindicated against brute force and lawless passion. Princes had not learned to respect his temporal power, since their hostile armies frequently invaded his dominions, and even offered violence to his person: yet when he hurled excommunication against the oppressor, the empire shook, and the tyrant trembled, because it was the solemn voice of religion against injustice and iniquity. It is quite a mistake to suppose that in the middle ages the temporal sovereignty of the Pope was universal. As a sovereign his rights are far better respected at this day. In those times he was often a prisoner, or a fugitive. Although he gave imperial and kingly titles, and had princes for his vassals, temporal supremacy was neither ascribed to him, nor claimed by him, save inasmuch as he was the highest judge in the Christian commonwealth, the authoritative expounder of law, rights and duties, and the leader and guide in what concerned the general interests of Christendom. At the head of armies he was feeble and powerless, but when he arose as the vindicator of justice and truth, he seemed invested with omnipotence.

The advantages accruing to society from the exercise of pontifical authority over sovereigns, are proclaimed by those who regard it as an abuse. "It is known," says Michaud, "that the excommunication fulminated against Philip I., as well as others subsequently hurled against Louis VII. and Philip Augustus, were in a great measure grounded on the violation of the laws of marriage. It may then be observed that the power of the Popes served to maintain the sanctity of an institution which is the first basis of society. In barbarous ages what other barrier could be opposed to licentiousness, in a contract wherein the passions have so great share? The Popes, then, although abusing their authority, have rendered a great service to humanity."\*

\* Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* l. i. n. 102.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## DEPOSING POWER.

It is plain to every reader of history, that in the eleventh century, and during some ages afterwards, a power was claimed by the Popes to depose unworthy princes, and release their subjects from the allegiance which they had sworn to them. It is important to explain this moral phenomenon in the history of the Pontiffs, how it happened that the successor of the fisherman became the judge of the princes of the earth, and hurled the mighty from their thrones, even at times when he himself was an exile from his own city. It is often accounted for by the proneness of the age to receive with superstitious veneration whatever was proposed by the bishops of the Church as the attribute of their office: but it requires little acquaintance with history to know that the emperors were, for the most part, fierce opponents of the Pontiffs, and that the haughty barons of the middle ages did not treat the bishops, or the Pope, with any extravagant respect, especially when temporal interests were at stake, and that their vassals followed them without scruple to the battle field, in the contest against the prelates of the Church. To refer the claim to the ambition and usurpation of the Pontiffs, is not to explain the phenomenon, since without some disposition in the mass of the faithful to regard the exercise of the power with respect, it would have been futile, and utterly absurd to attempt it. "If the papal power," says Southey, "had not been adapted to the condition of Europe, it could not have existed."\* Besides, the first Pope who formally claimed it is recognised as a Saint, and cannot without temerity be accused of ambition, and the same character of sanctity is acknowledged by the Church in Pius V., who was the last but one to exercise it. If I can obtain a calm and unbiassed examination of the documents and facts, I promise myself to abate much of the odium that has been heaped on the Popes on account of the exercise of this power in the middle ages.

\* See Fletcher, *Comparative view*, p. 157.

St. Gregory VII. whose family name was Hildebrand, is the first Pope who claimed the right to depose kings. Philip I. of France, incurred his displeasure by his vices, and flagrant abuse of power. In a letter to the French bishops, written in 1074, the Pontiff complains that perjury, sacrilege, incest, and all crimes were committed with impunity, and that the pilgrims were cast into prison, and intolerable exactions practised on the poor. "Your king," he says, "is the author of these calamities: he is not a king, but a tyrant, who has passed his whole life in crimes and outrages; he holds in his hands the royal sceptre to no purpose, since he not only shamefully tolerates the disorders of his subjects, but incites them to evil by his example. He is not satisfied with having provoked divine vengeance by the plundering of Churches, by rapine, adultery, perjury, fraud, despite of all our efforts for his amendment: he has recently plundered of an immense amount of money merchants who had come from foreign countries to the French market." Gregory urged the bishops to remonstrate with the prince respectfully, and affectionately, but intrepidly: "If he will not hear you, and if he be unmoved by the fear of God, by a regard for his own honor, or by pity for the ruin of his people, tell the obstinate prince that he can no longer escape the sword of Apostolic justice. Imitate the Roman Church your mother, and separate yourselves altogether from the familiarity and communion of this prince, and forbid the public celebration of the divine office throughout all France. If this severity fail to produce repentance, let every one be assured that we will leave no means untried to free the kingdom of France from its unworthy ruler. . . . God is our witness, that we act under no human influence, and with no worldly interest, but from deep sorrow of heart at seeing so illustrious a kingdom, and its vast population, ruined by the misconduct of one man."\*

The menace of the Pontiff was not carried into execution; but it is clear that he proceeded on the principle that the welfare of the nation is not to be sacrificed to the caprice of an individual, and that when the royal power degenerates into tyranny, it loses its claim to respect. Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, and Pope Nicholas, in the ninth century, considered the continuance of regal power to be dependant on its proper use.† The measures which Gregory meant to adopt, are specified in his letter to the count of Poitiers: "If he continue in his perverseness, and according to his hardness and impenitent heart, treasure up for himself the wrath of God, and of St. Peter, we, with divine as-

\* Apud Fleury. l. lxiii. §. xvi.

† See Guizot, t. III. p. 110, et 88.



sistance, will beyond doubt, in a Roman synod, separate him, as his wickedness deserves, from the body and communion of the holy Church, as also whosoever shall give him royal honor and obedience, and his excommunication shall be daily confirmed on the altar of St. Peter.”\* The right to excommunicate the king is unquestionable, and was exercised nearly six centuries before the age of Gregory, by Pope Symmachus, who cut off from the Church Anastasius, the heretical emperor of Constantinople, and subsequently by Urban II., who in the council of Clermont excommunicated Philip without opposition or surprise.† Gregory the Great had attached to a charter granted to the monastery of Autun, a penalty of forfeiture of power against any king, priest, judge, or secular person, who should wilfully violate its provisions,‡ but the consent of queen Brunehaut, who sought the charter, is thought to have warranted the penalty.§ Zacharias had sanctioned the deposition of Childeric; having regard to the interests of the nation, and the wishes of the nobles. Gregory the Seventh was the first to threaten to hurl from his throne the king who had become a tyrant.

The principle laid down by Gregory is highly popular in this age, which, nevertheless, indignantly rejects all idea of pontifical interference between princes and their subjects. In his day he was looked up to by all as their father and judge: to his tribunal they appealed: his influence was sought, his power was implored: and it was only through him popular rights could be effectually vindicated. The French nation had called for the interposition of Zacharias, three centuries before, to set aside the inert heir of royalty. We know not what measures had been employed to induce Gregory to rebuke Philip.

Above two centuries before the age of Gregory, Charles the Bald, who sat on the throne of Pepin, admitted his own accountability for the exercise of the royal power, and his liability to be deposed by a council of French bishops, if he abused it. He complained, in 859, to the council of Savonieres, against Venilon, archbishop of Sens, for having passed to the side of Louis, his brother and rival, although he had pledged himself to Charles, at his coronation, that he would never depose him, except by the advice and judgment of a council of bishops. At that early period they were recognised as judges, to declare authoritatively when the misconduct of princes deserved deposition. They constituted a tribunal before which the French monarchs were liable

\* Greg. l. II. ep. xviii. apud Baron. an. 1074, p. 461.

† Michaud *Histoire des Croisades* l. i. p. 102.

‡ L. xiii. ep. viii. ix. x.

§ *Pouvoir du Pape* p. 141.

to impeachment. "I should not," says Charles, "have been supplanted, or cast down by any one from the sublime station of king, at least without being heard and judged by bishops, by whose ministry I was anointed king; and who are styled *the thrones of God*, in whom God sits, and through whom He gives judgment, to whose paternal rebukes, and chastening judgments I was ready, and am still ready to subject myself."\*

It is idle for us to censure the jurisprudence and civil polity of past ages. They had maxims and laws, some of which are the foundation of the republican institutions under which we live: they acknowledged tribunals and officers different from ours. Ecclesiastics then possessed an influence which is now enjoyed chiefly by members of the bar. Bishops were councillors of kings, and in some instances their judges, and the chief Bishop, from the loftiness of his position, naturally came to exercise a power over sovereigns, who flagrantly abused their authority. When the people durst not resist the oppressors, when the bishops, his subjects, dared not sit on him in judgment, the head of the Christian confederacy rebuked and threatened him, and sometimes deposed him.

The first instance of actual deposition took place in the person of Henry IV., king of Germany, and emperor elect. To judge of this act fairly, we must bear in mind that Leo III., less than three centuries before the time of Gregory, resuscitated the empire of the West. From that fact the usage and law of the empire were derived, whereby it belonged to the Pope to crown the emperor elect, which act supposed his acquiescence in the election. "The Germans elect the king.—When he is anointed, and enthroned at Aix-la-chapelle, at the desire of those who elected him, he receives the authority and title of king. When the Pope crowns him, he has full authority in the empire, and is styled emperor."† Henry III., to secure the imperial throne for his son, had obtained the assent of the princes of Germany to his succession; but they added the condition that he should govern justly.‡ The commencement of his career left no reason to hope that he would be a just prince, and the Saxons, disgusted at his vices, and weary of his oppression, repeatedly called on the Pope, in the most suppliant manner, to relieve them from his tyranny.§ They had applied to Alexander

\* L. procl. D. Caroli adv. Venilonem n. 3, vide et Fleury hist. Eccl. t. xiii. 3, Discours n. 10.

† Juris Alamannici c. xiii. n. 1, 2, 3.

‡ "Si rector justus futurus esset." Herm. Contract. ad an. 1057.

§ "Quibus ut, vel per se, vel per nuntium, genti pene perditæ consolator esset, suppliciter oraverunt." Bruno, de bello Saxonico, apud Script. rerum Germ. t. i. p. 133.

II., who, according to the jurisprudence then prevailing, summoned Henry to Rome to answer the charges, but did not live long enough to follow up the process. On the election of Gregory, Henry sought to win his favor by professions of sorrow for his misconduct. The Saxons soon revolted, and in a public assembly held at Gersteng, unanimously declared Henry unworthy of the throne. Gregory wrote to appease them, and implored them to desist from violence, until, through his legates, he might adjust their disputes.\* The tyrant being alarmed, made fair promises, which he soon forgot when victory crowned his arms in a battle with the rebels. On the breaking out of the revolt, he implored the protection of the Pontiff, and the exercise of his authority against the rebels. "When the Saxons revolted," as Saint-Priest observes, "the emperor Henry IV., at the foot of the throne of Gregory VII., accused them of sedition and sacrilege. Thus the king of Germany made the Pope judge of his German subjects."†

The consent of both parties constituted Gregory umpire, if he were not originally judge, in virtue of his right to crown the emperor, and consequently to examine his qualifications. The Saxon princes conceived that they had a right to prevent the promotion of Henry to the empire, and to shake off his yoke as king, because he flagrantly abused his power, and violated the condition, on which their allegiance was pledged. "Freemen," says a writer, almost contemporary, "put over them Henry as king, on condition that he should judge his constituents with justice, and govern them with royal solicitude: which compact he has constantly broken and slighted. Therefore, even without the judgment of the Apostolic See, the princes could justly refuse to acknowledge him any longer as king, since he disregarded the fulfilment of the compact to which he had assented at his election, which being violated, he could no longer be king."‡

They sought, nevertheless, the sanction of the Pontiff, because he was then recognised by all as competent to pronounce judgment in that case, and his sentence would give a new impulse to their efforts. Henry, in the mean time, added to his excesses, by threatening with death all

\* Baron. an. 1073.

† Histoire de la Royauté par Saint-Priest l. x. vol. II. p. 549.

‡ "Liberi homines Henricum eo pacto sibi præposuerunt in regem, ut electores suos juste judicare, et regali providentia gubernare satageret, quod pactum ille postea prævaricari, et contemnere non cessavit, &c. Ergo, et absque Sedis Apostolicæ judicio, principes eum pro rege merito refutare possent, cum pactum adimplere contempnerit, quod iis pro electione sua promiserat, quo non adimpleto, nec rex esse poterat." Vita Gregorii VII. in Muratori Script. Rer. Italic. T. iii. p. 342.

who had appealed to the Pope, and by attempting to depose Gregory in a conventicle held at Worms. Gregory, at length, having employed exhortations and threats to no purpose, drew the spiritual sword from the scabbard, and cut off from the communion of the Church the corrupt member. So far his action was clearly within the limits of his power as head of the Church. He proceeded further. He took on himself to deprive Henry of his claims to the obedience of his subjects; or in other terms, he gave his sanction to the revolt of the Saxons, and authoritatively declared that the allegiance which they had pledged was no longer due. In a letter to the German bishops, nobles and faithful, he states that "Henry was guilty of crimes so enormous as to deserve not only to be excommunicated, but, according to all divine and human laws, to be deprived of the royal dignity." The act of deposition is as extraordinary in its style, as in its nature, and deserves attentive consideration.

It is by way of an apostrophe to St. Peter, whose place he occupied, and whose power of binding and loosing he exercised. "Relying thereon, for the honor and defence of thy Church, in the name of Almighty God, Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, and vested with thy authority, I forbid king Henry, (son of the emperor Henry) who with unheard of pride has opposed thy Church, to govern the kingdom of the Germans and of Italy, and I absolve all Christians from the bond of the oath, with which they have bound themselves, or may hereafter bind themselves, and I command that no one hereafter obey him as king. For it is just that he who attempts to lessen the honor and authority of thy Church, should himself lose the dignity which he seems to possess. Moreover, inasmuch as he refused to obey the Apostolic See, as is the duty of a Christian, and did not return to the Lord, but abandoned him, holding communion with excommunicated persons; and depised my admonitions which I gave for his salvation, as thou art witness, holy Peter! and receded from thy Church, endeavoring to rend it by schism; in thy name I strike him with anathema, that the nations may learn from experience, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock the Son of the living God built His Church, and it can never come to pass that the gates of Hell shall prevail against it."

Specifications are avoided in this document. The injuries sustained by the German princes, whose domestic sanctuary had been invaded by the royal debauchee,—the butcheries perpetrated by his command,—the neglect of the public interests, and the oppression of the people in numberless ways,—the sale of bishoprics, or their reckless collation to worthless men,—rapine, sacrilege, and impiety, were crimes of which

Henry was notoriously guilty; but the insult offered to Blessed Peter, in the attempt to depose his Vicar, was in itself sufficient to warrant the infliction of the severest penalties. Accordingly, on this alone the Pontiff dwells, and not only repels the aspirant to the imperial diadem, which it was his right to confer, but invalidates all the claims of Henry to the allegiance of those who had already chosen him king. In this, he yielded to the wishes of the Saxons, who "avowed that the empire was a fief of the eternal city,"\* and who declared, "that it was unbecoming, that so flagitious a prince, whose crimes were more notorious than himself, should reign, especially since Rome had not bestowed on him the royal dignity:" and who urged that "the right of Rome to constitute kings should be put in fresh operation," and implored "the Apostolic prelate and Rome, with the advice of the princes, to choose one whose conduct and wisdom would qualify him for so elevated a station."† The assault on the majesty of the Holy See, by the deposition of Gregory, was, according to the judgment of all, if not treason of a vassal against his lord, an outrage of a most flagrant character, committed by one who should have been the most devoted child, and faithful defender of the Pontiff.

The question properly at issue was not whether the Pope could depose the king; but whether he could give the sanction of religion to the determination of the German princes, to dethrone a tyrant whose excesses brought ruin and desolation on the kingdom. "A party had been already formed, who were meditating to depose Henry. His excommunication came just in time, to confirm their resolutions. It appears clearly, upon a little consideration of Henry IV.'s reign, that the ecclesiastical quarrel was only secondary in the eyes of Germany. The contest against him was a struggle of the aristocracy, jealous of the imperial prerogatives which Conrad II. and Henry III. had strained to the utmost. Those who were in rebellion against Henry, were not pleased with Gregory."‡ There was no personal hostility on his part to Henry. Throughout the whole affair he shewed an unwillingness to see him set aside: he rebuked the Saxons for their rebellion; congratulated Henry on his victory over them, although he lamented the effusion of human blood: wrote to the prelates and nobles, exhorting them to persuade the prince to ward off, by timely justice, the

\* Aventin, *Henrici IV. vita* an. 1076 apud Voigt. *Hist. Greg.* VII. t. II. p. 159.

† *Apologia Henrici IV.* apud Urstitium, *Germaniæ historici illustres.* apud Voigt. *ib.* p. 99.

‡ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. I. ch. v. p. 459.

threatened blow: and after he had pronounced the sentence of deposition, he took no pains to see it executed, but rather strove to induce Henry, by correcting his excesses, to prevent the necessity of putting it in execution. He was said to depose him, but deposition in the circumstances of the case was equivalent to an authoritative declaration that the king having become a tyrant of the worst character, had forfeited his claims to the obedience of his subjects. He released them from their oath of allegiance, because it was made in the confidence of royal protection and just government, and was therefore radically null, when outrage and oppression characterize the prince. Those who would fairly judge of the sentence of Gregory, should first determine in their own minds the question, whether tyranny can ever be so enormous as to justify the deposition of the Sovereign. If they judge affirmatively, as seems to be the settled sentiment of our age, they must acquit the Pontiff.

St. Gregory VII. in undertaking to depose Henry IV. relied on the power of binding and loosing, because this power was directly exercised in pronouncing excommunication, and its consequence appeared in the deposition. In extending it to the loosing of the subjects from the oath of allegiance, he pre-supposed the violation on the part of the Sovereign of the trust reposed in him, and of the oaths which he had taken to fulfil it, and of all the conditions, on which the promise of allegiance was made: and consequently that the obligation of the oath had ceased, which he undertook to declare authoritatively. He did not pretend that he could capriciously release them from the duty of allegiance, even if not confirmed by an oath: but as this duty has its limits, although difficult to define, he declared that these limits had been reached, and that the people were free. In this age, and especially in this country, few will be found to maintain that an oath of allegiance, however absolute in its terms, binds in circumstances wherein the ruler disregards and flagrantly violates all his obligations to his people. It seems now left to the common sense of men to decide when these excesses are of so enormous a character as to loose the bond of allegiance, and in the contingency of the notoriety of the fact, the appeal lies to arms. In the middle ages the sacredness of the oath kept religious minds in subjection, notwithstanding the evidence of tyrannic abuse of power; and the authoritative act of the Pope was calculated to remove the scruples of the timorous, and by taking away from the minds of all, the religious sanction previously given to the duty, to awe the tyrant himself into penitence, or at least a change of conduct. The anathema fell, as a thunderbolt, at the foot of the throne, which

shook beneath its occupant. If he became alarmed, and abandoned his evil course, the Pontiff was most eager to withdraw the censure, and give anew the sanction of religion to the duty of allegiance: as was seen in the conduct of Gregory, who was greatly pained when the German princes proceeded to the election of Rudolph in place of Henry, before all hope of his penitence had vanished.\*

What shocks public feeling in the document of the Pontiff is the attempt to absolve from allegiance the subjects of Henry, which, as I have shewn, presupposed the violation of the conditions on which this allegiance was pledged. Yet a similar expression is found in the Declaration of Independence. After enumerating the tyrannical acts of George III. Congress thus proceeds: "We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States: **THAT THEY ARE ABSOLVED FROM ALL ALLEGIANCE TO THE BRITISH CROWN**; and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." Congress did not by this language assume to itself the power of absolving from an oath of allegiance; but it declared that the people were in fact absolved, because the oath implied protection and just government, and could not be extended to an abuse of power such as that which was complained of. It is not my business to decide on the facts; but I hold the declaration itself to imply a principle which was carried out by St. Gregory VII. He, indeed spoke as absolving from the oath of allegiance, but that language, in those circumstances, was equivalent to a declaration that the oath had ceased to bind in consequence of the enormous abuse of the authority. The extension of this absolution to oaths that might thereafter be taken, was designed to declare the disqualification of Henry to receive the oath of allegiance, being a notorious tyrant, deposed on ac-

\* Bianchi says: "Il Papa assolutamente parlando non ha potestà di deporre i Regi, nè di assolvere i sudditi dal debito di fedeltà verso quelli, ma può ben dichiarare, in quali casi per materia di Religione i Principi sieno caduti dalla loro sovranità, e i sudditi sieno disciolti dall'obbligo di ubbidirli. E questa sola dichiarazione è del poter della chiesa. Del rimanente quando i Principi Cattolici, violando il giuramento che han fatto a Dio di custodire ne' loro regni la vera fede, si ribellano contro di lui, perseguitando la Religione, da se medesimi si spogliano delle ragioni del trono e frangono ogni vincolo, che possa stringere la fede e l'ubbidienza de' loro sudditi."—Contro Giannone t. i. p. 78.

count of the enormous and flagrant abuse of power. Persons unconscious of the fact could not be bound by oaths taken to him under the persuasion that he was lawful king: nor could those who were conscious of it bind themselves to obey him to the detriment of the general interests of the kingdom.

Gregory wrote to the prelates and nobles that surrounded Henry, urging them to use their influence for his conversion, that he might be released from the bonds which he had drawn around him. They convened at Triers to deliberate on the measures necessary at that crisis, and the princes of Suabia and Saxony insisted on the deposition of Henry and the election of another king. His crimes against the nobles and against his people generally, as well as against the Church of God, were stated in strong terms, as also the desolation thereby brought on the kingdom, which before was prosperous and powerful, so that by the temerity of one man, things sacred and profane, divine and human, were involved in unutterable confusion: wherefore no remedy was hoped for, unless another prince were raised to the throne. Henry made overtures, renewed his fair promises, and offered to leave to others the administration of the kingdom, if he were only allowed to retain the royal title: but the princes appeared inexorable. They said it were extreme madness in them to neglect the opportunity which was now presented of doing, with the sanction of the Roman Pontiff, what they had long desired, and what the interests of the nation imperiously demanded. On the following day, when all things were verging to a crisis, the Suabians and Saxons send an embassy to the king, and offer to submit their complaints anew to the judgment of the Pope, in an assembly of all the nobles of the kingdom, to be held at Augsburg, on the feast of the Purification, with full liberty to both parties to present their own statements and disprove the allegations of each other. If, however, through his own fault, Henry should not obtain absolution from the excommunication before the anniversary of its infliction, they observe that he is excluded by the laws from all claims on the throne.\*

Henry, knowing that all his hopes depended on obtaining the absolution before the year had elapsed, set out a few days before Christmas on his journey for Italy, to meet the Pope, who was on his way to France. The nobles, being eager to rid themselves finally of the tyrant, put every obstacle in their power, that the time might expire. Henry, on the contrary, was not deterred by the severity of the winter from crossing the Alps, and presenting himself as a suppliant before

\* Baron. an. 1076, p. 492.



the gates of Canusio, a fortress of the countess Matilda, whither the Pope, on his way to Augsburg, to preside at the assembly of the German princes, had retired for safety. The sufferings of the royal traveller, as he crossed the rugged mountains, and descended the slippery steep, and the humility of his garb and attitude, as he awaited the pardon, which the Pope, justly distrustful of his sincerity, hesitated to impart, have been described in terms to excite sympathy for the penitent, and indignation at the stern Pontiff: but it were well to bear in mind the excesses of his tyranny, and the strong reasons which his former relapses afforded for doubting whether his humiliation was not dictated by mere fear of his nobles, who had resolved to endure his oppression no longer. Pity is due to fallen greatness, or even to penitence after heinous guilt: but the forced and interested humiliation of a tyrant, who cannot otherwise retain the crown that is falling from his head, and who is likely to sit once more haughty and merciless when he has recovered from his fright, awakes no emotion but contempt for his servility, and horror for his despotism. Let those who are excited at the slowness of the Pontiff to pardon, remember that he was charged with the interests of an oppressed nation, and an outraged nobility, whom he exposed to new outrages by a hasty absolution.

The absolution was granted on condition that the king should answer the charges before the Pope in the assembly of the German princes, and renounce the crown if found guilty, and leave his subjects free from their allegiance, without punishing any one for the part taken against him. It was provided, that, if he violated the terms, his guilt should be taken as confessed, and his deposition should follow as a matter of course. The Pope, when about to take the holy communion, whilst holding in his hand the Body of the Lord, appealed to Him as the witness of his innocence, and then challenged Henry to do in like manner. "Do, my son," said he, "what you have seen me do. The German princes, daily stun my ears with charges against you, imputing to you a multitude of enormous crimes, for which they think you deserve, not only to be deprived of the government, but to be removed from the communion of the Church, and from all civil society, to the end of life: they earnestly demand that a day and place be appointed for the canonical examination of the charges which they bring against you." Then observing the likelihood of error in the confusion of a public assembly, he invited Henry, if conscious of innocence, to appeal to God in the same solemn form, that he might regain the confidence of the princes, recover the throne, and put an end to the civil

wars which desolated the empire. The guilty monarch retained enough of faith to shrink from the appeal, and preferred to await the public trial. The Pope afterwards entertained him at dinner, and dismissed him, with tokens of paternal affection, and sent to the princes a statement of the facts.

The solemn pledges given were soon forgotten, when certain prelates and nobles of Lombardy, hostile to Gregory, on account of his zeal for clerical celibacy, derided the weakness of the prince in submitting to the conditions of absolution. The German prelates and princes again solicited the Pope to preside at their deliberations, which they put off until March, to be held at Forcheim, asking his Apostolical influence and authority to prevent the renewal of civil war. Gregory despatched his legates to Henry, to urge his attendance at the assembly; who excused himself on account of the affairs of Italy, which, he said, demanded his immediate attention. The Pope advised the princes of the refusal, and directed them to take such provisional measures as they deemed proper for their own safety, and the welfare of the kingdom, which was so long harassed by the tyranny of one man, until he himself could safely pursue his journey, and aid them by his authority. These facts are known to us from Lambert, a contemporary historian of great veracity, and they plainly shew, what has seldom been considered, that Gregory in the whole transaction acted at the earnest solicitation of the German princes, and for the interests of the kingdom. He did not take to himself the absolute judgment of the dispute, but consented to preside at a public investigation of it to be made in a national assembly, and exposed himself willingly to the inconveniences and dangers of the journey to bring about a final settlement. The interests of the German nation and of the empire were at stake, and he sought to secure them at every risk and sacrifice. The patience and charity of the Pontiff appeared extravagant to the princes, who, without consulting him, and contrary to his known wishes, proceeded to the election of a new emperor, in the person of Rudolph, duke of Suabia. The civil war that ensued has been most unjustly laid to the charge of Gregory, who, by the act of deposition, meant only to intimidate, and humble, and if possible, convert the oppressor. The revolt of the Saxons preceded all pontifical action, and it assumed the character of a civil war, when the princes chose for themselves a leader, availing themselves of the act of the Pope, beyond and against his intentions. Gregory held himself neutral between the rivals, and reserved his decision, until the merits of the case should be fully investigated.

In a Roman synod held in 1079, Gregory resolved to send legates into Germany to bring about a settlement between the rival princes, and subjected to excommunication whosoever should throw obstacles in their way, whilst laboring to establish peace and do justice. He mitigated on this occasion the rigor of discipline, by exempting from censure all persons, who, through ignorance, or necessary dependance, or other just cause, should communicate with excommunicated persons. After the council he despatched ambassadors to the German princes, with a view to fix on a time and place for an assembly, wherein peace might be arranged. The rivals, in the mean time, tried with various success the fortune of arms. In a Roman synod, held in 1079, the ambassadors of Rudolph, denounced the continued excesses of Henry, who filled the whole country beyond the Alps with desolation, sparing no one, not even priests and bishops, whom he imprisoned or put to death. The majority of the council urged the Pope to strike him with the apostolic sword; but Gregory was content with a promise of obedience, which the ambassadors of Henry made in his name. On the part of Rudolph a like pledge was given. Victory crowned the arms of Henry, and the Saxons, with Rudolph at their head, were compelled to flee before him. The Pope consoled the Germans, who were attached to the Holy See, and who complained that his legates had taken sides with Rudolph, assuring them that they had gone beyond his instructions, and that he had cautiously abstained from any measure, until the public assembly to investigate the merits of the case might be held. He mentions the anguish of his mind and the strictures passed on him by most of the Latins\* (that is the Lombards, or Italians) for his severity towards Henry: but he states his determination to sustain the cause of justice to the end.

In the year 1080, Gregory, according to custom, held a synod at Rome, and there renewed the sentence of excommunication against Henry, and declared that his deposition had never been revoked. The renewal of the sentence is couched in these terms: "Trusting in the judgment and mercy of God, and of His most holy Mother Mary ever virgin, and supported by your authority (he addresses the apostles Peter and Paul), I subject to excommunication, and bind with the chains of anathema, the aforesaid Henry, whom they style king, and all his abettors; and forbidding him anew, on the part of Almighty God, and on your part, the kingdom of the Germans, and of Italy, I take from him all power and dignity, and I forbid any Christian to obey him as king,

\* In another letter he says: "Cui fere omnes Italici favent." Baron. ad an. 1081, p. 559. The fear of strict discipline induced simoniacal and incontinent clergymen to favor him.

and I absolve from their promise an oath all who have sworn to him, or who shall swear concerning the dominion of the kingdom. And may Henry himself with his abettors in all martial conflicts have no strength and obtain no victory in his life. But in order that Rudolph, whom the Germans have chosen as their king, may govern and defend the kingdom of the Germans, for your advantage,\* on your part, relying on your support, I bestow and grant to all his faithful adherents absolution of all their sins, and your blessing in this life and the next. For as Henry, in punishment of his pride, disobedience and falsehood, is justly cast down from the royal dignity, so is the royal power and dignity granted to Rudolph, in reward of his humility, obedience and sincerity. Most holy fathers and princes, let now the whole world understand and know that, if you can bind and loose in heaven, you can also take away and grant on earth, according to the deserts of each one, empires, kingdoms, principalities, dukedoms, marquises, counties, and the possessions of all men. For you have often taken away patriarchates, primacies, archiepiscopal and episcopal sees from perverse and unworthy men, and given them to religious men. If, then, you judge spiritual things, what must be thought to be your power over temporal things? If you will judge the angels that rule over all proud princes, what can you not do with their servants? Let kings and all the princes of the earth now learn how great you are, and how powerful, and let them fear to disregard the command of your Church. Execute your judgment on the aforesaid Henry, so quickly that all may know that he shall fall, not fortuitously, but by your power. May he be confounded unto penance that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.”†

The language of this document may easily be understood of most unbounded claims to temporal dominion : but the case which it regards being that of a tyrant whom the German nobles and prelates had deposed, and in whose place they had elected another king, we are warranted in restricting its meaning to the religious sanction of these acts as lawful and just. Notwithstanding the terms which ascribe all to the Pope, or to the apostles, whose place he held, the very fact shews that he merely gave an authoritative declaration of right, and sanctioned and ratified what the nation by its nobles had done. If it be insisted that it necessarily implies an assumption of temporal power, I must simply answer that the Church, which venerates the sanctity of Gregory, does not recognise any temporal power, as of divine right, in the

\* *Ad vestram fidelitatem* ; it seems to mean, that Rudolph might be faithful and subject to the apostles, and promote the interests of religion.

† Baron. an. 1060, p. 540.

Vicar of Him, whose kingdom is not of this world. If Gregory claimed it, it must have been owing to the social position which he actually enjoyed, by the force of circumstances : it was not the necessary prerogative of his office. It was because his predecessor Leo was the first to hail Charlemagne emperor of the West, and because emperors and kings, through reverence for the See of Peter, had been wont to place their crowns at the feet of his successor, or to receive them from his hands.

I have dwelt on these acts of Gregory, that the reader might plainly see on what principles he acted, and in what circumstances. The first case of the deposition of an actual emperor may now be considered. The deposition of an emperor by the chief minister of religion strikes us as an intolerable aggression on the civil power in its highest representative. An emperor is ordinarily conceived to be the sovereign of vast dominions, far elevated in rank and power above every other sovereign. In the middle ages the general idea of sovereignty was not so exalted as since the age of Louis XIV. Each baron was prince and lord in his own territory, and the king was scarcely more than the chief baron ; sometimes possessing less territory than one of his nobles. Speaking of France, at the close of the ninth century, Hallam observes: "The kingdom was as a great fief, or rather as a bundle of fiefs, and the king little more than one of a number of feudal nobles, differing rather in dignity than in power from some of the rest."\* The emperor took precedence of kings, but his rights were ill defined, and frequent collisions occurred between him and the barons, and the conflict of duties embarrassed the consciences of their respective vassals. In disputes between sovereigns and the nobles, it was a principle generally held, and still more generally acted on, that the vassal should observe his allegiance to his immediate lord. Hallam says: "It is a question agitated among the feudal lawyers whether a vassal is bound to follow the standard of his lord against his own kindred. It was one more important, whether he must do so against the king.—The vassals of Henry II. and Richard I. never hesitated to adhere to them against the sovereign, nor do they appear to have incurred any blame on that account.—The count of Britany, Pierre de Dreux, had practically asserted this feudal right during the minority of St. Louis. In a public instrument, he announced to the world, that having met with repeated injuries from the regent, and denial of justice, he had let the king know that he no longer considered himself as vassal, but renounced his homage and defied him."†

\* Middle Ages, vol. 1, p. 179.

† Ibidem p. 193.

The elective character of the empire disposed men to regard power as not necessarily and permanently lodged in the individual, and it was easily conceived that it could be withdrawn from him by the same means by which it had been communicated. Although the empire was not strictly a fief, yet it was regarded in a similar light, since the ideas of the age were feudal from the general state of society, and the duties of fidelity and protection were understood to be correlative and essentially connected. Forfeiture of power was a consequence of dereliction of duty on the part of the lord towards his vassals, and was insisted on especially by the haughty barons who ill brooked a superior. "The right of resistance to crowned heads, who abused their power, was," as Guizot remarks, "formally recognised in the feudal system, and the obligations between the vassal and his lord, being voluntary in their origin, were liable to be dissolved."\* The spiritual office of the Pope, as head of the Church, rendered him the most proper judge of this very delicate case of conscience, namely when the dereliction of duty by the Sovereign was so enormous and flagrant as to make void his claims on the allegiance of his vassals. The social position of the Pontiff and his special relations to the empire gave to his decision a civil influence and force in addition to its directive power over conscience.†

Frederick, surnamed Barbarossa, duke of Suabia, was crowned at Rome, in the year 1155, by Adrian IV. In the following year he put away his lawful wife Adelaide, and took to his bed Beatrix, the daughter of the count of Burgundy, whose states he united to the empire. On the death of the Pope, Frederick created an anti-Pope, and continued the schism by substituting two others successively, on the death of each pretender; since at that time the idea of a Church without a head not entering into the minds of men, emperors, when refractory to authority, raised up an idol, the work of their own hands, to whom they bowed in homage. The dependance of the Italian cities on the empire was ill defined, and the Milanese sought to rid themselves altogether of the rule of a prince known to them only by his exactions and cruelties. Accordingly in 1161, the municipal usages, which seem to have been all along preserved in all the Italian cities, rose in Milan to the more august form of a republic; but aspirations after liberty were soon stifled by the rude hand of the oppressor, and the fair

\* Cours d'histoire moderne t. iv. p. 350, 354.

† The directive power is admitted by Fenelon de auctor. S. Pontif. c. xxvii. Bossuet Def. Decl. p. i. l. II. c. xxxiii. xxxiv. xxxv. Pouvoir du Pape p. 27.

city was razed to its foundations. Piacenza and Brescia, which had cherished the same desires of independence, were dismantled, and various other cities stripped of their municipal privileges in penalty of having wished to be free. The cruelty of the tyrant shocked the pious and patriotic Pontiff Alexander III. who, besides, in the personal misconduct and schismatical machinations of Frederic, had abundant cause for inflicting the censures of the Church. "The sacking of Milan, one of the most horrible events recorded in history, would itself suffice, in the judgment of Voltaire, to justify all the Popes did against him."\* In 1168, Alexander excommunicated him and released his subjects from their allegiance. This act was the signal for reunion and renewed efforts on the part of the oppressed cities of Lombardy, which had been leagued together for mutual defence, and for the attainment of independence. Up to that time they had acted on the ground of natural right to resist oppression : thenceforward they were encouraged by the sanction of the Pontiff, who judged that Frederic by his tyranny and other excesses had forfeited all coloring of title to imperial rule. The influence of this judgment was soon visible. The cities which had hitherto acted with hesitation and fear, now went forward in concert, and with courage, and being freed from all scruples as to the oath of allegiance, felt that they were vindicating their rights, without violating their conscience. Victory crowned their arms in 1176. The Pope did not assume to himself the right of releasing them at will from the oath ; but he interpreted the conditions necessarily implied in it, and he authoritatively declared it to be no longer obligatory. In this instance the results of this exercise of authority were the correction of tyranny and the advancement of civil liberty. The Italian republics owed their success to the favor shewn by the Pope. Frederick himself, improved by this severity, bent his proud neck to the vicar of Christ,† and with heroic courage led the army of the cross to the plains of Palestine. Of the advantages accruing to religion and society in this and similar instances, a modern writer makes the following remarkable acknowledgment : "In such lawless times, it was an elevating sight to behold an emperor of Germany, in the plenitude of his power, arrested in his attempts to crush the young freedom of Italian republics : a warlike, or a pusillanimous tyrant, a Philip Augustus of France, or a John of England, standing rebuked for their crimes and oppressions, at the voice of a feeble old

\* De Maistre, *Da Pape* l. II. ch. vii.

† The fable of the Pope putting his foot on the neck of Frederick is exploded by the learned.

man in a remote city, with scarcely a squadron of soldiers at his command, and with hardly an uncontested mile of territory.”\*

We are often told that every exercise of the deposing power resulted in increased disorder, and multiplied the calamities of the Church and of the empire. A haughty schismatic, it is observed, was not likely to respect the fulminations of the Roman Bishop: and the friends of liberty and human rights would spurn the aid of a titled priest that interposed his authority. Facts are conclusive against both these assertions. Frederick became an humble son of the Church, and the Milanese and their compatriots, grateful for the timely intervention of the Pontiff, founded a new city with his name ALEXANDRIA, sacred to liberty and religion.

The manner in which the act of Alexander is spoken of by a contemporary English writer of high reputation, shews us in what light it was viewed by the friends of piety and order. John of Salisbury thus records it. “When the Roman Pontiff had long and patiently awaited the German tyrant, that he might be thus led to penance, and the schismatic, abusing his patience, constantly added sins to sins, so that his error became frenzy, the Vicar of Peter, established by the Lord over nations, absolved from his allegiance the Italians, and all who were bound to him by oath, by reason of the empire, and freed almost all Italy from the power of the frantic man, so effectually and promptly, that he now appeared to have in it only tormentors, whom he shuns, and constant anguish of mind from which he can get no relief.”†

The right of the Pope to crown the emperor, on whom he might well be said to confer the diadem, necessarily gave him an immense influence in the choice of the individual, the elective principle being then strongly maintained. This was not a mere assumption on his part, since his predecessor Leo III. had, as of himself, chosen Charlemagne, and had manifestly the chief part in his promotion, whatever may be thought of the source from which the authority was derived. In the year 876, John VIII. in a solemn document regarding Charles the Bald, thus wrote: “We have justly chosen and approved of him, with the assent and wishes of all our brethren and fellow bishops, and of other ministers of the Holy Roman Church, and illustrious senate, and of all the Roman people and long-robed nation, and according to the ancient usage, we have solemnly promoted him to the sceptre of the Roman empire, and adorned him with the title of Augustus, anointing him externally with oil.”‡ The Pope did not merely lend his minis-

\* London Quarterly, February 1836.

† Apud Baron. an. 1168, p. 593.

‡ Ad Conc. Ticin. apud Baron. ann. eccl. an. 876.”



try for the ceremony ; but he first satisfied himself that the elect was entitled to the crown, and worthy to wear it. His right to determine the eligibility of the candidate was fully admitted by the rivals, who used every art to ensure his favor, and relied on his support, far more than on the mere majority of suffrages, obtained sometimes by intrigue and corruption. In the contest between Otho and Philip, brother of the deceased emperor, for the imperial crown, the latter sent to Innocent III., asking to be invited to Rome, to receive it, having been chosen by a majority of suffrages. The Pope observed in reply : " Recourse should have been had long since to the Apostolic See on this matter, since it belongs to it *principally* and *finally* to determine it : *principally*, because it transferred the empire from the east to the west, and *finally* because it grants the imperial crown."\* Otho wrote to the Pontiff, praying him to enjoin on the German princes, both ecclesiastical and lay, to acknowledge his authority.† Frederick of Sicily, a child, son of the deceased emperor Henry VI. had supporters among the electors. Innocent wrote to the princes rejecting Frederick for his youth, Philip for his unfitness, as already excommunicated by Pope Celestin, and intimating an inclination to Otho. He recommended the electors to proceed to a new election, in which they might agree on a fit person, or to submit the whole matter to the pontifical judgment and choice. The princes, however, tried the fortune of arms, and victory declared for Otho. Innocent insisted on his right to examine the qualifications of the emperor elect, since he was to crown him, and could not consent to perform this rite for a man notoriously unworthy, even if unanimously elected. " The princes," he says, " must acknowledge and do acknowledge that the right and authority of examining the person elected king, and of promoting him to the empire, belongs to us, who anoint, consecrate and crown him : for it is regularly and generally the rule, that the examination of the person belongs to him who has to impose hands. If the princes, not by a mere majority, but unanimously, were to elect as king a sacrilegious man, or one excommunicated, a tyrant, or apostate, or pagan, should we anoint, consecrate, and crown such a person ! God forbid !"‡ When, after five years struggle, Otho was forced to abandon the contest, Philip sought to propitiate Innocent by professions of dutiful attachment and submission, consenting to abide by the judgment of cardinals and princes, and to give satisfaction for wrongs committed. His assassination by an offended prince revived the hopes of Otho, who, on receiving the imperial crown, made a most explicit promise on oath,

\* Ep. xviii. apud Raynal. an. 1199.    † Apud. Raynal. an. 1201.    ‡ Ib.

“to honor Christ, and His vicar, and His holy Spouse the Church, that He who gave a temporal kingdom, might also bestow an eternal.” To Innocent, and his successors, and to the Roman Church, he promised all obedience, honor, and reverence, he guaranteed ecclesiastical liberty, the right of appeal, the free election of bishops; he renounced all claim to the spoils of deceased bishops, or revenues of vacant Churches, and he promised his aid to maintain the Pope in his possessions.\* The violation of these sworn promises provoked Innocent to excommunicate him, and subsequently to depose him, forbidding any one to style him thenceforward emperor. The princes of Germany soon after revolted, and chose Frederick of Sicily, son of Henry VI. as emperor. From that time the influence of Innocent was given to him; but on the express condition, that Sicily should remain separate from the empire, to prevent an accumulation of power, and to preserve the rights of the Holy See over that kingdom, which was its fief. Honorius III. his successor pursued the same course.

Alexander IV. relying on his right to determine the qualifications of the candidate for the imperial crown, in 1256 forbade the electors to choose the child Conrad, grandson of Frederick.† Alphonsus, king of Castille, urged Urban IV. to invite him to Rome, to receive the imperial crown, which the Pope declined, alleging the difficulty of the matter, inasmuch as Richard, count of Cornwall, claimed it likewise; but offering to examine their respective claims. When he understood that some were still intriguing in favor of the youth Conrad, he renewed the prohibition of his predecessor, under penalty of excommunication. Fearing that the two claimants might engage in war, he summoned them to appear before him on a certain day, to hear the grounds of their respective claims. This summons was in strict accordance with the received jurisprudence of the times.

In order to gain the favor of the Pontiff, Frederick made a vow to go at the head of the Christian army to Palestine, and publicly renewed this engagement on occasion of his coronation. It does not appear that the Pope had enjoined it; nor yet can we believe it to have been the free and sincere determination of the prince, but as Voltaire says, he made the vow with political designs, and he broke it, when it suited the altered circumstances of his policy.‡ Many writers are surprised that the breach of an engagement, which they consider to have been made gratuitously and voluntarily, should be assumed as a ground for the inflic-

\* Apud Raynald. an. 1209.

† Raynald. an. 1256.

‡ “L’empereur fit le vœu par politique; et par politique il différa le voyage.” *Essai sur les mœurs des nations* ch. l. ii.

tion of ecclesiastical censures : but they forget that it was not wholly gratuitous, since it was directed to influence his promotion to the empire, and that it could not be violated without serious injury to the general interests. As emperor, he was chief member of the great Christian confederacy, and strictly bound by the conditions attached to the office, either by usage, or law, or his own solemn compact. The Pope was the highest guardian of the common interests, and he felt bound to urge, under the severest penalties, the fulfillment of the duties, to which, Frederick had pledged himself especially as they involved the interests of all. A new obligation was added when the emperor by his marriage contract with Yolante, the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, obtained the cession of all her father's claims on that kingdom. It was then an engagement made for weighty and valuable considerations, and it could not be violated without great danger to the whole Christian commonwealth. Hence the Pope, writing to Frederick, stated that he himself was grievously censured for neglecting to enforce its observance, and concluded by intimating the impending excommunication. "We wish you to understand, that if you be negligent in this matter, which God forbid, and if you have no zeal for the Christian faith, and be unmoved by our exhortations, we shall not spare you any longer, nor prefer your favor to our own salvation, and the interests of the whole Christian people, but we shall solemnly declare you excommunicated for the violation of your own vow, and we shall cause it to be publicly announced throughout the whole Christian world to your confusion."<sup>\*</sup> This excommunication was pronounced by Gregory IX. in 1227, when the prevarication of the emperor, his unjust spoliation of the Templars and Hospitallers, and his other excesses, precluded all hopes of amendment. In consequence of his failure in his engagement, a vast multitude of the Christian army, which, on the faith of his engagement, and at his instance, had congregated at Brundisium, fell victims to disease.

In a council held at Rome in the following year, the excommunication was renewed, and a threat of deposition added, with a reason which startles us by its boldness : "because, according to the decree of Pope Urban II., our predecessor of happy memory, men are by no authority constrained to observe the allegiance which they have sworn to a Christian prince, who opposes God and His saints, and tramples their precepts under foot."<sup>†</sup> The qualification of *Christian prince* affords the true key to this sentence. Allegiance was, at that period, sworn to

\* Apud Raynald. an. 1221.

† See Fenelon Dissert. de auctor. Summi Pontif. c. xxxix. p. 382.

Christian princes, on the express condition that they should protect and uphold the Church, and her authority : the violation of that condition loosed the bond of the oath, and left the subject free. When the nation had one faith, all the public institutions were grounded on it, and interwoven with it, by the common religious instinct, independent of compacts, and of laws. "As the Christian religion," Michaud well remarks, "had preceded all the institutions, it continued for a long time the sole authority surrounded by the veneration and love of nations. In many respects the nations recognised no lawgivers but the fathers in council, no code but the Gospel and Holy Scriptures. Europe might be considered as a religious society, whose highest interest was the maintenance of the faith, and in which men were more devoted to the Church than to their native country."\* The social compact between the Sovereign and subject was based on that faith, and dependant on it. In the laws of king Edward it is said that "by means of it, the king and kingdom are established on a solid foundation,"† and that unless the king protect the Church, he will cease to deserve the title. It is not my business to defend this system ; but I point to it as explaining the principle advanced by the Pope, which in reference to a compact may fairly be maintained. At this day the queen of England swears to maintain the Protestant Church as by law established ; which if she manifestly sought to overthrow, no one can doubt that her Protestant subjects would feel that she had forfeited her claims to their allegiance. The same is true of the kings of Denmark and Sweden, who can only reign on condition of supporting the *Protestantism* of their respective dominions.

It is no principle of Catholic doctrine that princes forfeit their rights over their subjects, by heresy, or infidelity, independently of the social compact to which I have just referred. Catholics are taught to respect the public authority, without regard to the personal demerit of him who exercises it. "The Catholic Church," says Bianchi, "maintains as a doctrine of faith, that legitimate government exists, not only among Christians, but likewise among infidels, and that Christian subjects are bound to obey the ruling power in all that regards civil polity."‡ The enemies of the Church and the persecutors of the Christian name are obeyed by the faithful, who honor the sovereignty

\* Histoire des Croisades l. i. ch. i. p. 85.

† *Leges Edwardi regis* art. I. p. 197 apud Wilkins *Leges Anglo Saxonice* p. 200. Spelman, concilia.

‡ Della potestà indiretta l. i. §. iii. p. 22.

of God in those who bear rule. The same obedience is given them with the same scrupulous fidelity, as if they were brethren in the faith.

In the Roman Council, of which I have been speaking, Gregory threatened to deprive the emperor of the kingdom of Sicily, which he held as a feudatory of the Holy See. Of his right to do this there can be no doubt. It was a principle of the tenure of fiefs that a vassal by any enormous crime, especially against his liege lord, incurred the penalty of forfeiture,\* and Frederick had in many ways violated his fealty to the Pontiff. By bribes and intrigues he produced civil discord at Rome, and compelled the Pope to flee for safety. The imperial troops ravaged the dukedom of Spoleto, and other dependencies of the Holy See; and Raynald Ludus, the Imperial Viceroy in Sicily, committed unheard of atrocities on all classes of the clergy. In the mean time Frederick himself, affecting to redeem his pledge, passed over into Palestine, without caring to conciliate the Pontiff, and obtain absolution from the censure. His proceedings there were suspicious, as well as irregular, and a league concluded by him with the Sultan, contained concessions strongly marked with impiety, which confirmed the Pope in the belief that he utterly disregarded the great interests and principles of Christianity. It was then at length that the sentence of deposition issued, which was sufficiently formidable, even for so impious a prince, to induce his humiliation, although he was not penitent. After he had been absolved from censure, Gregory received him with joy, at Anagni, and gave him special marks of paternal tenderness, recommending at the same time to his clemency those who had incurred his displeasure by their attachment to their conscience and the cause of the Pontiff. Fair promises were followed by outrages and cruelty. Persuasion, remonstrance and threats were successively used by the disappointed Pontiff. Frederick again professed repentance, waited on him at Reate, and undertook to reduce to obedience the Romans who had revolted: but false to his engagements, he led his troops to attack the kingdom of Naples. God had already punished him, by the revolt of his own son Henry. Gregory, nevertheless, used his authority to compel the son to return to his allegiance, under penalty of excommunication; and accordingly the prince submitted, and was pardoned, but banished to Apulia, where his death is thought to have been hastened. In like manner the Pope used his authority with the knights Templars and others in the East, to preserve for Frederick the dominion of Acre, which he had acquired by his marriage with Yolante. "At his soli-

\* See Blackstone's Commentaries l. II. n. 73, and Hallam's Middle Ages ch. II. p. 75.

citation," says Mills, "the Pope, to whom Frederick was now reconciled, despatched the archbishop of Ravenna to the Holy Land as the messenger of peace, and the imperial authority was restored."<sup>\*</sup> Gregory likewise made several unsuccessful efforts to establish a lasting peace between the emperor and the cities of Lombardy; and notwithstanding the disrespect with which Frederick treated his ambassadors, and the many evidences of insincerity, or inconstancy, which he had given, the kind Pontiff was ever ready to listen to new overtures. In 1239, tired of his repeated crimes, he again subjected him to excommunication, and condemned as a heresy his denial of the power of excommunicating kings. In the following year, as Frederick proceeded in his career of aggression to attack Viterbo, Gregory renewed the excommunication, added the sentence of deposition, and wrote to the electors that they might proceed to a new election. The German bishops wrote to Gregory to excuse themselves from publishing the sentence of excommunication, and to urge reconciliation: and several of the princes replied that the examination of the qualifications of an emperor elect belonged to him, but that he had no right to depose an actual emperor.

This may be considered as affording the most plausible plea for questioning the general acknowledgment of the papal power of deposition by the German aristocracy. There is ground, however, for believing that they acted through fear, since the cruelty of the tyrant was daily venting itself in a more awful manner on the adherents of the Pontiff. A century and a half before, their predecessors had besought and importuned Gregory to come to their relief; his example had been followed up in each successive emergency; the rival princes had sought the papal intervention; the first Frederick had submitted, and the actual emperor had humbled himself: how then could the nobles deny the existence of the authority? Gervase of Tilbury, nephew of Henry II., an Englishman in high favor at the court of the emperor Otho, had composed in the year 1211, a work styled: *Otia Imperialia; Imperial Entertainments*, and dedicated it to Otho himself, in which he stated strongly and unequivocally the dependence of the empire on the Holy See. He reminded the emperor that Innocent II. had bestowed the imperial crown on his great grand-father, and Innocent III. had placed himself on the throne, and he exhorted him to correspond to the favor by the innocence of his life. "If you imagine," he says, "that the Pope infringes in any respect on your Imperial rights, yield

\* History of the Crusades, ch. xv. p. 205.

a little to him who bestowed on you the whole empire.—You may become a giver instead of a donatary, by yielding to him a part of what you have entirely received through him. Truly the empire is not your own, but Christ's—not your own, but Peter's—you have not got it of yourself, but from the vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter.—You lose nothing of your own by leaving to Peter what is his.—Through the favor of the Pope, not by her own act, Rome, in the time of Charles, recovered the empire: through the favor of the Pope, the empire was conferred on the king of the French; through the favor of the Pope, the empire is now conferred on the king of the Germans, and not of the French: nor does the empire fall to whomsoever it is decreed by the Germans, but to him to whom the Pope decrees it.”\*

I am disposed to distrust disclaimers made in circumstances where opinion is not perfectly free. Overawed by a tyrant, whose favor is lavished on his supporters, men easily suppress those sentiments which are likely to offend their master. The faint tone of the denial of the German princes shews that they felt the embarrassment of their position. From the passage of the English writer just quoted, it is clear that the origin of the empire and the constant relation of the Popes to it, was the foundation on which these rested, for their right of direct and ordinary interference in the election of the emperor, and in cases of flagrant abuse of power. They were not merely solving a case of conscience, or emitting an authoritative declaration of rights; or interpreting the conditions of the oath of allegiance, or defining the limits of moral obligation. Their relation to the empire gave them a more immediate right of intervention and control, and they felt bound to watch over the great interests of a power, which had risen into existence at their bidding, and which seemed to need their guidance and support for its continuance.

It is remarkable that Gregory IX. writing to Rusudes, queen of the Georgians, and to the prince David, her son, instructed them that they might enjoy the blessings of Christian unity, on subjecting themselves to the authority of the Church in the things that regard salvation. “You, beloved children, and all your subjects, should humbly acknowledge the Roman Pontiff as successor of Blessed Peter, and vicar of Christ, father and head of our faith, and grieve for not having done so in times past, and unite with him, and with the holy Roman Church, and obey him in the things which appertain to the salvation of souls. This and no more we ask of you.”†

\* *Gervasii Tilberiensis Otia Imperialia* decis. II. c. xix.

† Raynald an. 1240.

The elevation of Innocent IV. the personal friend of Frederick to the chair of Peter, after the brief pontificate of Celestine, the successor of Gregory, gave hopes that the distractions of the Church and empire would soon cease. The new Pontiff sent legates to treat with the emperor, who amused them with fair promises; put forward, on his own part, various complaints; and, in the mean time, treacherously endeavored to get Innocent into his hands. He had more than once asserted that he could make the justice of his cause evident in a council, to meet which boast, Innocent convoked a General Council at Lyons for the year 1245. There were present in that venerable assembly the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Aquileja, and archbishops and bishops from all parts of the Church, to the number of 140, with the emperor of Constantinople, and count of Toulouse, and other representatives of the civil powers. Thaddeus, a man of great eloquence and much legal knowledge, appeared in the name of Frederick, promised to remedy all the evils complained of, and endeavored to dissuade the council from proceeding to take cognizance of the cause. The Pontiff made light of promises, which so often before had been made without effect, and insisted that the cause should proceed. Thaddeus, after a delay of two weeks, granted for consultation with his imperial master, demurred against the jurisdiction of the council; but the objection was overruled, and it served only to estrange from him the English, and many others, who were shocked at this temerity. At that time it was the general sentiment that a council of bishops, with the Pope at their head, could take cognizance of crimes against religion, and could even remove from power the prince who abused it, a sentiment which was intimately connected with the social relations which then existed, and with the oaths by which the prince bound himself at his accession to the throne. In the third session, having enumerated the crimes of Frederick: perjury, treachery, the violation of treaties, and sacrilege, and various indications of heresy, the Pope proceeded to his deposition. "The aforesaid prince," says Innocent, "having rendered himself so unworthy of the empire and the kingdom, and of all honor and dignity, and being cast off by God on account of his iniquities, that he should not reign, or command; and being bound fast by his own sins, and cast away, we show and denounce him as *deprived by the Lord* of all honor and dignity, and nevertheless by our sentence we deprive him, and absolve for ever from their oath, all who are bound to him by the oath of allegiance."

This is the first and only case in which a sentence of deposition was passed in a General Council. It has been observed that the decree



professes to be made in the presence of the council, without alleging their approbation : but I claim the benefit of no such nice distinction. The bishops did not oppose it, as would have been their duty, if it were an extravagant and unjust act : they concurred in the formalities used in a solemn sentence of excommunication. The act was done by the Pontiff, because the causes of princes were reserved to his authority, and he stood in direct relation to the emperor, who had pledged his oath to him, when receiving from his hands the imperial crown. But from the whole tenor of the proceedings, it appears that it was the feeling of all the prelates, and even of the civil powers represented in the council, that it was a just exercise of authority : wherefore they were shocked at the exception feebly advanced by the advocate of the emperor. "The union of European Christendom under the Pope," says the British Critic, "was the arrangement which had lasted under God's providence ever since the barbarians had been Christianized ; it was the dispensation which was natural and familiar to men—the only one they could imagine—a dispensation moreover, under which religion had achieved its conquests. The notion of being independent of the See of St. Peter was one which was never found among the thoughts of a religious man, even as a possibility ; which never occurred even to an irreligious one, except as involving disobedience and rebellion."\* The Pontifical prerogative, whencesoever derived, was manifestly considered in the ages of which we now treat, to extend to the deposition of sovereigns, and the power was only faintly questioned by the party interested, and by his dependants: The prevalence of this sentiment in that state of society is very easily accounted for, by the general principle that power is given to rulers for the public good, and subject to the restrictions implied in the oath of coronation : which being violated, the trust returned to those who gave it, wherefore Innocent prescribed : "let those to whom the election of the emperor belongs, elect freely his successor." It was the public sentiment, the received jurisprudence of the age, the system of polity established, not by written compacts or constitutions, so much as by the application of Christian principles to social relations, with dependance on God and His supreme authority. The blessing of the Pontiff had been invoked on the prince, and the pledges received by him, that his power should be used justly and religiously, and his judgment was looked for by those who hesitated to decide for themselves the delicate point that their oaths of allegiance were no longer binding. In the case of the emper-

\* N. lxv. p. 35.

ror there were special considerations arising from the relation of the Pope to the empire. "We must acknowledge," says Michaud, in reference to the deposition of Frederick in the council of Lyons, "that the pretensions of the Popes in this respect were favored by the contemporary opinions. Complaints were sometimes made of being judged unjustly by the formidable tribunal of the Church, but the right of judging the Christian powers was not called in question, and the nations almost always received their decision without a murmur."\*

The article of the Constitution of the United States regarding the impeachment of the President, may afford occasion for a scene not unlike the deposition of Frederick, by Innocent IV. in the council of Lyons. "The Senate shall have sole power to try all impeachments. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief Justice shall preside."† The Pope without detriment to the divine prerogatives of the Primacy, may be considered as Chief Justice of the Christian commonwealth, presiding at the impeachment of the chief magistrate. "The Church," as Chancellor Kent remarks, "had its councils or convocations of the clergy, which formed the nations professing Christianity into a connexion resembling a federal alliance, and those councils sometimes settled the titles and claims of princes, and regulated the temporal affairs of the Christian powers. The confederacy of the Christian nation was bound together by a sense of common duty and interest in respect to the rest of mankind."‡ The Pontiff presiding over his brethren, who form the Christian Senate, generally acted with the assent of two-thirds at least, which are required to ~~warrant~~ sentence on impeachment. Life or limb was not affected by his judgment, which only removed from office the delinquent. Our age will not consent to recognise the Pontiff in this character, nor does he demand it: but we plead for Pontiffs who in their day shone with bright effulgence in the Church, and we point to the principles on which they acted, and the public opinion whereby they were sustained.

The solemnity of the deposition of Frederick, even admitting the concurrence of the council, does not give it the character of an article of Catholic faith. Doctrinal definitions, proposed to be believed under penalty of anathema, are properly articles of faith: but laws, judgments and sentences on individuals are not matters of belief, although they should be regarded with the respect due to official acts. It should be presumed that neither Pope, nor council, would act on a

\* Histoire des Croisades l. xiv. p. 163.

† Art. I. §. II. n. 6.

‡ Commentaries on American Law, by James Kent, lect. I. p. 9—10.

false principle, or assume a power not belonging to them : yet where the sources of the power claimed may be various, human or divine, we are not forced to consider it as the inherent right of the office.

The fourth council of Lateran, under Innocent III., had decreed, that if a secular lord, after request made, and admonition given by the Church, should neglect to clear his land of *the heretical filth* then prevailing, namely Manicheism, he should be excommunicated by the bishops of the province, and in case of contumacy under excommunication, during an entire year, the Pope should be informed of it, that he might declare the vassals thenceforward free from their allegiance, and leave the land to be seized on by Catholics, who might drive away the heretics, and hold it by an unquestionable title, without prejudice to the rights of the liege lord.\* This, however, is a law, not a definition of faith, and it evidently regards the vassals of dependant princes. The addition, that the same law is to be observed in regard to such as have not liege lords, manifestly refers to *allodial* proprietors, who were bound to no military service, or other feudal duty. No law is considered as embracing sovereigns unless it particularly specifies them. The prevalence, at that time, of the opinion that sovereigns were amenable to the tribunal of the Pope, does not prove that they were contemplated by this special decree. In that council the representatives of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Aragon, and of many other sovereigns, were present, and the law was passed, doubtless after consultation with them, and with their entire assent, and therefore had that civil sanction which was needful to give it effect in regard to all their vassals. It directly regarded the holders of fiefs, who, by abetting heresy, were considered as violating an essential condition of the compact by which they held their land ; and it was extended to independent proprietors, who were subject to the laws of the great Christian confederacy. The progress of heresy, such as that which gave occasion to this enactment, endangered the safety of the neighboring principalities, and seemed to the council to call for the penalty of forfeiture. The decree was illustrated and enforced at the time by the transfer of the feudal rights of the count of Toulouse to Simon Montfort. "By an apostolic decision," as Michaud observes, "proclaimed in the midst of the council, Innocent deposed the count of Toulouse, who was considered as the protector of heresy, and gave his states to Simon de Montfort, who had fought against the Albigensians."† The rights of the

\* Can. III. apud Labbe conc. t. xi. par. i. p. 147.

† Histoire des Croisades l. xii. p. 399.

chief lords of the fiefs were, however, reserved. "Innocent could not pardon the count of Toulouse for having kindled a war which disturbed Christendom and suspended the execution of his plans for the Eastern crusade."\*

It is worthy of observation that the Popes, who issued decrees against sovereigns, never made a formal definition of their right to depose them, or the source of the right which they exercised. Boniface VIII. addressing Philip the Fair, applies to himself the words addressed by God to the prophet Jeremias: "God has placed us over kings and kingdoms, to root up, pull down, waste, destroy, build up, and plant in His name, and by His doctrine. Wherefore, imagine not that you have no superior, and that you are not subject to the head of the Church."† As the prophet was to exercise his charge by instructing, reproving, correcting, and exhorting, so the Pontiff only claimed for himself power, for the extirpation of vice, and implanting of virtue, by teaching, and by inflicting ecclesiastical censures on the delinquent. Through the Cardinals he disavowed temporal domination,‡ and confined himself to the judgment of the morality of the acts, in which regard his advisers contended that the conduct of sovereigns *ratione peccati* was subject to his cognizance.

With the administration of the kingdom of France, the Pope claimed no right of interference; but the debasement of the public coin, of which Philip was notoriously guilty, was not a matter of discretionary authority: it was a crime against natural justice; and the Pope justly threatened to cut off from the Church a sovereign so unworthy of his station and Christian profession. The violation of ecclesiastical immunities, guaranteed by the oath of coronation, was likewise a just cause for pontifical intervention. Philip could not, even in this respect, act as he pleased within his own dominions. He had received the crown subject to conditions and restrictions, which if he now disregarded, the Pope could take cognizance of the sinfulness of his conduct, and inflict ecclesiastical censures. The independence which Philip asserted, could not affect the right of the Pope to judge of his acts whether personal or official, in a moral point of view, and to award the proper sentence in the spiritual court. His sovereignty did not take from him his character as a child of the Church, and consequently did not exempt him from the duty of reverencing the father of the faithful. "It was," says Guizot, "in the name of morality, and by developing its precepts that the ecclesiastics exercised influence

\* Histoire des Croisades l. xii. p. 400.

† Auscult, Fili.

‡ Fleury l. xc. §. 16.

over governments.”\* “The real point at issue,” says the British Critic, “between the rulers of the Church, and the feudal princes of Europe, at the period of which we are speaking, was, whether the Gospel law was in very deed to be considered the supreme law of the Church, and of every member of it; or whether, on the other hand, Christians, when entrusted by God with the temporal government of their fellow-Christians, acquired thereby a certain right of exemption from the obedience to the Christian law to which their brethren were bound, and a control over the powers and sanctions by which that obedience was to be enforced. The existence of such a law, binding on the whole body politic,—for all were members of the one Catholic Church,—and the abstract rights and powers of those persons, in whom the administration of that law was vested, were not denied.”† The definition of Boniface VIII. is couched in these words: “We declare to every human creature, we affirm, define and pronounce, that to be subject to the Roman Pontiff is altogether necessary for salvation.” The necessity of this subjection is of the same nature as the necessity of belonging to the Church over which he presides. Both are asserted in terms equally strong; which, nevertheless, are generally understood by Catholic divines, not to exclude from hope such as may be invincibly ignorant of the true Church, or of the divine institution of the Primacy. St. Thomas of Aquin had declared this necessity in the terms borrowed from him by Boniface;‡ and St. Jerom, eight centuries before, in language no less emphatic. No one, however, pretends that it is necessary for salvation to be temporally subject to the Pontiff.

The sum of this celebrated document is the assertion of the Divine Sovereignty, which embraces the rulers of the earth, as well as the lowliest of their subjects. Every soul must be subject to God, and every act, whether official, or personal, must be accounted for at His tribunal. The allegorical reasoning, borrowed from St. Bernard, is directed to shew, that although it does not become the Pontiff to wield the sword, its employment, by temporal princes should be restrained by the maxims of religion which he delivers, and should serve for protection and defence against the aggressions and outrages of the impious. It is clear that Philip assumed an attitude inconsistent with the submission due to the chair of Peter, as if he had no superior, even in spiritual things. Boniface rebuked him in language similar to that of Leo: “Whosoever denies his chieftaincy, can nowise lessen his dignity, but inflated with a spirit of pride, he sinks down into the abyss.”§

\* Cours d'histoire moderne t. III. p. 107.

† No. lxvi. p. 14.

‡ Opus contra Græcos.

§ Ep. x. ad episc. prov. Vien.

The excommunication and sentence of deposition, fulminated by St. Pius V. and renewed by Sixtus V., against Elizabeth, of England, may be considered the latest attempt to exercise the deposing power, no act of the kind having been performed since the reign of this latter Pontiff, who however, issued a like sentence against Henry of Navarre. The grounds of the sentence of Pius were the illegitimacy of Elizabeth, her profession of heresy, her crimes against religion and her faithful subjects ; to which was added in the renewal of the sentence by Sixtus, her cruelty to the unfortunate Mary Stuart. The illegitimacy of her birth was evident from the principles of the Divine Law, as well as from the laws of the Church, and was declared on the Statute-book of England. "For reasons, which are not obvious," says Dr. Lingard, "the ministers had determined to avoid all discussion respecting the legitimacy of the queen, or the attainder of her mother. Both the act declaring the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn to have been void from the beginning, and that convicting the latter of incest, adultery, and treason, were allowed to remain uncontradicted on the Statute-book."\* They had endeavored to supply by an act of Parliament declaratory of her right ; but it was an evident attempt to cover a radical defect in her title, and the act could not be fairly considered as the free expression of the will of the nation. From the days of Edward the Confessor, and long before, the English monarchy was considered as based on the Catholic religion, and essentially connected with it. "The king," we read in the laws of Edward, "who is the vicegerent of the Supreme King, is appointed to rule an earthly kingdom, and the people of the Lord, and above all to venerate His holy Church, and defend it from evil doers, and to root out, and destroy, and utterly remove from it the wicked. Unless he do this, he will not even retain the name of king ; but, as Pope John declares, he will forfeit the title."† These principles had been for many ages considered fundamental in all Catholic nations, and England, by her return to Catholic unity, under Mary, seemed again to proclaim them. It is not, then, to be wondered that Pius V. should have denied the validity of the title of Elizabeth, the open persecutrix of the Catholic religion. If the principles themselves be now decried, censure must be shared with the Pontiff by the ancient English Catholics, and the Catholic nations generally. The bigotry of Catholic nations, who would entrust their government only to a Catholic king, and who made the pro-

\* History of England vol. vii. ch. iv. p. 207. Amer. edit.

† *Leges Eduardi regis* art. xvii. (alias xv.) apud Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonice* p. 200, Spelman, *conceilia &c.* Londini 1639.

tection of the Church an indispensable condition for retaining the royal power, cannot be harshly judged by the English nation at the present day, who make the support of the Protestant religion as by law established, an essential duty of the Sovereign. To bind the prince to maintain the common faith of the nation, with which all the public institutions were naturally interwoven, is not equally strange, as to pledge him to support the belief of a portion of his subjects, perhaps a small minority.

Notwithstanding the radical defect of title, and the enormous abuse of power on the part of Elizabeth, which gave to the sentence of the Pope so specious a coloring, the English Catholics generally refused to pay it any attention, and were prodigal of their money and their blood in support of her claims. The formidable *Armada*, which Philip of Spain sent to enforce the sentence, became the sport of the winds of heaven, and Elizabeth mocked the thunders of the Vatican, which seemed to have lost their power. The judgments of God are an unfathomable abyss! The reign of the bold daughter of Anne Boleyn was long and prosperous, and the separation of England from the Universal Church was renewed and consummated under her guidance: *dux femina facti!* but it appears remarkable, that although Henry left three children, each of whom occupied his throne successively, sterility marked the race, and the sceptre passed from the last of the Tudors to the son of the murdered Mary Stuart.

Having thus reviewed the chief acts of the Popes who exercised the deposing power, I beg leave to repeat distinctly the principles on which I conceive they acted. In no case did any Pope claim the power of rescinding capriciously and arbitrarily the oath, or obligation, of allegiance. Whenever any attempt was made to absolve subjects from their allegiance, it was on the supposition that the moral obligation of the oath had ceased, by the violation on the part of the sovereign, of the duties which he had sworn to perform. The act of the Pontiff was, therefore, an authoritative declaration of right, directing conscience in a matter of extreme delicacy and importance. Inasmuch as the parties concerned acknowledged his authority, and were wont to implore his judgment, his sentence received from their voluntary acts whatever force can be given to the decree of an Umpire, or of a tribunal erected, or sustained, by popular consent. The claims derived from his office as expounder of moral obligation, were strengthened by the social position which he occupied in the middle ages, and by the part which he took in the creation of the empire, and of the various kingdoms, and in the whole arrangement of society. His intervention

in those circumstances was natural, and calculated to restrain rulers by the law of Christ, and by the remembrance of their sworn obligations. The power of the Pontiff was an effectual check to tyranny—a palladium of popular rights, so far as these are identified with justice and virtue—a means of preventing rebellion and civil strife, and of preserving respect for the rulers, without detriment to the liberty of the subject. The concentration of power in the hands of an individual, which easily becomes tyranny, was guarded by the acknowledged subjection of the prince to the laws of God and of the Church, and by the fear of rebuke, censure and deposition, in case of gross and flagrant abuse of authority. In modern times the preventive and remedy of despotism are sought in a national constitution, which the prince swears to observe, but which ordinarily yields to the first effort of a powerful sovereign. The most absolute power is often exercised by constitutional kings, who amuse the people with privileges and rights of little avail to their real interests and happiness; and whilst preserving the frame-work of a free government, oppress them with enormous exactions, and leave liberty and life insecure. Where an appeal lies to the multitude against the abuse of power, the convulsions of society at the whim of each demagogue, and the excesses of a nation maddened into revolt, are scarcely less to be dreaded than despotism itself. In the middle ages there was no written constitution: but the national usages and the laws of God and of the Church were held to be binding on the sovereign. Christianity was the fundamental principle of society and its supreme law. With the ordinary exercise of power there was no right of interference on the part of the Pontiff, as there was no responsibility of rulers to him as to a superior in temporals: but flagrant and enormous abuses, in manifest violation of the oath of coronation, and of the general laws of the Christian confederacy, provoked his interposition. It is just to consider the advantages as well as the evils of this system, when judging of those ages, and not to flatter ourselves that the wisdom of man has yet discovered an effectual preventive of oppression and injustice.

In rejecting the temporal power of the Pope, the court divines of Louis XIV. chiefly rested on the divine right of kings, and their responsibility to God alone. In maintaining it, the Roman theologians strongly asserted that the people are the immediate source of civil power, and that royalty is essentially a trust to be exercised for their benefit, and subject to forfeiture if flagrantly abused.\* It is needless

\* See Bianchi Della indiretta dipendenza della potestà temporale l. i. §. i.



to observe that these latter principles are the popular maxims of our country and age; which shews that there is a strong affinity between republicanism and the polity of the middle ages. The irresponsible character of sovereignty is flattering to despots, but it adds nothing to their security, for nations will not easily assent to it, when asserted in support of acts of tyranny and oppression. All reasonable men will admit that there are limits to the powers of rulers, and to the duty of obedience. Domestic tribunals constitutionally established alone at present are deemed competent to determine them, whilst our ancestors appealed to the judgment of the Pontiff, as free from local interests, as well as from fear or favor. We do not seek the revival of an obsolete system, but acquiescing cheerfully in the polity which prevails, we offer such apology for our ancestors as we deem warranted by facts.

For two centuries and-a-half, no attempt has been made to exercise the deposing power, and no claim to it is any longer made, even by Roman divines. Pius VII. after gross outrages sustained from the favored child of fortune, whose right to occupy the throne of the Bourbons he had sanctioned, did not venture to wrest from his head the crown which the bold soldier had seized with his own hands, but limited himself to an excommunication, in which without being named, Napoleon was included. No threat of deposition was annexed, and the consequences of the censure were no longer recognised by the nations of Europe. No power was charged to give effect to the sentence. The same Providence which permitted the thunders of Pius V. to roll apparently in vain, charged itself with the execution of the decree of Pius VII. The arms fell from the hands of the soldiers of the hitherto invincible emperor, who soon became a captive, and an exile, in a distant island; whilst the meek Pontiff returned in triumph to his people, and sat once more in the city of the Cesars, bidding kings to understand, and the judges of the earth to learn justice.

Suspicious have often been cast on Catholics by reason of the deposing power, which for five centuries was claimed and exercised. These, however, are in the highest degree unjust, because the confederacy of Christian nations, which gave occasion to its exercise, has been long since dissolved, many princes have utterly abjured the authority of the Pope, and Catholic sovereigns have loudly protested against his intervention in civil matters. By the will of princes and of nations, and at their earnest solicitation, he intervened in former ages, and exercising a pacific protectorate, maintained the rights of all. They now reject his salutary counsels, and choose to decide their disputes by the

sword. He has wisely retired into the sanctuary, and ceased to raise his voice, which would no longer be heard amidst the strife. Within he prays, he teaches, he exhorts ; he casts forth the contumacious from the Church ; but he no longer employs a power which the will and the wants of nations once placed in his hands, but which they have again, in their caprice, wrested from him. Yet Faber, an Anglican writer, has ventured to predict, what I am slow to believe, that, at no distant day the nations of Europe will again recoil from the throne of an excommunicated king.\*

\* Thoughts and Sights in foreign Churches.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## CRUSADES.

THE influence and power of the Pope in temporal matters, connected with the interests of religion, appeared in the most extraordinary degree, in the great movements of the European powers for the recovery of the Holy Land. It has been long fashionable to condemn these wars as fanatical, if not wholly unchristian; but we should be slow to censure what met with the universal approbation of our ancestors, and of the most enlightened and holy men, during several centuries. It is more becoming to inquire into the principles on which they acted, and judge them according to their motives. My object, however, is not to defend the conduct of the crusaders, but to explain the part which the Popes took in these wars, and the influence which they exercised.

Jerusalem, and all the parts of Palestine, consecrated by the footsteps of our Divine Redeemer, had been viewed with special veneration from the earliest period. In the seventh century they fell under the Mahommedan yoke, and were thenceforward subject to the caliphs of Bagdad and of Cairo alternately, until the power of the Egyptian sultan prevailed in the decline of the tenth century. In 1076 Jerusalem was wrested from his dominion by Malek Shah, a prince of the Seljuk Turks from Tartary, who, about the middle of the eleventh century, invaded Syria and other provinces. The struggle of the hostile clans continued for eighteen years, when the Egyptians again regained the ascendancy. In the mean time, the pilgrims, who flocked from Europe to the holy places, experienced the ferocity of the new lords of Palestine, and the Christian inhabitants of the country were most cruelly oppressed. Their sufferings had awakened the sympathy of their brethren in Europe, in the tenth century, and the design of aiding them to shake off the yoke was cherished, and received the sanction of the most enlightened Pontiff of that age. "At the close of the tenth century," says Mills, "Pope Sylvester II., the ornament of his age, entreated the Church universal to succor the Church of Jerusalem, and to redeem a sepulchre which the prophet Isaiah had said should be

a glorious one, and which the sons of the destroyer, Satan, were making inglorious.”\* The subsequent success of the Turks filled with alarm the emperor of Constantinople, Michael Ducas, who in 1073 applied to Gregory VII. to obtain aid against an enemy formidable to all the Christian powers.† The Pontiff received the application favorably, especially as the hope was held out that the reunion of the Greeks with the Church would result from the efforts of the Latins in their behalf. When enlisting an army for the defence of the possessions of the Apostolic See in Campania, against the Normans, he expressed the hope that the enemy would be deterred from battle by the military preparations, in order that the troops might be employed for the succor of the Oriental Christians. In an encyclical letter he solicited the aid of the faithful generally, that he might send the desired relief. 50,000 soldiers are said to have been ready to march to the East, but the difficulties in which he himself was involved, prevented the prosecution of the generous design. Victor III., who succeeded him, encouraged the citizens of Pisa, Genoa, and other towns of Italy, to follow up the undertaking, especially as the Saracens infested the Mediterranean, and threatened the Italian coasts. The combined forces of these Christian powers made a successful descent on the coast of Africa, and reduced under their power Al Mahadia and Sibila, in the territory of Carthage, and obliged a king of Mauritania to pay tribute to the Holy See.‡ Alexius Comnenus, who occupied the imperial throne, in 1094, implored the succor of the West, and sent ambassadors, who, in a council held at Placentia, at which Urban II. presided, urged the demand. Four thousand clergymen and thirty thousand laymen, congregated in the open country, near the town, received the proposals with acclamation.

The narrative of Peter the hermit, a Frenchman, who had just returned from Palestine, contributed not a little to excite the sympathy and inflame the zeal of the Pontiff. He had been an eye witness of the cruel oppression of his Christian brethren, and had been charged by the patriarch to represent their sad condition, and implore aid. From the court of Rome he hastened back to his native country, and every where repeated the tale of woe, so as to move to tears all who heard him. In 1095 a council was called at Clermont; but the numbers who assembled could be contained in none of the Churches, wherefore an open square was chosen for their deliberations. Urban spoke

\* History of the Crusades by Charles Mills, ch. i. p. 20.

† Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. 1, ch. i.

‡ Histoire des Croisades par Michaud l. i. p. 88.

with an eloquence that seemed superhuman, and as he concluded his exhortation to hasten to the relief of their suffering brethren, the immense assemblage, as if by inspiration, cried out: *Dieix lo volt*: IT IS THE WILL OF GOD.

The enthusiasm with which the address of Urban was received, and the promptitude wherewith the glorious badge of enrolment was assumed, should persuade us that the motives for the expedition were plainly just and sacred. It is not to be thought that in any age, or under any circumstances, thousands and tens of thousands would abandon their countries and homes, and peril life for an object not evidently just, at the bidding of an individual, however elevated his station. Nobles of the highest rank left the court for the distant plains of Palestine, to fight at the head of their Christian brethren, for the liberty of the sufferers, and sold at a great sacrifice their domains to procure money for the expedition: their vassals felt honored in being allowed to follow them to the field of danger, where the conflict was not with a rival lord, but with the enemies of religion and of man. The monks went forth from their cloister to accompany their brethren, console and succor them, and the bishops, with large number of their flocks, were seen hastening to the standard. The zeal of the Pontiff led him to visit various other cities of France, and to address in fervent exhortation the immense multitudes that every where assembled at his call. After countless numbers had perished on the journey by disease, and in conflict with the people of Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece and other places, who resisted their progress, and refused them provisions, he nowise relented in his grand purpose, but meeting at Lucca the host of crusaders, who accompanied the count of Vermandois, he placed in his hands the standard of the Church, that he might go forth to fight the battles of the cross.\*

The crusaders are thought to have been influenced by no other motive than the desire of rescuing the Holy Land from the polluting tread of the infidel, for which purpose they considered it lawful to shed in torrents the blood of the Turks. This, however, is not the true statement of the case. For three centuries Jerusalem had been in the power of the Caliphs, and no effort had been made by the Christians to wrest it from their hands: it was the ferocity of the Turks which filled Europe with alarm and indignation.† The spirit of the crusades abated when the Syrian Christians ceased to be so grievously oppressed. The ardor wherewith all Europe engaged in the

\* Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* l. ii. p. 177.

† Robertson's *View of the State of Europe*, sect. 1.

struggle was owing to the picture of suffering presented to them by the hermit and the Pontiff. Doubtless their enthusiasm was increased by the consideration that the scenes of those sufferings had been hallowed by the presence, miracles, and sufferings of Christ : but this does not detract from the lawfulness of the war as undertaken for the relief of their fellow-Christians. "They were armed," as Michaud remarks, "in behalf of the wretched and the oppressed. They went forward to defend a religion which awakened their sympathies for distant sufferers, and caused them to discover brothers in the inhabitants of countries unknown to them."\*

I know not whether it will be denied that it was lawful for the nations of Europe to make war upon the Turks in consequence of the outrages committed on European pilgrims, and the constant oppression of the Christians of Palestine. At this day nations resent the affronts and injuries offered by foreign powers to individual citizens sojourning in distant countries. Governments connive at the raising of volunteers to aid the oppressed of other countries in asserting their rights, and sometimes openly join in the struggle. In many cases there seems to be no other means of rescuing the people from despotism, than the intervention of a foreign power asserting the right of citizens to be governed on principles of humanity and justice. If it be ever lawful for foreigners to interpose, it was surely when fierce barbarians trampled under foot every natural right, delivered the daughters of the Christians to dishonor, forced their sons to apostatize, and butchered the parents.

The meek and suffering spirit which the Christian religion breathes, does not deprive men of the rights and claims of humanity, or take away from nations the right to make just war. Individuals are taught to respect public authority, even when abused for purposes of persecution : but nations can appeal on the battle-field to the God of hosts, to vindicate justice and right.

The actual government of Palestine had not prescription in its favor. The Turks were invaders, who for a short time only had seized on the reins of power : and the Egyptians, when for a time successful, had not recovered pacific and secure possession. There was nothing in the title of the rulers of Syria, to form a barrier to the European powers, who were anxious to rescue their Eastern brethren.

The crusades were undertaken in the name of humanity, as well as of religion, and the destruction of the infidel was vowed, not as an act

\* *Histoire des Croisades* l. iv. p. 512.

in itself acceptable, but as a necessary means for vindicating the oppressed. The shedding of human blood is to be abhorred: yet when it becomes necessary to maintain order, and terminate outrage, God Himself has given it His sanction. Hence we must consider the appeal of Urban II. to the Christian people as an exhortation to a just war, and a wise effort on his part to give a proper direction to the warlike propensity of the age, by pointing to a legitimate object what for the most part resulted in acts of lawless violence: "Be ye armed," he cried, "dearly beloved, with the zeal of God: let each gird his sword upon his thigh most powerfully. Be ye ready, and be ye valiant: for it is better for us to die in war, than to see the evils of the people and of the holy places. Go forth, and the Lord will be with you, and turn again the enemies of the faith, and of the Christian name, the arms which you have criminally stained with the blood of one another."\* This language may seem to some unbecoming the representative of Christ: but if the relation of the Pope to society at that period be considered, he will be seen to have only spoken as the necessity of the circumstances required. He was the actual head of the confederacy of Christian nations, the only one who could effectually rouse them to a general effort, and he raised his voice in behalf of justice and humanity. To exhort to just war was more humane than to suffer in silence the continuance of the outrages of which the Syrian Christians were victims.

Mills admits that "if Europe had armed itself for the purpose of succoring the Grecian emperor, the rendering of such assistance would have been a moral action, for the Saracenian march of hostility would not have stopped with the subjugation of Constantinople, and it is incumbent on us to prevent a danger as well as to repel one."† This precisely was the case. Michael Ducas, and Alexius Comnenus had successively applied for aid to preserve the seat of empire which was threatened. The Pope acted at their solicitation; and his action, thus fully justified by the law of nations, did not cease to be just, because it was at the same time influenced by the prayers of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and of the Oriental Christians, and by the sublime consideration of the holiness of the place that was to be rescued from the grasp of the unbeliever. Mills himself had already stated, that "in some minds political considerations had weight, and Europe was regarded as the ally of Constantinople."‡ The advantages derived to the emperor from the first efforts of the crusaders are acknowledged by Hallam, who does not conceive, as Mills, that the dan-

\* Apud Baron. an. 1095.

† History of the Crusades ch. xviii. p. 243.

‡ Ibid. ch. ii. p. 24.

ger had past, before relief was afforded. "In this state of jeopardy" he observes, when describing the advances of the Turks, "the Greek empire looked for aid from the nations of the West, and received it in fuller measure than was expected, or perhaps desired. The deliverance of Constantinople was indeed a very secondary object with the crusaders. But it was necessarily included in their scheme of operations, which, though they all tended to the recovery of Jerusalem, must commence with the first enemies that lay on their line of march. The Turks were entirely defeated; their capital of Nice restored to the empire. As the Franks passed onward, the emperor Alexius Comnenus trod on their footsteps, and secured to himself the fruits for which their enthusiasm disdained to wait. He regained possession of the strong places on the *Ægean* shores, of the defiles of Bithynia, and of the entire coast of Asia Minor, both on the Euxine and Mediterranean seas, which the Turkish armies, composed of cavalry, and unused to regular warfare, could not recover. So much must undoubtedly be ascribed to the first crusade."\*

Alexius, on the arrival of the crusaders, entered into an express league with them, and bound himself to unite his forces with theirs, and supply them with provisions, and aid them in the assault on Jerusalem, whilst they promised to deliver into his hands, or receive of him as fiefs the cities of the empire which they might retake from the infidels.† This confirms the fact that they acted originally as his allies. After the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem, it was as a colony which the Western princes felt bound to protect.‡ The king earnestly and repeatedly sought the support of his European brethren, and after the overthrow of the throne, the Eastern Christians cried out piteously for aid. If at any time they seemed indifferent, or averse, it was when despair induced them to bear their chains without a murmur, rather than provoke the tyrant to rivet them anew. Thus the third crusade proclaimed by Celestine III. having failed, they seemed unwilling to share in the responsibility of another effort made by the same Pontiff in the ninetieth year of his age. Notwithstanding this reluctance, the European powers felt that they had a right to protect the colony, as the general interests of Christendom were at stake.

It is impossible not to perceive that the crusades were from the commencement, and still more in the progress, defensive wars, directed to repel Turkish aggression, and preserve the nations of Europe from the Mahommedan yoke. The Moors from Africa, imbued with Mahomme-

\* Middle Ages, vol. 1, ch. vi. p. 519.

† Histoire des Croisades l. ii. p. 194.

‡ Ibidem l. vi. p. 170, Note.



dan superstition, were already masters of Spain : the Saracens had reduced under their power the southern provinces of Italy, and frequently hovered over its coast, spreading desolation, wherever they lighted : the Turks, fresh in the career of conquest, placed no bounds to their ambition : they "became masters of the Asiatic cities and fortified passes ; nor did there seem any obstacle to their invasion of Europe."\* The struggle between them and the Christian forces, which continued for ages with various success, proves that their power was in the highest degree formidable. It was, then, a master-stroke of policy to carry the warfare into their own territory, and to dispute with them the possession of their actual dominions, lest they should go on in their course, and obtain an easy victory over each European potentate, singly battling for his own safety. The union of all the Christian powers was the only means of effectual resistance, and was accordingly wisely devised by the enlightened Pontiff, Urban II. His words prove that this plea for the crusades is no ingenious after-thought, no invention of modern apologists : "We admonish you," said he, "and in the Lord we exhort you, and enjoin on you, for the remission of your sins, to sympathize with our afflicted and suffering brethren, the inhabitants of Jerusalem and its vicinity, coheirs with us of the heavenly kingdom (for we are all members, one of another,) and coheirs of Christ, and to restrain by just coercion the insolence of the infidels, who aim at subjecting to their power kingdoms, principalities and powers, and to oppose with all your might their efforts to cancel from the earth the Christian name."† The same argument was advanced by Innocent III. to rouse the Christian powers to the fifth crusade. He represents the Musulmen as glorying in their success : "What remains for us," say they, "but to drive away those whom you have left in Syria, and to penetrate to the far West, and cancel for ever your name and memory from among nations?"‡ If the crusaders shewed but little sense of this danger, it only proves the more generous sentiments by which they were influenced : but the danger was not imaginary, nor even remote, as the intelligent Pontiffs well perceived.

The manifest lawfulness of the crusades may be fairly inferred from the approbation which they received from the most holy men, and from the miracles which were wrought by some who proclaimed them. The eminent sanctity of Bernard, the famous Abbot of Clairvaux, who was an active promoter of the second crusade, is acknowledged, even by many Protestants. In the year 1145, the holy Pontiff, Eugene III.

\* Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ch. vi. p. 519. † Apud Baron. an. 1095. p. 663.

‡ Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* l. x. p. 81.

received the afflicting intelligence that Edessa had fallen into the hands of the Saracen, and that Antioch and Jerusalem were in danger; wherefore, forgetful of his own perils and necessities, he turned all his attention to the succor of the Christian king of Jerusalem. Louis VII. resolved to second the pious desires of the Pontiff, and Conrad, emperor of Germany, united his forces; and the advice of Bernard was sought to direct the enterprise. In a numerous council held at Chartres, Bernard was chosen as leader, but declining the office, he merely exhorted the faithful to engage in it. The ancient historian of his life assures us that the Lord confirmed his preaching by the signs that followed it, which were so numerous that they could not be recorded in detail.\* The faithful were fully persuaded that the undertaking was of God; wherefore they rallied under the standard of the cross, leaving the cities and towns almost deserted, as St. Bernard himself testifies.† The failure of an enterprise thus divinely sanctioned, is among the instances of the mysterious counsels of God. The perfidy of the Greek emperor, and the temerity of the crusaders were the immediate causes of defeat, which was also ascribed to the unworthiness and sins of the princes and people. St. Bernard asks: "How does human temerity dare censure what it cannot comprehend?"‡

The idea of encouraging the crusades by indulgences has afforded abundant matter of censure. To encourage the effusion of human blood by ecclesiastical favors—to point out the killing of an infidel as an atonement for the murder of a Christian, or for enormous licentiousness—to promise heaven to the worst sinners on condition of indulging the most ferocious disposition, is surely revolting to every Christian feeling. But the indulgences which the Popes offered, were intended to reward the generous devotedness with which the crusaders undertook a long and toilsome journey, and exposed their lives in a just war connected with religion. The condition of true penance was always exacted, and was well understood, and multitudes of most abandoned sinners were won to Christ by the assurance of unqualified forgiveness to the penitent crusader. The terms of the concession were not to be mistaken: "Trusting to the mercy of God, and authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, we remit the heaviest penances for sins to such faithful Christians as shall take arms against them, (the Turks) and take on themselves the labor of this journey. Whosoever shall depart from life in sentiments of true penance, shall doubtless receive the pardon of sins and an eternal reward." "Whosoever shall undertake the

\* Vita S. Bernardi l. III. c. iv.    † Ep. cxxlvi.    ‡ De Considerat. l. II.

journey to liberate Jerusalem, through pure devotion, not for glory, or hire, shall be considered as having fulfilled all his penance.”\* Con-  
 trition of heart, with the humble confession of sin, is invariably re-  
 quired in the Bulls of Eugene III., Gregory VIII., Innocent III., and  
 the other Pontiffs. Guibert tells us that up to that time the whole  
 kingdom of the French was convulsed by internal strife ; pillaging and  
 assassination were common, and incendiaries abounded. On the pro-  
 claiming of the crusade there was an extraordinary and general change.  
 Dissensions were suddenly healed, and all the public calamities  
 ceased.† Orderic Vitalis states that “thieves, and marauders, and  
 other like sinners, under the influence of the Holy Ghost, rose from the  
 depth of their iniquity, and engaged in the crusade with a view to atone  
 for their sins.”‡ The preaching of the fifth crusade by Foulques de  
 Neuilly was attended with extraordinary conversions, and abundant fruits  
 of piety, besides the enthusiasm which it enkindled. To his contempo-  
 raries he appeared as another Paul raised up by God for the conversion  
 of sinners, of whom he considered himself the greatest. Of the first five  
 crusades Michaud says, that “during them religion and evangelical mo-  
 rality resumed their ascendancy, and spread around their blessings : at  
 the voice of the holy orators Christians embraced penance, and reform-  
 ed their lives : all political storms were quelled at the mere mention of  
 Jerusalem, and the West continued in profound peace.”§ As even the  
 modern censor acknowledges, the crusaders prepared themselves for  
 death, when about to set out on their journey. “Throughout the cru-  
 sades,” says Mills, “most persons considering the difficulty of the  
 journey, and the perils of war, performed those acts, which men on the  
 point of death observed ; such as settling their family affairs, and mak-  
 ing restitutions to the Church or private persons.”|| In pointing  
 to the crusade as a means of expiating sin, the Pope considered the  
 toils of the journey and the exposure of life in just war, which,  
 offered up in a penitential spirit, might, in some measure, atone  
 for past excesses. “Redeem,” he said, “by this act well pleasing be-  
 fore God, theft, arson, plunder, homicide, and other crimes, the doers  
 whereof shall not possess the kingdom of God, that these works of  
 piety and the intercession of the Saints may specially obtain for you the  
 pardon of the sins whereby you have provoked the Lord to anger.”  
 There was no pardon for the impenitent ; but the contrite of heart

\* Canon Conc. Clavom. II.

† Guibert Abb. I. I. c. vii.

‡ Hist. eccles. recueil des Histor. norm par Duchesne.

§ Histoire des Croisades I. xiii. p. 102.

|| History of the Crusades ch. III. p. 37, Note.

could not give a greater proof of their sorrow, than to expose their lives for their brethren in Christ, and willingly to endure all the toil and want incidental to the warfare. No penance which could be inflicted, or assumed, could be compared with constant exposure to a scorching sun, or with thirst and hunger, such as they endured. In their travels through Bulgaria, they suffered extreme want, and the thirst which they experienced elsewhere was intolerable to the strongest soldiers, and carried off five hundred in one day.\* During the siege of Antioch, hunger forced them to eat weeds and briars, dogs, reptiles, and every unclean animal.†

Alms given towards the expenses of the crusades were accepted in lieu of actual service from such as could not enter on the journey, since Frederick Barbarossa, in 1189, obtained the Pope's consent to this commutation.‡ Innocent III. offered indulgences not only to the crusaders, but to all who contributed to equip and maintain them, and directed boxes to be placed in the Churches, wherein the faithful might deposit their alms.§ Repentance of heart was, however, in all cases required, and confession, when practicable. Occasion has been taken from these concessions, to represent indulgences as venal, whereas they were granted only to encourage works of piety and general advantage, and not mercimoniously, in exchange for money given to an individual.

Occasion has been taken to cast blame upon the Popes from the results of the crusades. Although these were not as great as might have been hoped for, from the vast number of crusaders, and the ardor wherewith they engaged, yet they were by no means inconsiderable. These wars effectually checked the Mahomedan power, established and maintained, during almost a century, the kingdom of Jerusalem, and for another century retained the dominion of some places in Syria. When the disadvantages under which they were undertaken are considered, their partial success will be a matter of wonder. A crusade was an army of volunteers, directed by no common leader, and commanded by officers accustomed to feudal domination. They fought on a strange territory, with no knowledge of the places, and in the midst of enemies, numerous, thoroughly acquainted with the places, and of desperate resolution. They were dependant on chance for the necessary provisions, and oftentimes suffered intensely from hunger, thirst, and every natural want. Yet the first crusade was eminently successful. Nice, Edessa, Antioch and Jerusalem, successively fell into their hands. "The

\* Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, l. ii. p. 237.

† Ibidem l. vii. p. 374.

‡ Ibidem p. 231.

§ Ibidem l. x. p. 83.

first result of this crusade," says Michaud, "was to fill the Musulman nations with terror, and put it out of their power for a long time to make any attack on the West. Through the victories of the crusaders the Greek empire extended its borders, and Constantinople, which was for the Saracens the high road to the West, was safe from their attacks. In this distant expedition Europe lost the flower of her population, but she was not like Asia, the theatre of a bloody and disastrous war."\* "When we consider that this weak kingdom, encompassed by enemies, stood for 88 years, we have less reason to be astonished at its fall, than at its duration for so long a period."† "On all occasions wherein bravery alone was wanting, nothing is found comparable with the exploits of the crusaders. When reduced to a small number of fighting men, they were not less successful than when their forces were innumerable. 40,000 crusaders took possession of Jerusalem, garrisoned by 60,000 Saracens. Scarcely 20,000 remained when they had to engage with all the forces of the East in the plains of Ascalon."‡

The constancy with which the Popes pursued their favorite object, the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidel, shews the strength of the religious principle by which they were actuated. The disasters of Louis VII. and of the emperor Conrad, did not deter Frederick Barbarossa, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Philip Augustus of France, from entering on the same career of danger, at the bidding of the Pontiff. "Gregory VIII. not only endeavored to deprecate the wrath of Heaven, by ordaining fasting and prayer throughout Christendom, but issued a bull for a new crusade, with the usual privileges to the *croisés*. Gregory went to Pisa, and healed the animosities between that city and Genoa, knowing well the importance of the commercial states of Italy to the Christians in the holy wars."§ Celestine III. again sounded the sacred trumpet, and summoned the volunteers of Christ to the relief of Palestine. Innocent III. used all the influence of his station to rouse the princes of Europe to undertake the fifth crusade, which, contrary to his intentions and wishes, resulted in the taking of Constantinople, the seat of Latin rule thenceforward for fifty-seven years. With the applause of the great council of Lateran, the same great Pontiff set a sixth crusade on foot, and contributed largely from his treasury to its expenses. His plate and golden vessels were melted by his orders to be employed for the crusade, and wooden or earthen vessels used at his table. "As germs of division subsisted between several states of Eu-

\* Histoire des Croisades, l. iv. p. 516.

† Ibidem l. vii. p. 351.

‡ Ibid. l. iv. p. 509.

§ Mills, History of the Crusades, ch. xi. p. 148.

rope, which might prevent the success of the holy war, the Pope sent in every direction his legates as angels of peace to induce reconciliation. He himself repaired to Tuscany to terminate the dissensions of the Pisans and Genoese : his exhortations reunited all hearts ; at his voice the most implacable enemies promised to consign to oblivion all their disputes, that they might go and fight against the Saracens.\*

To the incessant vigilance and zeal of the Popes the European nations are deeply indebted. When in 1259 Mogul hordes penetrated into Poland and Hungary, and spread terror every where, Alexander IV. faithful to the example of his predecessors, addressed the princes and prelates of Europe, exhorting them to rouse to repel the invaders, and at his suggestion, prayers, processions and fasts were every where employed to avert the wrath of heaven. The petition : " Lord, deliver us from the invasion of the Tartars," was then added to the Litanies. Urban IV. walked on his footsteps. After Ptolemais had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the last hopes of the Eastern Christians had vanished, Boniface VIII. raised his voice in their behalf. Clement V. endeavored to resuscitate the extinct spirit of the crusades ; John XXII. became the organ of the suffering Christians of Armenia. Benedict XI., in conjunction with the republic of Venice and the king of Cyprus, sent troops to Smyrna ; and Urban V. proclaimed a new crusade, which resulted in the taking of Alexandria. In the day of their distress the emperors of Constantinople had no surer refuge than the Pontiff, who employed all his influence to obtain succor for the Greeks, notwithstanding the repeated instances of their bad faith. Eugenius IV. appealed, in an eloquent strain, to the princes of Europe, in behalf of the imperial city, threatened by the Turks ; but the hour was come in which her faithlessness should receive retribution. The prodigies of valor of Hunniades and of Ladialas at Warna were to no purpose, and the victorious Ottoman entered Constantinople in triumph. When his hosts advanced to Belgrade, and all Europe trembled at their approach, Calixtus III. sought to rouse all to the rescue ; and invited the faithful by the repetition of the angelic salutation, thrice each day, at the sound of the bell, to implore help for their Hungarian brethren. The victory, which appeared miraculous, may well be ascribed to these prayers, no less than to the piety of St. John Capistran, or the valor of Hunniades, who share its praise.

The efforts of Pius II. against the Turks, before and after his elevation to the Pontificate, deserve the admiration and gratitude of Chris-

\* Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* l. xii. p. 403.

tian Europe. At his earnest solicitation, an assembly of the representatives of the various States, was held at Mantua, at which he presided, and in energetic language described the ravages of the enemy in Bosnia and Greece, and their advances, like a spreading flame, on Italy, Germany and all Europe. He declared that he would not leave Mantua, until he received from all the princes and States pledges of their devotedness to the common cause; adding that if he were forsaken by the Christian powers, he would advance alone to the combat, and die in defending the independence of Europe and the Church. "The language of Pius II.," says Michaud, "was full of religion, and his religion full of patriotism. When Demosthenes and the Greek orators mounted the rostrum to urge their fellow citizens to defend the liberty of Greece against the aggressions of Philip, or the invasions of the great king, they doubtless spoke more eloquently, but they were not inspired by higher interests, or more exalted motives."\* The frontiers of Illyricum were soon laid waste: the isles of the Archipelago and Ionian sea owned the Turkish power: and the dangers of Italy and all Europe became daily more imminent. Pius, although bending under the weight of years, resolved to go at the head of the Christian army, and like Moses, to lift his hands in prayer for the people of God in the hour of conflict. "What war," he cried, "was ever more just and necessary? The Turks attack all that is dear to us, all that Christians hold sacred. As men, can you be without sympathy for your fellow-mortals? As Christians, religion commands you to relieve your brethren. If you are unmoved by the calamities of others, take compassion on yourselves. You imagine that you are safe, because you are far from danger: to-morrow the sword may be raised over your own heads. If you neglect to succor those who stand before you exposed to the enemy, those who are in your rear may abandon you in the struggle."† The heroic Pontiff in June 1464 left his capital for Ancona, on his way to the scene of danger; but a fever, which the fatigues of the journey aggravated, soon brought him to the end of his earthly career in that city. His last words were an earnest exhortation to the Cardinals to pursue the work for which he had sacrificed his life. Paul II. endeavored in vain to enkindle the zeal of Christian princes for the enterprise, and gave to the brave Scanderberg a sword and pecuniary aid. Sixtus IV. displayed like zeal, with somewhat greater success, and sent a small fleet, with the Venetian and Neapolitan navy to the coasts of Ionia and Pamphylia, in order to compel

\* *Histoire des Croisades* l. xx. p. 373.

† *Ib.* p. 378.

**Mahomet II.** to retire from Europe, to the defence of his own possessions. When Otranto had fallen beneath the Ottoman arms, the Pontiff assembled around him the ambassadors of all the Christian powers, and concerted with them measures of prompt defence for the other cities of Italy and Europe. Even Alexander VI. earnestly solicited the princes to unite in repelling the common enemies of the Christian faith. A crusade was decreed in the fifth council of Lateran, commenced by Julius II., and terminated under Leo X. Soliman took Belgrade in 1521, the year of Leo's death, and a short time afterwards, the isle of Rhodes, defended in vain with astonishing valor by the knights of St. John. Bude fell in 1523 after the direful battle of Mohas.

When Clement VII. was a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, and the troops of Charles V. occupied his capital, he did not cease to interest himself for the safety of Europe from the attacks of the Turk. "From the prison in which the emperor detained him," Michaud observes, "Clement VII. watched for the defence of Christian Europe: his legates journeyed to Hungary, to exhort the Hungarians to fight for God and their country. The active solicitude of the Pope sought to raise enemies to the Turks even in the East, and among unbelievers. Acomet, who in Egypt had shaken off the yoke of the Porte, received encouragement from the court of Rome. A legate of the Pope promised him the support of the Western Christians. The sovereign Pontiff maintained constant relations on all the frontiers and in all the provinces of the Turkish empire, in order to become acquainted with the designs and preparations of the sultans of Constantinople. It may not be useless to observe, that most of the predecessors of Clement, as well as he, had employed great diligence to discover the plans of the infidels. Thus the heads of the Church did not limit their efforts to the rousing of Christians to defend themselves on their own territory, but, like vigilant sentinels, kept their eyes incessantly fixed on the enemies of Christianity, to warn Europe of the dangers by which it was menaced."† "When the emperor had loosed the chains of Clement VII. the holy Pontiff consigned to oblivion the outrages which he had suffered, and occupied himself with the safety of the German empire, which was about to be attacked by the Turks. In the diets of Augsburg and Spire, the legate of the Pope endeavored, in the name of religion, to awake the ardor of the Germans for their own defence."‡ Whilst Luther paradoxically denounced opposition to the Turks as resistance to the Divine will, the Pontiff continued to provide for the

\* Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, l. xx. p. 378.

† Ibidem p. 464.

‡ Ibidem.



safety of the Christian commonwealth. The army of the Sultan was at the gates of Vienna, and Clement VII. seeing no human hope remaining, appealed, not in vain, to the God of hosts. Famaugusta and Nicosia, in the isle of Cyprus, subsequently fell into the power of the Turks, and the butchery of their brave defenders followed the capture. The holy Pontiff, Pius V. had succeeded in forming a league with the republic of Venice, and with Philip II. of Spain, to aid the island: but the fleet reached its destination after the triumph of the Turk. To this fleet, however, of which the Pontifical navy formed a considerable portion, the glory was reserved of giving a fatal blow to Turkish aggression. In the gulph of Lepanto, where Augustus and Antony had contended for the empire of Rome, the naval battle was fought between the Christians and the Turks. The flag of St. Peter which John of Austria, the High Admiral of the fleet, had received from the hands of Pius V. floated aloft, and was hailed with joyous shouts by the Christian combatants, who cast themselves on their knees to implore the aid of heaven, ere they raised their arms to engage in battle. 200 Turkish vessels, captured, burnt or sunk, were the result of a naval contest, such as the world had never before witnessed, and which virtually decided the great struggle between Mahomedanism and Christendom. The efforts of Saint Pius, and perhaps still more his prayers, obtained this victory.

In the decline of the seventeenth century, Dalmatia and Candia were attacked by the Turks, and Hungary, Moravia, and Austria invaded. The voice of Alexander VII. was raised to urge the Christian princes to unite in repelling them. The emperor Leopold fled from his capital in dismay. The Pope sent soldiers and money to his aid, and shared with the king of France, and other confederates, the glory of a decisive victory obtained on the plains of St. Gothard. When Candia had fallen under the yoke, the Pontiff again addressed the Christian States, and especially the heroic king of Poland, John Sobieski, to check the insolence of the triumphant foe. Vienna was soon rescued from the 300,000 Musulmen that surrounded it, by the valiant though comparatively small host, on the memorable 13th September, 1683. The Venetian republic concurred with the Pontiff, and the banners of St. Peter and St. Mark waved in triumph on the ramparts of Coron, Navarino, Patras, Napoli de Romagna, Corinth, Athens, and throughout the Archipelago. Clement XI. in 1716 made great contributions in money, and sent troops to aid the Christians in Hungary, assailed by Achmet III., and exhorted the Christian States to do in like manner. The victory of prince Eugene at Peter—Waradin, and the

recovery of Belgrade, filled the Pontiff with joy for the success of the Christian arms, to which he himself had so effectually contributed.

I have rapidly reviewed the efforts made by the Popes during six centuries for the relief of the Eastern Christians and for the safety of the European nations. Their views were evidently more enlarged than those of the various princes, and their sympathy for the suffering Christians of the East was not less admirable than their vigilance for the independence of Europe. Their policy was of no narrow selfish kind. With scrupulous fidelity they employed in those just enterprises whatever the charity of the faithful committed to their dispensation, and generally added much from their own resources.\* From those wars they sought no augmentation of territory. To the crusaders they willingly left the spoils and honors of war, and the conquered country: and they often sought to allure the infidels to the faith by the assurance that no sacrifice of temporal interests was desired at their hands: "We seek not your kingdom, but yourselves," said Gregory XI. to the caliph of Bagdad, and to the sovereigns of Cairo and Damascus: "We do not wish to lessen your honors, or power: our most earnest desire is to raise you above this world; and to ensure your happiness here and hereafter."† With these elevated views they continued their endeavors in the cause of humanity and religion, and incessantly opposed Turkish aggression. The papacy in those ages, as has been well observed, "was constantly endeavoring to advance the borders of the Christian world—to reclaim the heathen barbarism of the north of Europe—or to repel the dangerous aggressions of Mahommedanism."‡

The crusades against the Moors of Spain sprang from the same principles as the Eastern crusades, and to them, as well as to the chivalry of the religious orders, Spain owes her liberty. "The celebrated victory of Toulouse obtained over the Moors, was the fruit of a crusade published throughout Europe, and especially in France, by order of the Sovereign Pontiff. The expeditions beyond the seas were useful to the Spaniards, inasmuch as they kept within their own territory the Saracens of Egypt and Syria, who might otherwise have joined those of the African coast. The kingdom of Portugal was conquered and founded by the crusaders. The crusades gave rise to the orders of chivalry, which were formed in Spain, in imitation of those of Palestine, without whose aid the nation could not have conquered the Moors."§

\* See letter of Honorius III. apud Michaud vol. III. *Pièces justificatives*.

† Raynaldi, *Annales eccles. an. 1233*.

‡ London *Quarterly* for February 1836.

§ Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* l. xxii. p. 222.

I shall not dwell on the advantages to commerce, civilization, literature and freedom which were derived from the crusades, as Robertson has fully acknowledged.\* The all-absorbing thought of the Pontiffs was to rescue the suffering Christians and free the Holy Land, but they were never inattentive to the social advantages which might flow from these enterprises. The Pisans and other Italians in the commencement of the twelfth century formed an alliance with the people of Aragon, to conquer the Balearic isles, a crusade for that purpose being set on foot by Pascal II. Ship-building and navigation greatly advanced during the crusades, and the commercial republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, rose to great wealth and power. The barriers which separated the European nations, which had hitherto retained much of the estrangement from social intercourse characteristic of barbarous tribes, were broken down, and society was formed on a vast scale, on the great principles of a common faith and common interests: and the East and the West were bound together by hallowed ties. The serfs felt themselves made freed-men of the cross; the cities sprang up in every direction with municipal privileges bestowed by the feudal lords, in consideration of largesses made for the holy war, and their inhabitants during the long absence of the lords, acquired the habits and sense of freedom. The learned exiles from Greece and the manuscripts of the East transferred to Europe, laid the foundations of a new era in literature, which the enlightened Pope, Nicholas V. labored to accelerate.†

Some crusades were directed apparently to spread the Christian faith, such as those entrusted to the Teutonic knights, for reclaiming the people of Prussia, Lithuania, and various provinces of Northern Europe. In 1218, Honorius III. proclaimed a crusade for the reduction of the Prussians. The barbarous habits of the people, who were wont to destroy all female children, but one of each mother, and who otherwise committed unnatural excesses, are the most obvious justification of these wars; since writers on the laws of nations hold that a civilized people may interfere, even by force of arms, to prevent a continuance of savage outrages.‡ The Pope, besides, was solicited by a bishop already established in that country, who complained that the Christians were forced to apostatize, or violate their duty, and sought protection from these lawless acts. It is an acknowledged principle, declared in a council of Toledo, that force is not to

\* Survey of the State of Europe Sect. 1.

† See Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades* l. xxii.

‡ See Notes of Barbeyrac on Puffendorf *Du Droit de la Guerre* l. viii. ch. vi. See also Grotius *de Jure belli et pacis* l. ii. c. xx. n. 40.

be employed to compel any one to embrace Christianity ; and we cannot suppose that its use was sanctioned in those crusades, which were rather directed to protect the ministers and professors of the Gospel, and to prevent the wanton destruction of human life ; leaving at the same time to the choice of the individual to receive or reject the Christian doctrine or sacraments. The advantages accruing to society from them are acknowledged by those who condemn them.

Michaud says, " whilst condemning the excesses of the conquerors of Prussia, we must avow the advantages which Europe derived from their exploits and victories. A nation separated from all others by its manners and usages, was united with the Christian republic. Industry, law, religion, which followed in the footsteps of the conquerors, to mitigate the evils of war, spread their blessings on savage hordes. Many flourishing cities sprang up in the midst of the forests, and the oak of Romové, beneath which human victims used to be immolated, gave place to Churches wherein charity and all the evangelical virtues were taught."\* " The progress of Christianity, favored by the arms of the crusaders, tended to unite nations previously separated in manners and belief. The many calamities of those wars were not lost for Europe, which became altogether Christian ; and the revolutions through which it had passed, in the end gave to the human mind a direction more conformable to the laws of justice and reason, more favorable to the interests of humanity."† " At the sight of the cross in the midst of deserts and forests, there arose cities, Dantzick, Thorn, Elbing, Königsberg, &c. Finland, Lithuania, Pomerania, Silesia, became flourishing provinces under the standard of Christ : new nations sprang up, new states were formed, and to complete these prodigies, the arms of the crusaders marked the spot where was to be raised a monarchy unknown to the middle ages, and which in the present age has risen to the rank of the great powers of Europe. At the end of the thirteenth age, the provinces whence the Prussian monarchy derives its name and origin, were separated from Christendom by idolatry and savage habits : the conquest and civilization of these provinces were the result of the crusades."‡

Crusades were likewise proclaimed against the various Manichean sects, which under the name of Albigensians, and other denominations, infested Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. I do not undertake to justify them, and still less the cruelties which were often practised by those engaged in them. Still I am bold to say, that the

\* *Histoire des Croisades* l. xii. p. 514.

† *Ibidem* l. xvi. p. 458.

‡ *Ibidem* l. xxii. p. 205.

pernicious errors of those sects, which were directly levelled at the fundamental mysteries of Christianity, and the essential principles of morals, taken in conjunction with the general character of their professors, and the excesses and outrages which marked their progress, give to these crusades a coloring of right and justice. It has been said that these sects are falsely charged with immoral and anti-Christian principles, and that their excesses were provoked by the cruelty of their persecutors: but the evidence of contemporary witnesses is not slightly to be disregarded. Passing over for the present their principles, I beg attention to the charges of violence and bloodshed proffered against them. When Henry, a heretic of the twelfth century, entered a city, in modest garb and with an affected air of sanctity, he was wont to address the people in language which excited them to violence and bloodshed. The clergy were the immediate objects of popular fury. Their dwellings were plundered, and often razed to the ground, their persons maltreated, they were stoned, or assassinated, unless the nobles soon came to their relief.\* The third council of Lateran, held in 1179, under Alexander III., speaking of the various sects of that age, says: "they practise such violence against Christians as not to spare Churches or monasteries, widows or orphans, aged persons or children, age or sex, but heathen-like they destroy and devastate all things."† The venerable Peter, abbot of Cluni, assures us, that the followers of Peter de Bruis, "profaned the Churches, overturned the altars, burned the crosses, scourged the priests, imprisoned the monks, and forced them to marry, using threats and torments for that purpose."‡ Elsewhere he says: "Where they can, or dare, they plunder, strike, whip, sometimes even (nay oftentimes) kill, without discrimination of persons, ranks, or dignities." Hence he maintains that the swords of the knights Templars would be employed against them with equal justice as against pagan violence. "The Christian, who unjustly suffers violence from a Christian is no less to be defended by your counsels, and even by your swords, than a Christian should be who suffered like violence from a pagan."§ The desolation produced by the marauding troops was such that Stephen, Abbot of St. Genoveffa, as he passed through Tolouse, saw the ruins of Churches, which had been torn down, the remnants of other sacred edifices which the fire had destroyed, the very foundations dug up, and the beasts ranging freely where the dwellings of men had lately been.|| Of the Coterelli, who infested the pro-

\* Fleury, hist. l. lxi. §. xxiv.

† Can. ult.

‡ Bibl. Clun. p. 1122.

§ Petr. Clun. l. vi. ep. xxvii.

|| Steph. Tornac. ep. 75 al. 91, apud Fleury l. lxxiii. §. xxxvi.

vince of Berry, Antonine, quoted by Baronius, relates, that they devastated the country, pillaging it, and dragging the inhabitants into captivity, violating their wives in their presence, burning the Churches, insulting and beating the priests, often unto death, trampling under foot the Divine Eucharist, breaking the chalices in pieces, and applying the sacred linens to profane uses."\* The Count de Foix is related by Peter of Vaux-Cernay to have attacked monasteries and pillaged them, filled religious houses with courtesans, treacherously assassinated many of the faithful, and put to death those who surrendered on a promise of life being spared. He treacherously seized, and after a mock trial, at which Raymond, count of Toulouse presided, hung Baldwin, brother of this count, whose barbarity is sufficiently manifest from this fact.† Bernard Casvacio, lord of Doma, and his wife treated the Catholics with the utmost cruelty: 150 persons of both sexes were found at Sarlatum, whose eyes had been scooped out by the tyrant: the wife caused the breasts of the women to be cut off, that they might not give suck, and their thumbs cut off, that they might not procure support by their labor.‡ Lawless fury generally characterized all the sectaries of those ages. A sect called shepherds, under the guidance of a Hungarian apostate from the Cistercian order, assumed to themselves sacred functions, and declaimed against the clergy. Queen Blanche suffered them to pass through Paris without molestation, regarding their exhibitions rather as evidences of folly and delusion, than as crimes threatening the peace of society. Emboldened by this toleration, they went to Orleans, and in despite of the bishop harangued the people. The bishop warned the clergy, under pain of anathema, not to intervene at their meetings: but some, prompted by curiosity, disregarded the prohibition; and a student, unable to repress his indignation, contradicted the preacher, and charged him with deceiving the simple-minded people. The words had scarcely escaped his lips, when his head was cleft in two with a hatchet in the hands of one of the shepherds. A general attack was then made on the clergy: their dwellings were broken into and plundered: their books committed to the flames: their persons wounded: several of them killed, or thrown into the Loire. 25 perished on this occasion. Above 100,000 of these shepherds traversed France, spreading disorder and desolation in their course. Their arrival at Bourges was signalized by murder, arson, and pillage:

\* Apud Baron. an. 1183, p. 769.

† Histoire des Croisades contre les Albigeois par Barrau vol. ii. p. 66.

‡ Raynald. an. 1214.

which provoked the people to rise against them, and engage in a bloody contest, wherein the banditti were dispersed.

In order to understand why crusades were proclaimed in those ages against sects committing acts of violence, we must remember that there was as yet no standing army in the various nations of Europe, and that there was scarcely any code of laws, or tribunal of justice. The vassals of each baron followed their lord to the field : but in case of lawless violence, such as that of the sects, which did not directly interest a potentate, there was no means of repressing it, save the summoning of volunteers; and there was no rallying power so great as the standard of the cross, and no allurements so attractive as the Indulgences of the Church. Hence the third council of Lateran, premising the words of Leo, wherein he declares that the Church is content with the priestly judgment, and shuns sanguinary vengeance, did not hesitate to exhort the faithful to rally to the defence of the sacred virgins, and holy places, violently assailed : "We enjoin," the fathers say, "on all the faithful for the remission of their sins, to oppose manfully such havoc, and defend with arms the Christian people."\*

The great crusade against the Albigensians was proclaimed in consequence of the assassination of the Pope's legate. For its horrid scenes I offer no apology. It is not fair, however, to charge them on the Pontiffs, who, in encouraging the faithful to necessary defence, and to the protection of the defenceless, cannot be held responsible for the excesses committed under excited feeling. The outrages of the Albigensians must be likewise considered. Fifteen cities infested by them rose suddenly on the Catholic garrisons, and on the Catholics dwelling among them, and made a general massacre, by way of retaliation, for the sack of the city of Toulouse.† Of the spirit which animated the Popes, I find an evidence in the instructions of Gregory IX. to the commander of his forces, in a crusade for the defence of his own territory, or for just retaliation. "The mighty Lord," he says, "wishes the liberty of His Church to be maintained, in such a manner, that neither humility prevent necessary defence, nor the defence go beyond the bounds of humility. Whence it follows, that although the defender of ecclesiastical liberty sometimes, but rarely, and unwillingly, uses the material sword against tyrants and persecutors of the Church, without forgetting the ordinary humility, he does not, however, use it in such a way as to thirst for blood, or desire to be enriched to the detriment of others,

\* §. xxvii. col. 1683.

† Histoire des Croisades par Barron vol. ii. p. 274.

but he rather seeks to recall those that are in error to the path of truth, and with all meekness to preserve them when recalled in their liberty, Who can bear with patience that a man whose life could be preserved, should be slain or mutilated by the army of Jesus Christ, and that the image of the Creator Himself should be thus disfigured, as we have been informed, has taken place in these days, which has grieved us to the heart? Brother, it is not expedient for us who invite the faithful and the erring children to the breast of our Mother the Church, to provoke them by outrages, and exult in the effusion of blood! God forbid that the Roman Church, which is wont to rescue from the sword of justice criminals worthy of death, should slay or mutilate her children, whom she is bound to gather under her wings!"\* The Pope ordered that the lives of the prisoners taken in war should be spared; "We have thought it necessary to entreat and exhort you, and by our apostolic writings strictly to enjoin on you, to cause such as the right hand of Him who exalts us may have delivered into the hands of the army of Jesus Christ, to be carefully guarded, without any slaying, maiming, or mutilation of limbs, which we utterly abhor, that so in captivity they may enjoy more liberty, than when under Egyptian bondage, in the name of liberty, they obeyed Pharaoh and his ministers, the officers of his army."†

I shall not dissemble that St. Peter Damiani sharply censured the use of arms by bishops, for the defence of their temporal possessions, and did not even spare the holy Pope Leo IX. whose example was objected to him. "Charity and patience," he remarks, "were the virtues whereby the holy apostles established the Church, and the holy martyrs, her defenders, triumphantly endured every variety of torments, and death itself. Since, then, a private individual is not allowed to take arms in defence of the faith, which is the vital principle of the Universal Church, there can be no just reason for using them: how then do mail-clad armies unsheath the sword for the earthly and transitory possessions of the Church? Holy men when in power do not at all put to death heretics and idolaters, but rather willingly undergo death for the Christian faith."‡

Crusades were sometimes set on foot for purposes less directly connected with religion, and more immediately allied with liberty and humanity. Eccelino de Romano, a monster well described by a Pope as having the heart of a wild beast in a human body, oppressed many cities of Lombardy, and committed atrocities that cannot be

\* Appd Fleury lxxix. §. liv.

† Raynald. an. 1229.

‡ Ep. ad Firminum episcop.



mentioned without horror. "A crusade against him for the cause of humanity and liberty, was proclaimed in all the republics of Italy : the eloquence of the sacred orators easily moved the multitude ; but what especially inflamed the zeal and ardor of the people, was the sight of the sufferers whom Eccelino had mutilated and tortured, and the groans and wailings of families from which the tyrant had chosen his victims. In several provinces of Italy the inhabitants of the cities and of the country took up arms in defence of religion and their country, anxious to obtain the civic crown, if they triumphed over tyranny, the crown of martyrdom, if they fell in the struggle."\*

At the voice of the Pope, who was then the actual head of civil society, men gathered from every quarter, encouraged by the assurance given them that the exposure of life was acceptable to heaven, and would be rewarded with the treasures of the Church. Sectional distinctions were forgotten, and the volunteers of the cross rallied for the combat in immense numbers. I cannot dissemble that these acts of the Pontiff calling the faithful to the field of battle, are not those which I delight to contemplate. In justice, however, to great and good men, I must express my conviction, that the awful disorders of the times, and the disorganized state of society, imposed this most painful necessity. Happily that state of things has passed away, never more, I trust, to return, and the Pope for ages has appeared only as a minister of peace, inculcating the truths and precepts of God from the high eminence on which he is placed.

‡ Histoire des Croisades l. xvi. p. 456.

## CHAPTER XX.

## INQUISITION.

THE Popes are charged with originating, sustaining, and propagating the tribunal of the Inquisition, an institution which is generally believed to be of a dark and sanguinary character. I think it important to examine how far this grave charge can be sustained.

The Inquisition is not directed to the punishment of heretics, but rather to their conversion; yet it is most commonly regarded in the former light, because such as were convicted and found obstinate, were delivered over to the civil power, to undergo the sentence of the law. It is necessary, therefore, to consider, whence the laws first emanated, by which heresy was declared a crime against society, and subjected to civil penalties. Long before the Bishop of Rome exercised temporal power, or directed, or influenced civil legislation, Christian emperors subjected heretics to the severest punishment. They do not seem to have acted on the abstract principle that heresy in itself is a crime, but rather to have been impelled by the consideration of the disorders produced in society by religious strife. An avowed enemy of the Inquisition, D. Antonio Puigblanch, observes that "the first edict issued by Theodosius against the Donatists in the year 382, is founded on the many acts of violence they had committed, and which undoubtedly would have continued, if the authorities had not applied an efficacious remedy."\* "The conduct of the Donatists towards the Catholics was at length rendered so criminal, and the persecutions excited against them so cruel, that it became necessary to recur to the protection of the laws, in order to withhold men, who, impelled by a furious passion which they termed religious zeal, had actually subverted the order of society. They not only forcibly re-baptized the Catholics, but they also sacked and demolished their temples, assassinated the clergy and bishops at the very altars, burned out the eyes of others with quicklime, and even prohibited bread being sold them in the public places." Fines, confiscation of property, civil disabilities, and banishment were

\* Inquisition Unmasked ch. II. p. 61.

decreed by Theodosius against the Donatists; whilst the Manicheans were subjected to capital punishment, their blasphemies being deemed more insulting to the Deity, and their principles more directly subversive of society. Valentinian and Marthian subjected all heretical teachers to capital punishment.\* Justinian revived the distinction between Manicheans and other sectaries, leaving the former liable to death, and visiting the rest with confiscation of property, banishment and infamy.† Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius made a special declaration, that “under the name of heretics are included, and to the enactments made against them must be subject all who are discovered to dissent, even slightly, from the judgment and rule of the Catholic religion.”‡ Priscillian, a Spaniard, infected with Manicheism, suffered death by order of the emperor Maximus, according to this rigorous legislation; but St. Martin of Tours strongly reprobated the intemperate zeal of two bishops, Ithacius and Idacius, who prosecuted the unfortunate heresiarch before the imperial tribunal. St. Leo seems to have approved of the severity of the laws, although he declared the aversion of the Church to sanguinary measures. “Our fathers,” he says, “in whose time this abominable heresy broke forth, were earnest in their efforts, throughout the whole world, that the impious frenzy should be banished from the entire Church; and justly so, since even the princes of the world detested this sacrilegious madness to such a degree, that, with the sword of the public laws, they cut off its author with many of his followers. For they perceived that all regard for probity was destroyed, all bonds of marriage were dissolved, and divine and humane laws were at once overturned, if such men professing such errors were allowed to live any where. That severity was for a long time serviceable to the lenity of the Church, which, although, being contented with the sentence of the priesthood, she shrinks from sanguinary vengeance, is, nevertheless, aided by the severe enactments of Christian princes; since those who fear corporal punishment, sometimes have recourse to the spiritual remedy.”§

The errors of the Manicheans re-appeared in the West in the eleventh and following centuries, under a variety of forms and denominations, and aroused the zeal of the Popes and prelates, and of temporal princes. In the year 1184, in a council held at Verona, at which the emperor Frederick I. assisted, a decree was enacted by Pope

\* Cod. l. i. tit. v. 8 de hæreticis.

† Ibid. 11 12 Cod. Just. l. i. tit. v. n. 19.

‡ Cod. l. i. tit. v. 2 de hæreticis.

§ Ep. xv. ad Turribium, Asturicensem episcopum.

Lucius, with the advice of the bishops, condemning with anathema all heresies, especially the various forms of Manicheism. It is added, that "inasmuch as the severity of ecclesiastical discipline is sometimes disregarded by such as know not its power," clergymen convicted of heresy should be deposed and degraded, and "delivered to the secular authority to undergo the punishment, which they deserve: unless the culprit, when detected, abjure his heresy before the bishop of the place. Let the same be observed, if the culprit be a layman, and let him be punished by the secular judge, unless he abjure—and let such as relapse after abjuration—be left to the secular tribunal, and not further heard."\* By abandoning the convict to the secular power, the Pope virtually sanctioned the legal punishment, whilst in offering pardon to the penitent, he was not unmindful of the mercy which became his office.

In this decree some discover the germs of the Inquisition; but it is agreed that the officers called *quæsitores fidei*, or Inquisitors, were first appointed by Innocent III. some years afterwards. To oppose the various sects of Manicheans, which desolated the south of France, this energetic Pontiff at the commencement of the thirteenth century, despatched two Cistercian monks, Guy and Ranier, charged to inquire diligently after all persons suspected of heresy, and empowered to absolve the penitent from ecclesiastical censures. These Inquisitors, and others subsequently charged with a similar commission, were not clothed with any civil authority, and employed no coercion; but sought to win the sectaries by preaching, prayer and patience. That they did not pronounce sentence of death is evident from a canon of the council of Lateran, at which Innocent presided, forbidding clergymen to write letters or documents in capital cases.† They, however, excited the zeal of the civil magistrates to use their authority in repressing the prevailing errors.

It were in vain to deny that the Popes, in appointing Inquisitors, had ultimately in view to suppress heresy by the aid of the civil power, when milder means had proved unsuccessful, and that they exhorted, and, by ecclesiastical censures, compelled princes to put in execution coercive laws. It must, however, be observed that in this respect they acted in conformity with a sentiment at that time generally received, namely that heresy was treason against the Christian commonwealth, and that they were impelled by the enormities of which the sectaries were guilty. It should also be remembered that they wished these

\* Conc. Veron. t. x, Conc. p. 1737.

† Can. xviii. Conc. Let. iv.

laws to be enforced only after every religious effort had failed. Their rigor is certainly less revolting than the intolerance of the Reformers, who, whilst they proclaimed the right of private judgment, maintained that dissenters from their opinions should be punished as heretics, and in some instances urged their execution. Luther, as Limborch observes, "was, indeed, against putting heretics to death, but for almost all other punishments that the civil magistrate could inflict, and agreeably to this opinion, he persuaded the Electors of Saxony, not to tolerate in their dominions the followers of Zuinglius, in the opinion of the Sacrament, because he esteemed the Real Presence an essential or fundamental article of faith.—John Calvin was well known to be in principle and practice a persecutor. So entirely was he in the persecuting measures, that he wrote a treatise in defence of them, maintaining the lawfulness of putting heretics to death. And that by heretics he meant such who differed from himself, is evident from his treatment of Castellio and Servetus."\* His followers, above a century afterwards, embodied the principle in their solemn confession of faith, wherein they say, that "the civil magistrate hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed,"† in proof whereof references are given at the bottom of the page to texts of the old law, which prescribe banishment, confiscation of goods, imprisonment and death. The National Covenant of the Kirk of Scotland, republished in this city, in the year 1838 ! approves of the sanguinary code against Catholics, and contains a solemn oath of the members of the League, to resist all errors and corruptions according to their vocation, to the uttermost of that power that God had put into their hands !

The prevailing sentiment of our age is, that heresy is not punishable with temporal penalties of any kind, which are to be inflicted only for overt offences against public order. This is plainly in opposition to the jurisprudence of the middle ages, and to the principles on which the Inquisition was founded : but there is a point of approximation which may render the legislation of former times less abhorrent to modern feelings. It will be easily conceded by the most liberal men, that wherever, under the cloak of conscience and religion, the order of society is disturbed by acts of violence, these are punishable by the civil authority : and it will be found on examination that it was generally in such circumstances the severity of those times was exercised.

The appointment of Inquisitors by Innocent III. seems to have been designed to prevent civil wars, on the score of religion. The outrages

\* History of the Inquisition by Philip a Limborch. Introd. p. 62.

† Westminster Confession ch. xxiii.

of armed banditti could only be met by force of arms ; but the horrors of sanguinary conflicts must afflict the Christian heart. The Pontiff hoped that by despatching commissaries with extensive powers of pardon, thousands would be won to religion, who might long resist every violent effort to subdue them ; and he thought that the obstinate dogmatizers might be reached individually by the action of the civil power. It was known that many were detained among the sectaries by the fear of vengeance, should they boldly avow their Catholic belief ; and there was reason to believe that others, under the profession of Catholicity, concealed the worst errors. The Inquisitors were expected to encourage the former to a simultaneous return to the Church, whereby timorous individuals would be sustained, and to raise the mask which covered the most dangerous enemies of religion. Innocent conceived that, by the vigilance and zeal of these commissaries, the machinations of sectaries would be discovered and defeated, and that unity and order would be gradually restored, partly by persuasion, and partly by fear of the severity of the laws, which, however, might not be exercised, except in cases of a desperate character. Wherever in the documents of those ages princes are enjoined "*persequi hæreticos*," legal prosecution is only meant, that is to say, the execution of the laws, after every effort on the part of the Church to dispose them for experiencing clemency had proved useless.

The Inquisitors shared the sentiment of their age, and followed up its legislation, by handing over apostates to the civil power. They did not, however, thirst for human blood, nor act indiscriminately and hastily, but sought by persuasion, and every mild influence to gain the culprits. During a long period they were members of religious orders, chiefly Dominicans and Franciscans, men advanced in age and of unblemished reputation, whose mild and peaceful habits rendered them unlikely to delight in blood. The most beautiful examples of a Christian spirit have been left by several of them. St. Peter *de Castro novo*, a monk of Citeaux, and legate of the Pope, was of their number. Far from desiring the death of others, he expressed his desire to sacrifice his own life. Addressing his companions he said : " We accomplish nothing for the cause of Jesus Christ in this country, unless one of our preachers suffer death in defence of the faith. God grant that I may be the first to fall a victim of religion beneath the sword of the persecutor ! " An assassin, hired by the perfidious count of Toulouse, plunged a poniard into the side of the holy man, who, as he fell, cried : " May God forgive you, my friend, as I forgive you ! " \* St.

\* Fleury Hist. Eccl. l. lxxvii. §. xxxvi.

Peter of Verona, born of heretical parents, and distinguished for his zeal as Inquisitor, asked daily of God, whilst elevating the host, the grace to die for the faith. On Palm Sunday, in the year 1252, addressing above ten thousand persons, he foretold his death, for which the heretics had conspired. As he fell by the hand of an assassin, he commenced the recital of the Apostles' creed. To his prayers may be ascribed the conversion of the murderer, who entered as a lay brother into the order to which the Saint belonged, and ended his days in penance.

In 1244, (or 1225, according to others) the emperor Frederick II. gave the highest civil sanction to the acts of the Inquisitors, by decreeing that their sentence should be final, and commanded the judges throughout the empire to take charge of persons condemned as obstinate heretics, and to imprison them until execution. He further ordered that the Patarenes, by which name Manicheans were designated, should on conviction be delivered to the flames. This act of the emperor revived and put in force the ancient laws contained in the Theodosian code, and surrounded the Inquisition with those terrific attributes which cause it to be regarded with so much horror. The Inquisitors, in virtue of the Papal delegation, were heralds of truth, and ministers of reconciliation : but those who rejected pardon were thenceforward liable to the severest exercise of civil authority. This may be considered the date of the Inquisition as a tribunal, although it had not, for a long period afterwards, a fixed and permanent form. In 1238, Gregory IX. authorized the prior of the Friars preachers in Lombardy to appoint some members of his order to preach to the sectaries, and to absolve them, if penitent ; but otherwise to proceed according to the Papal constitution, published two years before, which directed the abandonment of the impenitent to the civil power. From that time the friars of this order exercised in those parts of Italy the office of Inquisitors, and pronounced judgment ; but the civil authority alone decreed and executed the sentence of death. Innocent IV. in 1243 appointed Inquisitors for all Italy, except Naples.\*

At the instance of secular princes Inquisitors were appointed for various other countries. The count of Toulouse introduced them into his dominions in 1229 to prevent a renewal of the civil war which had raged during twenty years ; James, king of Aragon, established them in his kingdom in 1232, by the advice of St. Raymond of Pennafort, and in the district of Narbonne, subject to his crown, in 1243.† St. Louis

\* *Constit. Ad extirpanda inter ep. Innoc. iv.*

† *Conet. Innoc. iv. Inter alia. t. xxiii. Mansi p. 568.*

caused them to be appointed throughout France in 1255; Premislaus, king of Bohemia, procured the like appointment for his kingdom in 1257; and the republic of Venice had them in 1289.

The concurrence of the Popes and temporal princes in the establishment of the Inquisition, may give occasion to doubt whether it should be designated an ecclesiastical or civil tribunal. From the chief matter of its cognizance, which is heresy, and from the character of the judges, it is plainly an ecclesiastical tribunal; but as such it has never issued a capital sentence, much less executed it. From the moment we ascribe to it the execution of convicts, we must consider it as a royal or civil tribunal, which alone can use the sword.

The great and distinctive characteristic of the Inquisition, as an ecclesiastical tribunal, was its endeavor to reclaim heretics by persuasion and the assurance of pardon. Whilst civil officers seek out culprits to punish them, the Inquisitors sought their conversion, in order to shelter them from the severity of the laws. The mode of proceeding prescribed to the Inquisitors in the council of Beziers, in 1246, by order of Innocent IV., and thenceforward observed, was the following. The clergy and people were assembled in an appointed place, and after a discourse by the Inquisitor, in which he explained his mission, he invited all within a certain time, called *time of grace*, to come forward spontaneously, and acknowledge, and abjure their errors. All who complied with the invitation were exempt from capital punishment, perpetual imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation of property. Those who did not avail themselves of this opportunity, were to be summoned by name, and informed of the charges advanced against them, and allowed the liberty of defence, and the time necessary to prepare it. If they could not rebut the charge, a sentence of condemnation followed. Avowed heretics were to be secretly examined in presence of a select number of prudent Catholics, and by mildness induced to abjure their errors. If obstinate, they themselves were to state their heresy publicly, and a sentence of condemnation was to be pronounced in the presence of the civil magistrates, to whom they were to be handed over. Relapsed heretics and fugitives from justice, and such as did not appear within the time of grace, and those who suppressed the truth, were liable to perpetual imprisonment. This punishment, however, could after some time be remitted with the advice of the bishop, on receiving security for the performance of suitable penance. Such as were not imprisoned, were to enlist for a time in the crusades, and on Sundays and festivals to appear in Church in the garb of



penitents. Heretics condemned to death, or to perpetual imprisonment, forfeited their property to the public treasury.\*

Although no one suffered death by the decree of the Inquisitors, it cannot be questioned that many, convicted by their sentence, perished in the flames by the action of the civil authority; and the odium of these executions is necessarily shared by them. For my own part, I am horrified at these awful exhibitions, whatever occasion may have been afforded for them by the unhappy sufferers. During a century such tragic spectacles were from time to time renewed in Germany and other places, but God be thanked! the following century saw the rapid decline of this violence. Puigblanch says that "in Italy and in Rome itself, the Inquisition soon declined."\* Llorente, another enemy, admits that "in the fourteenth century it had cooled considerably, and that in the fifteenth century it was altogether weak."† Far from inflicting capital punishment, or concurring to its infliction, confiscation of property was not enforced.‡ It had lasted in the kingdom of Aragon for above a century, until the death of Nicholas Eymerick in 1393. "Upon his death the Inquisition remained in force in that kingdom; but gradually sunk of itself, upon the entire extinction of the Waldenses."—In Burgundy "this tribunal by degrees came also to nothing; because when the Valdenses were extinguished, there were

\* In Andalusia the Inquisitors proceeded in the same way: "Publicaban en cada pueblo un edicto, titulado *de Gracia*, senalando cierto termino dentro del quale pudiesen delatarse voluntariamente qualesquiera hereges ante el inquisidor, baxo la seguridad de que se les absolveria y reconciliaria con penitencia correspondiente, sin confiscacion de bienes ni carcel perpetua, en inteligencia de que los que no apronechasen el termino serian procesados conforme á las bulas y constituciones del Santo Oficio." *Memoria Historica* p. 56. This mode was also observed in the edict published at Madrid, April 5, 1815, which allowed the whole remainder of the year as a term of grace.

\* *Inquisition Unmasked*, p. 13.

† *La Inquisicion antigua—se gobernó con ordenanzas que, si bien al principio produxeron efectos muy terribles, decayeron de su vigor primitivo en el siglo décimo quarto, y mucho mas en el siglo decimo quinto.* *Memoria Historica acerca del tribunal de la Inquisicion*, por Don Juan Antonio Llorente, Madrid 1812.

‡ "*La Inquisicion antigua—se entibió en el decimo quarto, y fue debilitada en el decimo quinto.—Por eso no es extrano que los inquisidores—omitiesen incluir en las penas la confiscacion en las pocas causas que formarian, supuesta la decadencia del zelo.*" *Ib.* p. 114.

no others for the Inquisition to proceed against.”\* In France generally “it dropped of itself for want of heresies to proceed against.”†

Inquisitors were occasionally appointed, from the time of Innocent III., and rules were prescribed for their proceedings, but the Inquisition itself, as a permanent and organized tribunal, scarcely existed before the close of the fifteenth century. As such, it is strictly a Spanish institution, owing its origin to the solicitude of Ferdinand for the preservation of the national independence against the secret machinations of false professors of Christianity. After a struggle of seven centuries the Spanish arms had finally triumphed over the Moors, and the union of Castille and Aragon in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, with the conquest of Granada, gave a national character to the united kingdoms. Puigblanch admits, that “it is indeed true that the Moors of Granada had in agitation several years before to deliver up the kingdom to the Barbary powers, or to the Grand Turk.”‡ The Jews were scarcely less formidable than the followers of Mahomet. Numerous, wealthy, and highly influential, they were dreaded by the Christians, whom they hated; and insurrection and carnage had been already in 1391 the results of these antipathies. There appeared no security for the Spanish monarchy as long as these discordant elements were conflicting within it. The conversion of multitudes to the faith did not remove the causes of apprehension, since many who had approached the baptismal font, and received the Christian mysteries, were found secretly to retain their Jewish observances, or Mahomedan superstitions. Their simulated professions caused more alarm than the undisguised avowal of unbelief. Ferdinand conceived, that, by means of an ecclesiastical tribunal, the dissimulation of false professors could be discovered, and many might be gained over to truth by mild persuasion; and that the fear of royal vengeance would deter others from returning in secret to the superstitions which they had abjured. The event proved that his policy was correct, since, by the aid of the Inquisition, the integrity of Catholic faith was maintained, and the contrary errors rapidly disappeared. The strength of the monarchy grew with the unity of national belief, and the glory of Spain in literature, as well as in arms and enterprise, spread abroad in the reigns of Ferdinand, Charles V. and Philip II. which is admitted by the enemies of the institution to have been the golden age of the Spanish nation. I do not claim for the Inquisition the praise of these results, which I advert to, merely with a view to silence an oft-repeated calumny, that

\* Limborch, *History of the Inquisition* ch. xiv. p. 87.

† *Ibidem* ch. xxviii. p. 148.

‡ *Inquisition Unmasked*.

it crushed the energies, and blunted the faculties of the Spaniards, and of every other people among whom it was enacted.

Sixtus IV., yielding to the solicitations of Ferdinand, in the year 1478, issued a Constitution, whereby he authorized the erection of a supreme and subordinate tribunals of Inquisition throughout the kingdom of Spain, on a new plan. The Grand Inquisitor was appointed by the king, with the assent of the Pope, and was selected from the bishops. He was assisted by a council of eight, six of whom were secular priests, one Dominican friar, and one member of some other religious order in rotation.\* No person was ordinarily eligible under the age of forty :† but where knowledge and prudence were eminent, the age of thirty sufficed in Spain and Portugal. "The diocesan bishop also sends his coadjutor, or some other ecclesiastic, to the tribunal within his district, as his own representative, who acts in the quality of associate judge, jointly with those named by the Inquisitor General."‡ From the power of appointment given to the king, and from various special points of the organization of the tribunal, De Maistre§ and Ranke|| contend that it was essentially a royal institution. The royal character of the Spanish Inquisition was so well understood by the Neapolitans, that when, in the year 1547, Charles V. endeavored to introduce it, "the Neapolitans were so moved with the novelty of the thing, that they publicly declared that they would rather lose their lives than submit to the Inquisition ; and cried out that the extirpation of heresies belonged to the Pope and the ecclesiastical judges, and not to the temporal prince. When Pope Paul III. understood this, he declared by his Apostolic Bull, that the Inquisition against heretics, belonged to him and his judges, and not to any other."¶ Hence, Naples remained free from this tribunal. The efforts of Philip II. to introduce the tribunal, on the Spanish plan, into Milan, met with like opposition. "This attempt to introduce the Inquisition was looked on with such indignation at Milan, that the city broke out into an open sedition ; where the universal cry was, that it was insufferable tyranny

\* Puigblanch, in order to cast all the odium on the religious orders, introduces the friars every where in the plates which accompany his work, although he acknowledges that for three centuries the Inquisition had been entrusted to the secular clergy ! Inquisition Unmasked, ch. iv. p. 200.

† Cap. *Nolentes*. Clement.

‡ Inquisition Unmasked, Introd. p. 16.

§ *Lettres sur l' inquisition Espagnole* let. i. p. 12.

|| Turkish and Spanish Empires, Spanish Empire ch. iii.

¶ Limboreh, History of the Inquisition ch. xxvi. p. 143.

to impose on a free city the yoke of the Inquisition, which was introduced into Spain, to root out the Moors, and the wicked nation of the Jews, especially since, according to the most ancient practice of the Apostolic See, Inquisitors had been deputed into that province.”\*

The character of cruelty has been generally attached to the officers of the Spanish Inquisition, and, no doubt, some individuals deserved it, since Sixtus IV. communicated to Ferdinand complaints preferred against two Inquisitors, and removed by his own authority a third from office. But making allowance for occasional abuses and excesses, and admitting the severe features of the institution, I cannot easily persuade myself that it could have been sanguinary in its principle and general operation, without exciting universal horror, whereas its worst enemies avow that the religious unity and civil concord which it maintained, were the burthen of the panegyrics of national writers, during the whole period of its existence,† and St. Theresa, and St. Ignatius of Loyola, and other holy persons, commended its influence and results. It rose with the Spanish monarchy, and gave it strength and durability: it fell by the act of a foreign military despot, and by the conspiracy of men false to their country and religion. It requires no depth of understanding to perceive, that it was a Machiavelian stroke of policy to remove this guardian of the national faith, in order that with discordant sects and infidelity, disunion and strife might pervade the land, and Spaniards might lend a willing ear to the syren tones of the stranger, who, in the name of liberty, was seeking to enslave and oppress them.

It should not be forgotten that the Inquisition was not established with a view to force Jews, or other persons who had never professed the Catholic faith, to embrace it; but its operation was limited to apostates from the faith which they had once professed. Although this may not take away from it the entire odium of using constraint in matters of religion, it shews that the tribunal was not employed to spread Catholicity, but to restrain such as might be disposed to abjure it. The sectaries of the middle ages had once made profession of it, and the simulated profession of it by Jewish proselytes gave occasion to its introduction into Spain. By a special decree of Gregory XIII., Jews and all who were born and educated in heresy and schism, were de-

\* Limborch ch. xxvii. p. 147.

† Apenas se hallará un libro impreso en España desde Carlos Primero hasta nuestros días en que se cite sin elogio la Inquisición, directamente ó por incidencia; y por lo respectivo á los escritores de asuntos religiosos ó sus adherentes, parece que les han faltado siempre dignas expresiones para su encomio. Memoria Historica p. 1.

clared exempt from its authority. Apostates were considered as wantonly violating obligations which they had freely assumed by receiving baptism at an adult age, or which, if they had been baptized in infancy, they had subsequently recognised and confirmed, by their own free acts. Their errors were presumed to spring from perversity of will and corruption of heart, rather than from weakness of understanding. Much may be said against the justice of these presumptions, to which I allude merely with a view to mark the broad distinction constantly observed by this tribunal, between apostates, and those whose misfortune, rather than crime, it was deemed to be in error, or unbelief. Even in times when the Inquisition was in full operation "heretics were allowed, upon the account of commerce and trade, to dwell in the countries of the Catholics, upon this condition, that they should not be molested for any matter relating to religion and faith, unless they gave public offence; in which case they were to be punished in proportion to the scandal given, according to law."\* Many, no doubt, will deny the right of influencing religious opinions by allurements, or by terror, and will be disposed to regard the conformity produced in either way, as superficial and illusive; but as St. Augustine in his day testified that whole cities, Hippo among others, had passed sincerely from Donatism to the profession of the Catholic faith, under the terror of the Cesarean laws,† so history records the sincere and lasting conversion of thousands, who were terrified by the fear of civil punishment, and won by the proffer of pardon. 30,000 obtained pardon in Andalusia within the space of forty years, from 1481 to 1520, by availing themselves of the *time of grace*, and spontaneously abjuring their errors.‡ Whilst tribunals of justice punished crime in whatsoever way it came under their cognizance, the Inquisition took mercy as her first attribute, and encouraged penitence by pardon. Count De Maistre justly observes, that it was the only tribunal which bore in its banner, and in practice combined mercy with justice. "The Inquisition," he remarks, "is of its nature good, mild and conservative: such is the universal and indelible character of every ecclesiastical institution: you see it at Rome: you will see it wherever the Church has influence. If the civil power, adopting this institution, thinks proper for its own safety to render it more severe, the Church is not responsible."§

\* Limborch, History of the Inquisition l. ii. ch. xiv. p. 219.

† Aug. Ep. cxiii.

‡ Inquisition Unmasked ch. iv. p. 158.

§ Lettres sur l'Inquisition Espagnole par M. le Comte Joseph De Maistre. let. i. p. 6.

Philip II. in 1571 introduced the Inquisition into the American colonies of Spain, but the Indians were specially exempted from its jurisdiction. Flanders resisted its introduction by this monarch, as Naples had resisted Charles V. in a like attempt. The earnestness with which princes sought to establish the Inquisition, for the peace and consolidation of the monarchy, and the reluctance of the Pope to consent in circumstances wherein he deemed its operation to be too much under royal control, are remarkable in its introduction into Portugal. John III. "desired of Pope Clement VII. the holy tribunal of the Inquisition in his kingdom. And although this Pope, for a long while, and oftentimes refused it, through the vigorous endeavors of the Jews, who, to their utmost, opposed the royal petition.—Yet at length with difficulty he granted it in form of law, Jan. Cal. 16 1531." Such is the statement copied by Limborch from Sousa.

Inquisitors existed throughout Italy from the time of Innocent IV. but the occasions for the exercise of their authority had been rare, so that the institution was considered as defunct, and was said to be restored, when Paul III. in the year 1542, or 1545, organized the council, or congregation, called of the Supreme Inquisition. It consisted of six Cardinals, styled of the Holy Office, to whom St. Pius V. added two others. They are strictly an ecclesiastical tribunal, charged with the affairs regarding the integrity of faith throughout the world, who consequently examine and censure erroneous propositions, condemn and proscribe bad books, inflict ecclesiastical censures on clergymen convicted of error, and exercise a superintendence over the local tribunals of faith. In the Roman States, by the concession of the Pontiff, they can punish by imprisonment, fine, or other civil penalty : but capital punishment cannot be inflicted except by the direct authority of the Sovereign himself : and the tribunal has at all times maintained a character of great moderation. It still subsists, and exercises its ecclesiastical attributes. Its temporal power is scarcely felt, since it generally limits itself to admonition, penitential discipline, injunction of spiritual retreat, or other slight observance, or in case of delinquent clergymen, confinement within its walls, where every want is supplied, and every mild means of reform adopted. Weekly meetings of the Council are held on Wednesday in the convent of St. Mary *supra Minervam*, where the matters submitted for examination are decided by the majority of the members, after a previous examination made by select counsellors with the assistance of the Master of the Sacred Palace, in a meeting held each Monday in the palace of the Tribunal. The Pope, whose office as guardian of the faith constitutes him Supreme Inquisi-

tor, presides when causes of high importance are under consideration, and decides them, with the advice of the council.

As a coercive tribunal the Inquisition may be said no longer to exist. Every trace of it has for ages disappeared from France, and it was abolished in Spain by the decree of Napoleon on the 4th December, 1808, the same day on which Madrid capitulated. It was subsequently abolished by the Cortes on 22d February, 1813, and although restored by Ferdinand VII. on 21st July, 1814, it had lost its energy, and its adaptation to the state of society. We may safely speak of it as a tribunal that has passed away, without any likelihood of being re-established, and one that is no wise compatible with the public opinion of our age, and our actual social condition. It may appear superfluous to treat of it, as it concerns us in no respect, were it not that occasion is taken from it to brand the Popes, as sanguinary monsters, who devised an iniquitous and cruel institution. Although they originally appointed Inquisitors, I have shewn that the attributes of the office were such as became the ministers of peace, unless we except the exhortation to the civil power to use its authority for the punishment of such as resisted every mild effort to reclaim them.

It may not be useless to state the relations which subsisted between the Inquisition and the civil authorities, and the mode of proceeding observed in it, at least, as far as the Popes succeeded in directing them. I borrow my information from an anonymous work, published at Rome in 1795, *Della punizione degli Eretici*, written evidently by one thoroughly conversant with the tribunal, and from several works composed by its avowed enemies. The concurrence of the civil power in the proceedings took place in various ways according to local regulations. In the kingdom of Naples no commission was executed without the previous consent of the Sovereign, and the revision of the proceedings by the archbishop and a number of secular priests. In Venice the ministers of the Republic were present at the trial, although they did not interfere. The presence of three senators as Assessors was required by a law of the Republic in the sixteenth century, which gave occasion to the suppression of the tribunal, as it lost its independent action. In Genoa the accusation was in the first instance communicated in general terms to the civil authority, whose aid was sought for the arrest of the accused. In Malta the Grand Master of the Order assisted at the trial whenever one of the knights was arraigned. In Spain two lay members of the council of Castille assisted on some occasions. In Sardinia the Inquisitors were styled Vicars, in compliance with the wishes of the Sovereign.

The Inquisition received denunciations and accusations, but only when confirmed with an oath, administered after a solemn warning of its sacred character, and of the guilt and punishment of its false accusers. The tribunal did not cause any extra-judicial examination to precede the judicial process, with a view to obtain greater proofs against the person denounced. Not only the denunciation, but likewise every circumstance that might diminish the credit of the accuser, or the heinousness of the crime, was put on record. Witnesses or accusers of every class, except mortal enemies of the accused were admitted; but their testimony and charges were sifted, their credibility weighed, their age, sex, character, qualities all carefully noted down, and no important measure adopted, unless after the most minute and mature examination. Before the arrest of the criminal, a summary of the charges and proofs was distributed among the councillors, a meeting was subsequently held, and they were bound to act rather as advocates of the culprit, than as judges. Every extenuating circumstance was brought forward, every motive for doubt was alleged, every thing unfavorable to the accuser, and favorable to the accused, was considered; and if the evidence were not altogether conclusive, time was taken for further inquiry.

The secrecy observed in this tribunal was intended to prevent the loss of character, if the accused should be acquitted, or should abjure his errors, and to avoid excitement, and secure the ends of justice. Although all its officers and the accuser, culprit, witnesses, and advocate were bound to secrecy, yet the number of persons engaged in the process, and the character of the judges, precluded all reasonable danger of injustice. Urban IV., in a Brief, dated 28th July, 1262, authorized the Inquisitors to withhold the name of the accuser, in cases where there was just ground for suspecting that assassination, or other violence, would be attempted through revenge. Llorente testifies that for a long lapse of time they did not avail themselves of the discretionary power, but communicated the names of the accusers.\* It was not certainly intended to be generally used; and extraordinary diligence was employed to prevent any injury resulting from its use in the circumstances which imposed the necessity of concealment. Boniface VIII. ordered the name to be communicated, when there was no danger of injury.† “In order to apprehend any one for heresy, two credible

\* “No es extraño que los inquisidores anteriores á la reforma mostrasen á los acusados los nombres de los testigos en uso de la libertad concedida por el papa.” *Memoria historica* p. 114.

† C. Statuta §. Jubemus, de hæc. l. vi.



witnesses are required, although they say that the testimony of a single one, if beyond all exception is sufficient.”\* “In a city, where any noble persons, Doctors, or Religious, or others of illustrious birth or dignity, are to be sent to jail, the Commissary of the Inquisition, or some other officer, usually goes to the houses of such persons, and takes them in a carriage, and carries them to jail. But if there is no fear of their escape, they are commanded to come to the holy office by a special messenger.”† “Neither the Bishop without the Inquisitor, nor the Inquisitor without the bishop—shall be able to commit any one to hard and close imprisonment, which looks more like punishment than custody.”‡ After the arrest of the prisoner, which generally took place with the least possible display of force, by the *familiars* of the tribunal, men oftentimes belonging to the highest nobility, the judges were forbidden to examine him in prison, to speak to him extra-judicially, to use suggestive interrogations, to allure him by false promises, to threaten him, or admonish him out of due time, or otherwise to prejudice his interests. The month, and year, and place, of the alleged commission of the crime were communicated to him, but the day, and precise house, or room, might be omitted, if these particulars were likely to lead to the discovery of the informant.§ “The original instructions prescribe as a most essential point, that the declarations of the witnesses shall be given to the prisoner, in the most literal manner possible.”|| “If there be reason to fear that the witnesses are enemies of the criminal, the Inquisitors may in such a case declare (to the counsellors) the names both of the witnesses and criminals; because possibly the counsellors may know them both, and whether they are or have been enemies.”¶ The Fiscal Promoter, that is the prosecuting officer, must swear that none of the heads of the accusation proceeds from a malicious design.\*\* The Inquisitors incur ecclesiastical censures if they maliciously charge any one with heresy.†† It was also forbidden to put the accused among culprits, without sufficient proofs, at least of a presumptive character, or to deny him the opportunity of alleging any thing in exculpation. He was at liberty to take reasonable exceptions

\* Limborch, History of the Inquisition l. ii. ch. xviii. p. 237.

† Ibidem l. iv. c. xii. p. 148.

‡ Clem. Cap. Multorum de hæc.

§ Compilacion de Instrucciones n. 32.

|| Inquisition Unmasked ch. iv. p. 227.

¶ Limborch History of the Inquisition l. ii. ch. iv. p. 176.

\*\* Ibid. ch. v. p. 178.

†† Ibidem ch. xiii. p. 206.

to the subaltern judges and witnesses. The solemnities of public trials were omitted, and the trial was summary and informal *de plano*, but with the strictest regard to the intrinsic merits of the case. Cavils and mere technicalities had no place in the process, but facts and justice were constantly held in view.

The judges were bound to hear the culprit within three days after his arrest, that he might not languish in prison. The Inquisitor and counsellors began the examination with solemn prayer on bended knees, using the same formulary as is prescribed for the councils: "*Adsumus Domine*:" asking that in nothing they might deviate from the truth, but in all things preserve justice moderated by piety. The charge was, at first, communicated in general terms, to give him the opportunity of a spontaneous confession, and save him from the punishment of a convict. If he denied it, the specific charge was communicated, without revealing his accuser, that no occasion of revenge might thence arise. "It is the common practice of these courts first to question him respecting the perpetration of the offence, but in general terms, in order to avoid all anticipation and surprise. Respecting his crime he is interrogated in a special manner, and the whole is preceded by an oath to speak the truth. With a similar view it is forbidden to allege against him any of the charges resulting from the process already formed, leaving him to discover all spontaneously. This formality . . . contributes to shorten the causes of those culprits, who, by at once confessing, submit to the punishment deserved," or rather escape it, "and also, in cases of denial, by comparing the declaration of the prisoner with the impeachment of the informer, and testimony of the witnesses, this measure tends to promote the discovery of the truth, and the sincerity or duplicity of the parties."\* Puigblanch complains of the oath as an injustice; but the custom was derived from the criminal tribunals, which formerly questioned the culprit on oath. It was retained in this tribunal, because the temptation to perjury did not here exist, since if the criminal acknowledged his crime, without previous proof, he was held as *spontaneously appearing*, and pardoned, and if the proofs were already sufficient, was treated, with extreme mildness, as *spontaneously confessing*. He was not required to disclose any thing, unless he were satisfied that the interrogatory was legitimate. He was questioned as to his sentiments, in order to ascertain the real character of his acts and expressions, since the crime of heresy depended on the obstinacy of the will. The external manifestations of it led

\* Inquisition Unmasked ch. iv. p. 198.

to these ulterior inquiries. In all cases of importance the process was formed with the assistance of an advocate; and where the accused was of considerable standing in society, the Assessor of the tribunal, and personages of high rank intervened, as in the cases of De Dominis and Galileo. Delay was granted to answer the charges, if the accused demanded it: he was encouraged to defend himself freely, and he was asked whether he had any enemy, from whom he might fear a false accusation.

The advocate aided the prisoner by his advice, and undertook his defence sincerely and earnestly; but, as the object of the tribunal was the correction of the culprit, not his punishment, he was bound to undeceive him, and to exhort him to an acknowledgment and abjuration of his errors, as a sure means of pardon. In other tribunals the skill of the advocate is employed to evade the law, and conceal the facts; in the Inquisition his zeal was required to enlighten and direct his client. The restraints alleged by Puigblanch to have been put on the communications of the advocate with the prisoner are fictitious. Full liberty of conversing and writing was allowed. He was permitted to call in another counsellor of his own choice,\* a liberty which Mark Anthony de Dominis used to obtain the aid of four lawyers.

A copy of the process was delivered to the culprit, who was fully at liberty of himself, or by his lawyer, to make every just objection to its defects, or to the irregularity of the interrogatories of the judge, or to the obscurity, or discrepancy of the witnesses, and to give every explanation of his own language and acts. The process was conducted with the strictest regard to truth: the most patient attention was given to every circumstance that could militate in behalf of the accused: and conviction followed only when all possibility of doubt of guilt had vanished. So just and fair was the proceeding, that the whole evidence and defence were drawn up in detail, and read to the accused, who was required to sign the report, if he could point out in it no mis-statement, to testify by his signature its accuracy and justice. No one was condemned on the testimony of an individual to the legal punishment of heresy, but he might be subjected to penance, or some penalty, or be required to clear himself of suspicion, where the testimony appeared worthy of credit.†

The use of the rack was common to all public tribunals at the time of the establishment of the Inquisition, and was borrowed from the ancient Romans and Greeks. It was not, however, resorted to, except

\* History of the Inquisition l. iv. c. xv. p. 162.

† Massini, *Prattica della S. Inquisizione* par. x. Avvert. lxxxix.

where strong presumptive evidence of heinous guilt had already been received : and an appeal against its use lay to the Supreme council. "They do not proceed to the torture, till after the criminal hath a copy of his process, and he hath answered to all the articles, and exhibited his defence, and yet can't make his innocence appear plainly to the judge, when at the same time he can't be fully convicted by witnesses, or the evidence of the thing."\* The threat of torture was frequently used, without its actual application.† No circumstances of cruelty attended it : on the contrary, the presence of one or more of the Inquisitors was enjoined, that all unnecessary severity might be avoided. It has been long since entirely discontinued, so that two Spaniards, of high rank, and well conversant with the proceedings of this tribunal, manifested astonishment on hearing Count De Maistre, in 1802, mention it as a usage still retained.‡ It is easy to draw pictures of culprits stretched on the rack, suspended by pulleys, or otherwise tortured : but facts do not sustain these representations ; and the interested statements of enemies merit no belief.

When the votes of the judges were equal, the milder sentence prevailed. The punishment decreed was generally less than the rigor of the law, and might be still further mitigated, at the discretion of the Inquisitor General, who was authorized, at any period of the process, to interpose for the relief of the culprit, until he had been sentenced to be delivered over to the civil authority.§ The Popes made most rigorous laws obliging the Inquisitors to proceed with the strictest regard to justice in the exercise of their powers, and gave prompt redress when any abuse came to their knowledge. Clement X. and Innocent XI. on complaint of some prisoners, ordered the severity used in Lisbon to be mitigated.

The prisoners were generally treated with great humanity and indulgence. Some in the prison of Madrid complained to the Pope as of a great privation, that a priest was not sent to celebrate Mass for them ! Puigblanch admits, that "with regard to victuals the prisoners do not fare so badly, whether they are rich or poor."|| Limborch says of Portugal : "If any rich person is imprisoned, and will live and eat beyond the ordinary rate of provisions, and according to his own manner, he may be indulged, and have what is decent, and fit for him,

\* Limborch, History of the Inquisition l. iv. ch. xxix. p. 213.

† Ibidem p. 219. See also Della punizione degli Eretici.

‡ Lettres sur l' Inquisition let. ii. p. 59.

§ Inquisition Unmasked ch. iv. p. 144.

|| Ibidem p. 198.

his servant or servants, if he hath any, with him in the jail.”\* “The provisions they give to the criminals are generally prepared and dressed in the house of the Inquisition.—This however is to be left to the prudence and pleasure of the Inquisitors, whether and when the criminals may without danger prepare their provision in their own houses.”† “If any one falls ill in the prison, they send to him a surgeon and physician, who administer all proper remedies to him to recover him to health. If there be any danger of his dying, they send him a confessor.”‡ Puigblanch seems to complain that their cells are not well furnished: “No other furniture is allowed in the cell of the prisoner than a wooden bedstead, clamped down, or built in masonry; a table, one chair.” Perhaps this will not appear to others a just subject of complaint. “The Inquisitors are obliged to visit the prisoners twice every month, and to enquire whether they have necessities allowed them, and whether they are well or not. In this visit they usually ask him in these very words, How he is? How he hath his health? Whether he wants any thing? Whether his warder is civil to him? i. e. Whether he speaks to him in a reproachful and severe manner? Whether he gives him his appointed provision, and clean linen? and the like? If there be occasion or necessity, it will be convenient for them to visit the prisoners three or four times every month, yea, as often as they think proper, viz. when the criminal bears with impatience the misfortune and infamy of his imprisonment, in such case the Inquisitor must endeavor to comfort him very often, not only by himself, but by others, and to tell him, that if he makes a free confession, his whole affair shall be quietly and kindly ended.”§

The whole system of the Inquisition was directed to the amendment of the prisoner, and was strictly in the spirit of ancient penitential discipline, so that to it might be applied the words of St. Gregory III. to Leo of Isauria. “You see, O! emperor, the difference between bishops and emperors. If any one offend you, you confiscate his house, and strip him of his property—and in the end you hang or behead him.—Not so the Pontiffs: but if any one sin and acknowledge his sin, in place of hanging and beheading him, they place the Gospel and cross around his neck, and as a kind of imprisonment they confine him to the private apartments of the Church and the place where the sacred vessels are deposited, where the deacons of the Church and catechumens are, and they enjoin on his appetite fasts, on his eyes watching, on his

\* History of the Inquisition l. ii. ch. xviii.

† Ibidem p. 246.

‡ Ibidem p. 243.

§ Ibidem p. 244.

mouth the recital of the divine praises. And after having properly chastised and subdued him with fasting, they give him the Precious Body of the Lord, and refresh him with the Holy Blood, and when they have made him once more a vessel of election, and freed him from sin, they send him forth pure and guiltless to the Lord.\*

Capital punishment was never decreed, or inflicted, except by the civil authority.† The sentence of the Inquisition in the worst cases was to abandon the convict to the civil power, which was accompanied by a recommendation of mercy. This abandonment was made with a knowledge that the laws enjoined death for the crime, but the expression of the ecclesiastical judge was intended to show the reluctance with which the Church beholds the shedding of human blood, according to the known maxim: *Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine*. The sentence of perpetual imprisonment was reduced to three years in favor of penitents. When the sentence excluded the hope of pardon, *absque spe gratiæ*, it was still limited to eight years on repentance. The Knights Templars sought to be tried by the Inquisition, in the confidence of escaping condemnation, or, at least, death, as De Maistre remarks:‡ yet Puigblanch lays their death to the charge of this tribunal.§ The sentence was not hastily put into execution. Every effort was made to recall the unfortunate culprit to the principles of faith: months and years were suffered to roll round, in the hope that grace would at length touch his heart, and dispose him by faith and penitence for pardon. In the Roman Inquisition, Anthony Maria Leoni was condemned for propagating the licentious principles of Molinos, veiled in professions of piety. For two months he remained obstinate, but at the end of that time retracted his errors, and obtained pardon. Jerom Vecchietti continued for five years obstinate in his errors, and was then restored to his friends, on some appearance of weakness of mind.

It should be known that crimes against faith declared capital by the laws were punished with death only in circumstances of the most aggravated character. To deny the Most adorable Trinity, to blaspheme the virginity of the Mother of our Lord, or the Holy Eucharist, were capital crimes, but scarcely ever punished with that rigor,|| the object of the law being attained by deterring from the crime by a penalty which might be inflicted. Cardinal Albici testifies that most horrid

\* Conc. Hard. t. iv. p. 15.

† This is admitted by Puigblanch, *Inquisition Unmasked* ch. i. p. 26.

‡ Lettre i. sur l' Inquisition. § *Inquisition Unmasked* ch. iv. p. 133.

|| Della punizione degli Eretici p. 160.

outrages against the Eucharist received pardon on proper evidence of repentance.\*

The number of persons who have suffered death in consequence of conviction before the Inquisition, although not by the act of its officers, cannot be ascertained, no more than the number of convicts who have suffered by the sentence of any criminal tribunal: but if we advert to the acknowledgment of Llorente that its severity abated in the fourteenth century, we may hope that the number of those who suffered is far less than a tithe of what has been alleged. Capital punishment was not inflicted, when the Inquisition was first established in Spain, the highest penalty being confiscation of property.†

Don Melchor de Macanaz, a statesman high in the service of Philip V. who had incurred the disgrace of his sovereign, and had fallen under the censure of the Inquisition, after he had recovered favor, wrote a book styled "a critical defence of the Inquisition," in which "he says that it was not usual to confiscate the property of culprits unless they had relapsed, that they were not delivered over to the secular magistrate till they had thrice fallen into heresy; that then alone was the torture inflicted upon them, and this after condemnation; adding that it is a calumny to attribute to the tribunal the stratagem of sifting out the truth of their crimes by means of another person converted, and still feigning that he is a heretic. He also affirms that, with the exception of very few cases intended to stop the progress of Lutheranism in the reign of Philip II., scarcely three persons had been sentenced."‡ Puigblanch endeavors to weaken this assertion by referring to the *auto de fe* under Charles II., but the number of criminals actually executed at that time was small, and a long space of time had elapsed since any like act had occurred. It is a great mistake to speak of these acts as ordinary occurrences, since they were separated oftentimes by intervals of many years. No capital punishment has taken place under the Spanish Inquisition since the year 1783,|| or under the Portuguese tribunal for more than a century. Gross crimes against nature and morals, which are elsewhere cognizable before civil tribunals, fell under the cognizance of the Inquisition.§ Polygamy was punished with the gallies for five or more years. If it was connected with formal heresy it was liable to capital punishment. Witches, who to superstition added the murder of infants, and a number of convicts, who would

\* De Inconst. in fide cap. 34, n. 135.

† Informe sobre el tribunal de la Inquisicion, apud De Maistre let. i. p. 26.

‡ Inquisition Unmasked ch. v. p. 20.

§ Polygamy, sodomy, &c.

|| Journal de l'empire, 19 April, 1809.

have suffered death by the laws of every civilized country, are included among the sufferers.

St. Peter Arbues, holding the office of Inquisitor, was assassinated in the Metropolitan Church of Saragossa, at matins, on the 15th September, 1485. The indignation of the people against the Jews, accused of his death, was such that a general massacre might have ensued, had not the archbishop on the following day rode through the city, assuring them that the Inquisition would bring the assassins to justice.\* Two were afterwards found guilty, and handed over to the civil authority. "Carena relates from Farinacius, that a certain prisoner in the holy office was hanged for killing his keeper, in order to make his escape. He adds that at Cremona, an. 1614, a certain Jew was hanged for killing another Jew who had deposed against him in the holy office."† All these and numberless other criminals liable to death by all laws are included among the *victims* of the Inquisition.

It is just to take into consideration the outrages and civil wars which have been prevented by the Inquisition. Spain and Italy would have been most probably convulsed, as Germany and France were in the sixteenth century, by religious dissensions, but for the vigilance of the Inquisitors. Thousands might have fallen in the fierce struggle, for one who was sent to the stake in consequence of conviction by this tribunal. The prevention of calamities the most direful cannot, indeed, justify a law which creates an imaginary offence : but heresy was not in former ages a mere error of the mind : it was often manifested in attempts against property and life, and the whole order of society. With this legislation, however, we are not concerned. A milder system prevails every where at this time, and meets the cordial support of Catholics, who willingly leave to God the judgment of all, and rejoice in exercising towards all, without distinction, the most sincere charity. The same unbounded charity is manifested by the successor of St. Peter, who in his capital and palace receives with kindness and condescension those who deny his authority, as well as those who kneel to do him homage. Why should the severity of former ages, exercised for the most part against the enemies of public order, which has long since been retaliated on us with large increase, be made a subject of reproach to us, and an occasion of division between us, and those whom we are anxious to embrace with the warmth of Christian affection ?

The general spirit of the Apostolic See is admirably expressed by St. Leo : " Since the ways of the Lord are meekness and truth, we are

\* Llorente, *Memoria Historica* p. 107.

† Limborch, *History of the Inquisition* l. iii. ch. x. p. 56.



forced," he says "according to the indulgence of the Apostolic See, to temper our sentence in such a way, as, weighing the offences, which are not all of the same gravity, to tolerate some, and to cut off others without delay."\* When Anastasius, bishop of Thessalonica, Vicar Apostolic throughout Illyricum, had acted with severity towards Atticus, metropolitan of Epirus, the Pope rebuked him most sharply, and reminded him of the many admonitions given by himself and his predecessors to their Vicars to temper the exercise of authority, and reproached him with betraying the honor of the Holy See. "Benevolence has more influence," he observes, "on delinquents, than severity : exhortation is better than indignation : affection is more powerful than authority."† "The moderation of the apostolic see," says he when writing to the Empress Pulcheria concerning Eutyches, "observes this measure, to treat the obdurate with severity, and to extend pardon to the penitent."‡ These various passages have no reference whatever to temporal inflictions, but they shew the moderation constantly observed by the Holy See in the use of canonical censures.

In regard to the Inquisition the Popes are fairly responsible for its origin and organization as an ecclesiastical tribunal, and they may be considered as approving the civil jurisprudence of their age, by which heresy was declared a capital crime : but they are entitled to the praise of all that is just in the mode of proceedings, and of the traits of mercy which peculiarly distinguish it. It must be evident to the impartial inquirer that all the regulations were directed to the discovery of the facts, and to the conversion of the culprit. Doubtless just and holy men, such as St. Joseph Calasancius, Father D'Avila, and others, have occasionally incurred unjust suspicions, and been subject to molestation from the officers of this tribunal. It is also alleged to have been made in many instances an instrument of royal oppression. But, as far as the Popes could influence its proceedings, it was directed to justice. Its forms were different from ordinary tribunals : its operation may have been often unjust and cruel : but the solicitude of the Pontiffs was displayed in putting many safeguards against abuse, and in their prompt interposition, whenever the cry of the sufferer could reach them. Sixtus IV. directed a Bull to Ferdinand and Isabella, communicating the complaints which had been made of the conduct of some Inquisitors, and declared that the Apostolic See being the safest asylum for

\* Ep. xii. ad episcopos Africanos prov. Mauri. Cæsar.

† Ep. xiv. ad Anastasium ep. Thessalonie.

‡ Ep. xxxi. ad Pulcheriam Augustam.

the oppressed in every part of the globe,\* could not be insensible to their lamentations. In 1489, he deposed Father Christopher Galvez, inquisitor of Valencia.†

I abandon to the censure of the age the principle on which the Inquisition was based, namely that heresy is a crime against society, punishable by civil penalties, and even by death; but I maintain that the Popes, who sanctioned this tribunal, whilst seeking to extirpate heresy, did not urge the indiscriminate infliction of those penalties, but chiefly proposed to allure to conversion by the proffer of pardon. This was made to the self-accuser—it was extended to the culprit, if he acknowledged his error, and abjured it before the process advanced—it was indulged to the convict, when he humbled himself and manifested penitence. Even on the way to execution, justice could still be disarmed. Whilst preparing for the *auto de fe*, celebrated at Madrid, in 1680, before Charles II., the Inquisitors sat up all night, endeavoring to convert the convicts, two of whom, on their way to execution, professed conversion, and escaped death. “In case any of the persons convicted of contumacy might wish to be converted, the court remained sitting the whole night, to give them hearing, and in fact two women were converted.”‡ The mercy of the Inquisition to penitent convicts, is without parallel in any other tribunal.

The general esteem in which the tribunal was held, does not suffer us to suppose that it was generally unjust or cruel. “In Spain and Portugal,” says Limborch, “most persons are fully persuaded of the sanctity and sincerity of this tribunal.”§ It was deemed a high honor to be numbered among its *familiars*, or bailiffs.|| The people looked up to it with reverence, and were ready to support its officers in the execution of their duty. “As soon as ever the Executor shews, that he is to apprehend any one by command of the holy office, no one dares oppose him. And if any one should, the mob would immediately run together to lend a helping hand to the holy office, and so overpower him, that unless he would undergo the severest treatment, he would, of his own accord, offer himself to be taken up by the Executor.”¶

\* “Oppressorum ubique tutissimum refugium.” Bulla Sixti iv. 29 Jan. 1482. “Nunquam dubitavimus.”

† Inquisition Unmasked vol. ii. ch. vi. p. 237.

‡ Ibid. ch. iv. p. 316.

§ History of the Inquisition l. ii. ch. xviii. p. 242.

|| Ibidem ch. ix. p. 187.

¶ Ibidem l. iii. ch. xii. p. 249.

I have ventured to make these remarks in justice to the Popes of the middle ages, whose zeal for the extirpation of heresy has identified their names with this institution. If I cannot hope to relieve their memory of the odium which has been cast on it, it should be shared with their age; and they should be credited for their efforts to secure mercy for the penitent. A more tolerant spirit prevails at this time among all Christian nations, and death is no longer inflicted for the errors of the mind, even when threatening calamities to society. In whatsoever way it may please us to account for the change of civil jurisprudence, and of general sentiment, it is not just to embitter social feelings, by recalling the severity, or the cruelty of an Institution which has passed away, but acquiescing in the humane and liberal sentiments and laws of our own age, we should cherish kind feelings towards one another, and avoid all occasion of religious strife, which is most baneful to the common peace and weal.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## PAPAL PREROGATIVES.

HAVING devoted so much space to the examination of historical facts in which the Popes exercised an adventitious power, it may be necessary to state distinctly their essential prerogatives. In the council of Florence, held in 1439, the Greeks concurred with the Latins in the following definition: "We define that the holy Apostolic See and Roman Pontiff hold the primacy throughout the entire world, and that the said Roman Pontiff is the successor of the blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, and is the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole Church, and father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in the person of blessed Peter, full power was given by our Lord Jesus Christ, to feed, rule, and govern the Universal Church; as also is contained in the acts of Œcumenical councils, and in the sacred canons."\* The primacy extends to the entire world, since the commission given to the apostles is to teach all nations, and preach the Gospel to every creature: but none are subject to it who have not by baptism entered within the pale of the Church. It is called by St. Chrysostom "the presidency of the Universal Church,"† which, he observes, Christ committed to Peter, after his fall.

In virtue of his office the Pontiff teaches with authority, and directs his teaching to all the children of the Church, wherever they may be found, pastors and people: he pronounces judgment on all, whose faith is suspected, to whatever rank they belong: he condemns heresy, wherever it may have originated, or by whomsoever it may be supported: he calls on his colleagues, the bishops, to concur in the condemnation: he assembles them in council, to investigate and judge with him the controversies that are excited, or to concur by their harmonious judgment and action in rooting out condemned errors: he confirms and promulgates their definitions of faith, and he incessantly guards the sacred deposit of divine doctrine. All these acts have been

\* Collat. xxii Conc. Flor. p. 985, t. ix. col. Harduin.

† Τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τῆς ἐκουμενικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνχαίρειν. Ad pop. Antioch. hom v. de pœnit.

exercised in all ages of the Church by the Bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter: and have been universally acknowledged to be the prerogatives and duties of his office. "The Lord," says St. Leo, "wished this mysterious gift (*of the Gospel ministry*) to belong to the office of all the apostles in such a way as to place it principally in the most blessed Peter, the chief of all the apostles: from whom, as from the head, he wishes his gifts to flow to the whole body, so that whoever dares recede from the solidity of Peter, must know that he deprives himself of all share in the divine mystery. For assuming him to a partnership in His indivisible unity, He wished him to be styled, what He Himself was, saying: 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church;' that the building of the eternal temple, by a wonderful gift of divine grace, should rest on the solidity of Peter, strengthening His Church by this firmness, that neither human temerity can affect it, nor the gates of hell prevail against it. This most sacred firmness of this rock, which has been established, God Himself, as we have said, being the Builder, is assailed with impious presumption by whosoever attempts to infringe on his power, following passion, and abandoning the tradition of the ancients."<sup>\*</sup>

It is the undoubted right of the Pope to pronounce judgment on controversies of faith. All doctrinal definitions already made by General Councils, or by former Pontiffs, are landmarks which no man can remove; but as the human mind may assail revelation in endless varieties of form, there must be always in the Church an authority whereby error, under every new aspect, may be effectually condemned. Nothing can be added to the faith originally delivered to the saints, but points contained in the deposit of revelation, may be expressly declared and defined, when the obscurity which may have existed as to the fact of their revelation has been dissipated. The assembling of a General Council is always attended with immense difficulty, and is oftentimes utterly impracticable. The Chief Bishop is, as Frederick William Faber remarks, "the natural organ of the Church,"<sup>†</sup> as Peter is styled by St. Chrysostom the mouth of the apostles. In pronouncing judgment he does not give expression to a private opinion, or follow his own conjectures; but he takes for his rule the public and general faith, and tradition of the Church, as gathered from Scripture, the fathers, the liturgies and other documents, and he implores the guidance of the Divine Spirit, and uses all human means for ascertaining the fact of revelation. It has been warmly disputed whether a solemn

\* Ep. x. ad episc. per prov. Vien.

† Thoughts and Sights in Foreign Churches.

judgment thus pronounced, wherein a doctrine is proposed to the Church generally as necessary to be believed, under pain of anathema, or an error is proscribed as opposed to faith, with the same sanction, may possibly be erroneous. The *personal* fallibility of the Pope in his private capacity, writing or speaking, is freely conceded by the most ardent advocates of Papal prerogatives; but his official infallibility *ex cathedra* is strongly affirmed by many: whilst some, as the French assembly of 1682, contend that his judgment may admit of amendment, as long as it is not sustained by the assent and adhesion of the great body of bishops. Practically there is no room for difficulty, since all solemn judgments hitherto pronounced by the Pontiff have received the assent of his colleagues; and, in the contingency of a new definition, it should be presumed by the faithful at large that it is correct, as long as the body of bishops do not remonstrate and oppose it. The Pontiff never has been isolated from his brethren. The harmony of faith has been always exhibited in the teaching of the great body of bishops, united with their head. The authority of the Pope in matters of faith appeared most conspicuously in the fourth and fifth centuries. The decrees of Damasus, and Innocent, and the doctrinal letters of Celestine and Leo were hailed by bishops, severally, and in solemn councils, as the correct expositions of the mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation. For the maintenance of this faith the Pontiffs sent legates to the Eastern emperors, and councils urging it above all other things. Their indefatigable industry, their untiring solicitude, their disregard of every selfish consideration, when the integrity of faith was in question, are marked on every page of history. Faith evidently appears to be the vital principle of papal authority, which cannot cease to defend it.

The plenitude of Pontifical power in all that appertains to the government of the Universal Church is affirmed in the Florentine decree. It is certain that this power must be used for edification, not for destruction: for the interests of faith and piety; for the maintenance of order and unity; for the good of the Church. It is a government of justice, order, and law, to be conducted, not arbitrarily and capriciously, but according to established *canons*, or rules. It admits, however, of exceptions and dispensations, since the rigorous enforcement of uniformity in a government embracing so many different nations would render it intolerable. Whilst, then, the Papal authority should be exercised in conformity with the canons or laws of General Councils and preceding Pontiffs, unless the altered condition of things require a change of legislation, a dispensing power must exist, and be exercised by the Supreme Executive. Individuals, for a just reason, may be

freed from the observance of a general law, at the discretion of the Pontiff. The ancient usages of local Churches are to be respected, and their established order is to be maintained ; but if the higher interests of the Universal Church require the suppression of a local usage, or if the existence of the local Church be in jeopardy, unless the order be changed, there is room for the exercise of Pontifical supremacy. The French hierarchy had flourished from the days of St. Remigius, when the fury of the revolutionists immolated several of the venerable prelates, and drove the remainder into banishment. The temples of religion were profaned, and the Christian worship proscribed. Amidst the anarchy there arose a daring soldier, who, in the name of liberty, grasped an iron sceptre, and offered to become the protector of religion ; but only on condition that the exiled prelates should renounce their rights, and the Church of France should be reorganized conformably with the new civil divisions of territory. Pius VII. called on the bishops to make the sacrifice of their undoubted rights and just attachments, and using the plenitude of Pontifical authority, stripped those who hesitated, of all claims to their Sees, and gave to France a new ecclesiastical organization.\* The extreme necessity of the case justified, in the eyes of the Church at large, this unprecedented act of Pontifical supremacy.

It is difficult to assign precise limits to a power which must be adapted to the exigencies of the Church in an endless variety of circumstances. There is plainly no authority to command any thing immoral : but within the limits of the Divine Law, and with due regard for the received usages of the Church generally, and of local Churches, the Pope may enjoin, in matters ecclesiastical, what he prudently judges to be expedient for the maintenance of order, the extirpation of vice, and the promotion of piety. His power is chiefly employed in maintaining the general laws already established, and in regulating the mutual relations of the clergy, and in mitigating the strictness of disciplinary observance, whensoever local or individual causes demand it. The faithful are sufficiently protected against the abuse of power, by the freedom of their own conscience, which is not bound to yield obedience to authority when flagrantly abused. The Pope only addresses conscience. His laws and censures are only powerful inasmuch as they are acknowledged to be passed under a divine sanction. No armies, or civil officers, are employed to give them effect ; and in case of flagrant abuse of authority, he loses the only influence by which they can be-

\* See Bulls *Ecclesia Christi* 15 Aug. 1801, and *Qui Christi Domini* 29 Nov. 1801.

come effectual. The fears which are sometimes affected, that he will abuse his power to the detriment of national or individual rights, are wholly groundless. It is used to sustain right and justice, not to violate them : but in the event of such an abuse, nations are secure in their own strength, and individuals in their own conscience. It is well observed by De Maistre, that whatever may be said in the abstract, of the plenitude of Pontifical power, any attempt to exercise it wantonly, would provoke general and successful resistance. "What," he asks, "can restrain the Pope ? Every thing : canons, laws, national usages, sovereigns, tribunals, national assemblies, prescription, representations, negotiations, duty, fear, prudence, and especially public opinion, the queen of the world."\*

The providing of pastors necessarily appertains to him to whom the charge of the whole flock has been entrusted by Christ our Lord : yet the exercise of this power admits of much variety, according to the circumstances of time and place, as is evident from ecclesiastical history. Whatever arrangement may be made for the election or appointment of bishops, with the concurrence and approbation of the Holy See, may be deemed just and proper. The bishops thus created are not mere deputies, or vicars, much less vassals of the Pope ; but successors of the apostles, exercising under him and with him the powers of binding and loosing, and respecting his high rank without detriment to their own : *SALVO MEO ORDINE*. Their order is perpetual, and their jurisdiction cannot be capriciously withdrawn ; but if they abuse their power, there are laws by which they can be judged, and the Pope is authorized to pronounce sentence.

The relations of the Pope to a General Council of bishops have been the subject of much discussion. The right of summoning them to meet in solemn consultation for the general interests of the Church, manifestly belongs to him, as he is the only one whose authority extends to all. The Great Council of Nice was convened by Constantine ; but according to the sixth General Council, Silvester concurred in the convocation ;† the emperor Theodosius, in like manner, at the request of Damasus, convened the Oriental bishops at Constantinople.‡ Marcian, at the request of Leo, summoned the council of Chalcedon. No public assembly could be held without the imperial mandate, which was, in this instance, accompanied with the privilege of the free use of the public vehicles. Since the Christian religion has extended far beyond the limits of the empire, and the bishops live

\* Du Pape ch. xviii.

† Act. xviii.

‡ Theod. l. v. hist. c. viii.



under various governments, there is no civil ruler whose mandate could ensure universal attendance: but the voice of the chief Pastor reaches to the most distant regions, and is respectfully heard by all his colleagues.

The right of the Pontiff to preside in the assembly of his brethren results from the eminence of his station, and is universally admitted. In the Eastern councils it was exercised by legates, who, to whatever rank they belonged, even if only deacons, as representatives of the chief Bishop, got precedence of the highest prelates. In the Nicene council, Vitus and Vincentius, priests of the Roman Church, legates of Pope Sylvester,\* got precedence of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and Osius, bishop of Corduba, an obscure diocese in Spain, was honored in like manner, doubtless in his representative capacity, which, although not declared in the acts now extant, is attested by Gelasius of Cyzicum, a Greek writer of the fifth century, and is fairly inferred from the fact, for which no other plausible reason can be furnished.†

At Ephesus, Cyril of Alexandria, presided, by special delegation of Pope Celestine,‡ whose legates, sent directly from his side, came with instructions not to mingle in the discussions, but to pronounce judgment. At Chalcedon, Paschasius and Lucentius, most reverend bishops, and Boniface, a most religious priest presided, "holding the place of the most holy and most beloved of God, Leo, Archbishop of ancient Rome."§ In the synodical letter of the fathers to Leo, they say, that he presided over them, in the persons of his legates, "as the head over the members." The fathers of the fifth council earnestly besought Vigilius to preside over them,|| at their deliberations on "the three chapters," and read his letter, permitting the examination, as their authority for proceeding in his absence. Two priests and a deacon are mentioned in the sixth council, at the head of all the bishops, as "holding the place of the most blessed and holy Archbishop of ancient Rome." The like is observable in the acts of the seventh and eighth councils wherein the legates qualified their assent, by reserving final judgment to the good pleasure of the Pontiff.

It was customary also to seek from the Roman Bishop, the solemn confirmation of the decrees of the Council. As the Nicene acts are imperfect, and the first council of Constantinople is not Œcumenical in its original character, and the doctrinal letter of Celestine preceded the council of Ephesus, and was its guide in the proceedings, I shall at

\* Theod. l. i. c. viii.

† See Fleury l. xi. §. v. hist. Ecol.

‡ Letter of Celestine to Cyril c. xiii. Act. conc. Eph. col. 3123. Hard. t. i.

§ T. ii. Hard. p. ii. p. 64.

|| Collat. i. p. 62 col. Hard. t. iii.

once refer to the synodical letter of the fathers of Chalcedon, wherein they beseech the Pope to confirm their decree in favor of the bishop of the imperial city. "We pray you to honor our judgment by your decrees, and as we have added the harmony of our assent to our head in what is good, so may your Holiness vouchsafe to supply to your children what is wanting." The Pope, nevertheless, felt it to be his duty to annul this decree as contrary to the ancient usages and rights of the patriarchs recognised at Nice. It is needless to exhibit in detail the proofs of the exercise of these prerogatives in the Western Councils, in several of which the Pope presided in person, and subsequently ratified their decrees by his solemn confirmation. The Fathers of Trent acted in conformity with the precedents of former councils, when they gave to the Pontifical legates the presidency of their assembly, and at the close of their proceedings sought the confirmation of their acts by the Pope, whereby they might be recommended to the veneration and observance of all the Churches.

I deem it unnecessary to pursue the inquiry into Papal prerogatives in further detail, or to speculate on possible contingencies. In the convulsions of the Church at the period of the council of Constance, when three pretenders claimed the keys, the assembled fathers deemed that they could do all things which might be necessary to restore unity and order. Nearly three centuries have elapsed since the last General Council, during which time the Church has been governed with wisdom and moderation, by a series of holy and enlightened Pontiffs. The heresy of Jansenius, and numberless kindred errors have been condemned: the purity of Christian morals has been vindicated against relaxed casuists, and the sweetness of the yoke of Christ has been maintained, despite of the repulsive austerity of innovators: discipline has been enforced, or mitigated, as circumstances rendered expedient: and all things appertaining to the government of the Universal Church have been regulated by the foresight, discretion, and zeal of the Roman Bishop. He has had the services and aid of enlightened counsellors, composing the various boards, or congregations of Cardinals, to whose examination he commits the different matters on which he is to pronounce judgment; he has also been seconded and sustained by his colleagues throughout the world: but the Providence of God, as if to cut short the disputes of the schools, has suffered this long lapse of time to pass away without the assembling of a General Council, as was also the case in the first three centuries of the Church. It seems to me superfluous, if not injurious, to discuss what power a council may exercise in certain extraordinary circumstances, since the actual government of the Church is plainly in the hands of the Pontiff. If the object be to point out the limits of Pontifical power, and the remedy for its

abuse, there is but a faint hope of remedy in an assembly, the holding whereof is generally of extreme difficulty, if not utterly impracticable, and may be indefinitely postponed. The true security lies in the nature of the Pontifical authority, which, being derived from Christ, is essentially just and paternal, and ceases to bind the conscience, when it is flagrantly abused. Our hope is in the ever-watchful Providence, which guards the Church, that the passions of men may not defeat the divine counsels. If in calamitous circumstances an extraordinary remedy be necessary, the same Providence will apply it: but the discussion of the powers of an assembly convened at such a crisis, is in my opinion safely left to its members.

I do not deem it necessary to explain in detail the power which the Pope exercises in pronouncing judgment on the sanctity of deceased servants of God, or in granting indulgences, or in many like ways, as it has not been my intention to write a treatise with the precision of a canonist or scholastic divine. My object has been to give a just idea of the main exercise of pontifical authority.

I have purposely avoided throughout this work any reference to the famous collection of canons bearing the name of Isidore, which the learned have condemned as a clumsy invention of the ninth century, that, thus using only documents of undoubted authenticity, the strength of the evidence might be undiminished. Some have rashly charged the Popes with originating this imposture, with a view to the enlargement of their prerogatives; but the learned trace its origin to Mentz in Germany, and allow that the extension of papal power was not the primary object of the compiler. "It was not in fact," says Guizot, "compiled for the exclusive interest of the Popedom. It appears rather on the whole, according to the primitive intention, more especially destined to serve the bishops against the metropolitans and temporal sovereigns."\* It must be borne in mind that this compilation consisted in a great measure of authentic materials, namely, extracts from the Fathers of the Church, the writings of Popes, the decrees of councils, or the Cesarean laws. The imposture consisted in giving them an undue antiquity, and a different author, by ascribing them to the Popes of the first three ages. The success of the fraud is accounted for by the fact, that the received discipline was the basis of the arrangement, and scarcely any innovation was introduced abhorrent to general usage. Had they been brought forward to sanction novel and exorbitant pretensions, their authenticity would scarcely have escaped question, even in an unenlightened age. It is absurd to trace the prerogatives of the Holy See to these false decretals, whilst unquestionable documents of far higher antiquity plainly establish them.

\* Cours d'histoire moderne t. iii. p. 84.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## CIVILIZATION.

It may not be useless, before terminating this treatise, to consider the influence of Papal authority on the general condition of mankind. It is no exaggeration to affirm that morals, order, and all that is understood by civilization, may be traced to the efforts of the Popes, either discharging the immediate functions of their high office, or using for the general good the influence and power which they possessed in the actual state of society. In order to estimate their services, it would be necessary to go over the records of missions in various ages, and to consider the condition of the *aborigines*, or early settlers of each country. Children of nature, with no rule but impulse, and no restraint, but the fear of vengeance—with no affection, but for objects of momentary gratification, and no ambition, but to slay an enemy—sunk in sensuality, without even the restraint of shame, they scarcely presented any thing to distinguish them from the brute beast. For the salvation of such degraded beings, the Popes uniformly sighed, and when occasion offered itself, sent forth the heralds of the gospel to enlighten, humanize and save them. The naked savage and the painted barbarian stood aghast—the huntsman and the warrior tribe were arrested in their course, at the sight of the missionaries of the cross: the tones of sacred music fell on their delighted ears, and they listened to the tale of wonder which the strangers recounted; finally, they clung to them as fathers, and learned from them to control their unruly passions, and worship the Great Spirit. The condescension of the Popes in yielding to these reclaimed children of the forest whatever the Divine Law did not forbid, and leading them gradually to the perfection of Christian discipline, shews extraordinary wisdom and true philanthropy.

Among the most civilized nations, most attached to liberty, slavery prevailed when the Gospel was first preached, and the apostles, careful not to disturb the actual order of society, inculcated to the slave submission, to the master humanity. The Popes faithfully followed their example, as has been shewn by the late lamented bishop of Charles-

too, in his learned letters on this subject. Yet whilst respecting existing relations, they did much to mitigate the evils of servitude, and to raise the slave to that moral elevation, which might fit him for the enjoyment of civil liberty. Encouragement was given to the manumission of slaves; the natural rights of man were held to be inviolable, notwithstanding his social dependency: and religious privileges were communicated to all without distinction. The salvation of the slave was especially had in view; wherefore St. Gregory directed the revenues of the patrimony of St. Peter in Gaul to be employed in the purchase of English slaves, who might be trained up in monasteries to the knowledge and practice of religion. In the middle of the eighth century, his successor, Zachary, gave a noble example of like zeal and humanity. Some Venetian merchants had purchased at Rome a great number of slaves, with a view to sell them at a higher price, for transportation to Africa. The Pope was shocked at the thought of the danger of salvation to which the poor slaves would be exposed, and he generously indemnified the merchants for their outlay of money, in order to set the slaves at liberty, and retain them in a Christian land. It were an endless task to enumerate all the acts of various Popes in behalf of the slaves; but even Voltaire rendered homage to the great Pontiff Alexander III. for his decree in the council of Lateran in 1167, whereby, availing himself of the civil influence which he enjoyed, he declared that all Christians should be thenceforward free. The present Pope has followed up the examples of his illustrious predecessors, in proscribing the slave trade; whilst he has not forgot their moderation in leaving the existing relations of society undisturbed.

The condition of most of the European nations in the middle ages is not without reason termed semi-civilized, since the warlike habits and superstitious usages which the Northmen had cherished before their settlement in the South, did not immediately give way to the mild influence of Christianity. The Popes with zeal tempered by wisdom, labored incessantly to humanize them, and form them to arts of peace and industry. The missionaries in the first instance labored for these ends. "The Gregorian school," says Saint Priest, speaking of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, sent by Gregory II., "although animated chiefly by the sincerest religious zeal, did not limit their views to the salvation of souls. To clear the land, to change a dry soil and thick forests into fertile plains, to build dwellings which might serve as the commencement of cities, to accustom men to social life, to bind strongly the family tie, and to form bonds of association, and of mutual wants and succors, to unite, to colonize, such were the plans that Winfred re-

volved in his mind.”\* What Boniface accomplished in Germany, the apostles of other countries effected in their respective missions. The encouragement given to monastic institutions had this tendency and effect. The tranquillity of the cloister had its charms for the warrior, who oftentimes laid aside his armor, to sit at the feet of a holy monk, and learn the science of salvation. The wandering tribes were arrested in their career by the sight of a vast monastery with its delightful gardens and well cultivated fields, and learned to imitate the industry which afforded plenty and contentment. Hostile bands trod with reverence on the soil which was sacred to religion and virtue, and laid aside their ferocity. It is impossible to estimate the effects of these institutions on civilization. The marshes drained, immense wastes reclaimed and fertilized, the vallies beautified with varied cultivation, the hills crowned with olives, and the plains overspread with wheat, are only the immediate fruits of their labors. The influence of their example in recommending industry and peace must have been immense.

In a manner still more direct the Popes strove to subdue the fierce temper of those nations, and reduce them within the limits of the Divine Law. It was vain to bid them abstain altogether from the use of arms, since mutual injuries provoked resistance and retaliation, and tribunals of justice were not at hand. Each baron exercised the rights of sovereignty, as far as his own interests were at stake, and undertook the redress of his wrongs by the sword. The utmost which could be successfully attempted, was to restrain them from violence on days consecrated to religious duties: wherefore Urban II. in the council of Clermont, strengthened by his authority the decrees of some bishops, and enjoined that from Wednesday evening of each week until Monday morning, and during the whole of Advent and Lent, hostilities should be suspended. The wisdom of this ordinance is acknowledged by Mills: “The clergy did much towards accustoming mankind to prefer the authority of law to the power of the sword. At their instigation private wars ceased for certain periods, and on particular days, and the observance of *the Truce of God* was guarded by the terrors of excommunication and anathema. Christianity could not immediately and directly change the face of the world; but she mitigated the horrors of the times by infusing herself into warlike institutions.”†

The institution of military orders did much also towards reducing the warlike spirit of those nations within just limits. The use of arms was sanctioned, but a lawful object was pointed out, and outrages were

\* Histoire de la Royauté par Saint Priest Vol. ii. l. viii. p. 223.

† History of Crusades ch. i. p. 22.

forbidden. The candidate for knighthood prepared himself by fasting, prayer, penance and the Eucharist for the honor, and received the sword from the bishop, with solemn injunctions to use it only in defence of the oppressed, and never to commit violence against the innocent. He bound himself by oaths and holy vows, and became truly a soldier of Christ, with a chastened and subdued spirit. Mills again bears testimony to the salutary influence of these rites. "When the tribes of the North had renounced idolatry, and adopted the religion of the South, the ceremony of creating a soldier became changed from the delivery of a lance and shield to the girding of a sword on the candidate, the Church called upon him to swear always to protect her, and Christian morality added the obligation of rescuing the oppressed, and preserving peace. A barrier was thus raised against cruelty and injustice; and objects of desire, distinct from rapine and plunder, were before the eyes of martial youth. The true knight was courteous and humane; stern and ferocious. His various duties determined his character. As protector of the weak, his mind was elevated and softened, generous and disinterested.—The engrafting of the virtues of humanity and the practical duties of religion on the sanguinary qualities of the warrior was a circumstance beneficial to the world."\*

There is no doubt in my mind that the veneration of the Blessed Virgin, which the Popes always cherished, was amongst the most powerful means of civilization. Woman was raised from her degradation, and no longer regarded as the slave of the haughty soldier. She was respected because of HER who was blessed among women. The mild virtues of the Virgin caught the admiration of the fierce sons of Mars, and her gentleness and sweetness were imitated by them. Holy purity was loved, because it had been honored in her person. Not only vast numbers of her own sex cherished it with jealous care, but thousands of men vowed to preserve it, and sought the aid of her prayers for that purpose. It is manifest that the devotion to her was developed and exercised in those ages in a remarkable degree; and to it we may fairly ascribe all that was bland and meek in manners, all that was pure in morals, all that was tender and affecting in piety. Augustus William Schlegel, although a Protestant, has beautifully observed: "With the virtues of chivalry was associated a new and purer spirit of love, an inspired homage for genuine female worth, which was now revered as the pinnacle of humanity, and enjoined by religion itself

\* History of Crusades, ch. i. p. 22.

under the image of a virgin mother, infused into all hearts a sentiment of unalloyed goodness.”\*

The act of Leo III. creating Charlemagne emperor of the West, was, doubtless, a grand effort towards the perfect civilization and social organization of the European nations. The fragments of the great empire of Rome lay scattered abroad, and the Northern invaders, disputing with each other the possession of the conquered soil, were likely to pursue their mutual wars to extermination. The brave king of the Franks came to the portals of the great temple, surrounded by several of the nations whom his sword had subdued, and he knelt at the altar where the Pontiff prayed that peace and truth might prevail. Leo wisely judged, that by the religious sanction of his power, and by a title which would mark his higher rank, order might be effectually established in his dominions, and wherever his power or influence extended. His calculations were not vain. By that one act he may be fairly considered as having created an empire, and given to the kingdom of France a durability, which it could not derive from military prowess. The division of his dominions among the children of Charles did not bring the kingdom, or the empire, to an end. Saint-Priest observes: “In the eighth century the members of a society broken up into fragments, awaited only a breath to revive, in the vigor of youth. Rome performed the miracle.”†

In hailing Charlemagne emperor, the Pope may be thought to have founded a despotism; but historical documents shew that he meant only to create a protective power, whereby the Western nations should be guided and sustained in their progress to civilization. The idea of emperor which he had derived from St. Gregory the Great, was that of a ruler of freemen. This Pope rebuked Leontius, a public officer, for reflecting disgrace on the imperial authority by the severity wherewith he punished Libertinus for the crime of peculation. “This is the difference between the kings of the nations, and the emperors of the Romans, that the kings of the nations are lords of slaves, the emperor of the Romans is the lord of freemen. Wherefore, in all your acts you should, in the first place, have a strict regard to justice, and next you should preserve liberty in all things.”‡ The successors of Leo strenuously opposed the encroachments of the emperors, and their attempts to concentrate power in their own hands, to the prejudice of the rights of nations, or of the acknowledged privileges of the Church. Gre-

\* Lectures on Dramatic Literature, translated by John Black p. 8. American edition.

† Histoire de la Royauté vol. ii. p. 219.

‡ L. x. ep. 41.



gory IX. reproached Frederick II. with being at once a "persecutor of the Church, and a destroyer of public liberty," by the unjust laws which he threatened to promulgate. In opposing the union of Sicily with the empire, the Popes guarded against the accumulation of power in the hands of one man; and in the various acts of Papal opposition to imperial encroachment, the liberty of Italy, Germany, and the nations generally was vindicated. Michaud avows: "But for the Pope it is probable that Europe would have fallen under the yoke of the emperors of Germany. The policy of the sovereign Pontiffs, by weakening the imperial power, favored in Germany the liberty of the cities and the increase and duration of the small States. We do not hesitate to add that the thunders of the Holy See saved the independence of Italy, and perhaps of France."\* "This policy of the Popes resulted in freeing Italy from the yoke of the German emperors, so that this rich country for sixty years did not behold the imperial troops."† "Liberty and the Church" were inspiring watchwords of the Lombard league. Venice, Verona, Padua, Vicentia, combined against Frederick *pro tuenda libertate*, in defence of liberty.‡ Pope Alexander was their friend and ally, so that when the Lombards listened to overtures made on the part of Frederick, they made an express proviso in behalf of the Roman Church, and of their own liberty; and when the Pope was solicited to accede to some proposals of the emperor, he declined any final action without the concurrence of the Lombards, who had nobly fought, as he publicly declared, for the welfare of the Church, and the liberty of Italy.§

The same sympathies manifested themselves on many occasions. "Tuscany," says Hallam, "had hitherto been ruled by a marquis of the emperor's appointment, though her cities were flourishing, and, within themselves, independent. In imitation of the Lombard confederacy, and impelled by Innocent III., they now (with the exception of Pisa, which was always strongly attached to the empire) founded a similar league for the preservation of their rights. In this league the influence of the Pope was far more strongly manifested than in that of Lombardy."|| It was the constant study of the Popes to guard against the perpetuity of the imperial authority in the same family, by mere title of descent, and to maintain the elective principle. In the vacancy of the empire under Innocent III., the majority of votes were for Philip of Swabia, who was deemed by Innocent totally unworthy, and

\* *Histoire des Croisades* l. xiii. p. 97.

† *Ibid.* l. xvi. p. 454.

‡ *Baronius an.* 1164.

§ *Ibid.* an. 1177.

|| *Middle Ages* vol. i. ch. iii. par. i. p. 359.

in whose election the necessary conditions had not been attended to. Frederick had in his favor hereditary right, being son of the deceased emperor. The opposition of the Pope to both led some of the princes to murmur, as if he sought to take from them the privilege of electing, which he denied most unequivocally in his instructions to his ambassadors: "In order effectually to close the mouth of such as speak unjustly, and to prevent credit being given to the slanders of those who assert that we mean to take from the princes the liberty of election, you should oftentimes, by word of mouth, and in writing, repeat to all that we have had regard to their liberty in this matter, and we have sought to preserve it inviolate: for we have not chosen any one, but we have favored, and we still favor him who was chosen by the majority of the persons entitled to a vote in the choice of the emperor, and crowned in the proper place, and by the proper person, since the Apostolic See should crown him emperor who was duly crowned king. We also stand up for the liberty of the princes, whilst we utterly deny our sanction to him who claims the empire on the score of succession: for it would appear that the empire was not conferred by the election of the princes, but by succession, if, as formerly, the son succeeded the father, so now the brother should succeed the brother, or the son succeed the father, without any intermediate person."\* In speaking of Rodolph, duke of Swabia, whom an assembly of revolted princes raised to the throne, in place of Henry, Hallam observes: "We may perceive in the conditions of Rodolph's election, a symptom of the real principle that animated the German aristocracy against Henry IV. It was agreed that the kingdom should no longer be hereditary, nor conferred on the son of a reigning monarch without popular approbation. The Pope strongly encouraged this plan of rendering the empire elective."†

Of the struggles of the Popes with the emperors, I have already spoken at large, and shown that they labored only to restrain them within the limits of just authority. Justice, humanity, religion were the considerations that impelled the Pontiff, and gave weight to his remonstrances, or strength to his arm, when he grasped the thunderbolt. Michaud, although entirely adverse to the interference of the Popes, avows that "they were led to assume supreme power by the circumstances of Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. European society, without experience, without laws, plunged in ignorance and anarchy, cast itself into the arms of the Popes, imagining that they

\* Ep. liv. apud Raynald. an. 1201.

† Middle Ages vol. i. ch. v. p. 460.

placed themselves thereby under the protection of heaven. As the nations had no other idea of civilization, but such as they received from the Christian religion, the sovereign Pontiffs found themselves naturally the supreme arbiters of nations. In the midst of the darkness which the light of the Gospel tended incessantly to dissipate, their authority was the first established, and the first recognized : the temporal power had need of their sanction : the nations and kings implored their support, and consulted their knowledge : wherefore they felt themselves authorized to exercise a sovereign dictatorship. This dictatorship was often exercised to the advantage of public morals and social order : oftentimes it protected the weak against the strong : it prevented the execution of criminal projects : it re-established peace among States : it saved society in its infancy from the excesses of ambition, licentiousness and barbarism. In reading over the annals of the middle ages, we cannot but admire one of the most charming spectacles ever presented by human society, namely Christian Europe, acknowledging but one religion, having but one law, forming as it were but one empire, governed by one chief who spoke in the name of God, and whose mission was to make the Gospel reign on earth. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the nations of Europe, subject to the authority of Saint Peter, were united, one with the other, by a stronger tie than that of knowledge, and directed by a more powerful impulse than that of liberty : this bond was the Universal Church.”\*

The great principle on which the Popes instinctively acted, was the Divine Sovereignty. They held that every soul should be subject to God, and that rulers, as well as the humblest of their subjects, were bound by His revealed will, in their use of power, as well as in their personal conduct. There was no other principle on which they could have hoped to civilize men. The supremacy of law was not acknowledged, since there was no general legislative power ; individual reason could not be effectually appealed to ; and philosophy had no influence over the minds of the vast multitude of men. Religion alone, with her divine evidences, could command attention and ensure obedience, and she was necessarily presented to men, as she came from the Deity, with all her mysteries and all her authority. She enforced every duty, she sanctioned every natural and social bond, and by her promises she gained assent, or by her threats wrung submission.

It is well remarked by Saint Priest, that “ the Church was always instinctively convinced of her civilizing mission.”† Other writers

\* *Histoire des Croisades* l. xiii. p. 98.

† *Histoire de la Royauté* vol. ii. p. 7.

freely own that she nobly discharged this duty in the middle ages. "The Papal power," says a modern, "was for ages the great bulwark of order, amid the turbulence of the semi-civilized people of Europe."\* "The power of the Church was a blessing which God bestowed upon the middle ages—where every thing would have been darkness, and bloodshed, and disorder—that alone guarded and perpetuated order, and justice, and light."† "In the middle ages, when there was no social order," says Ancillon, "it was the influence and power of the Popes, that perhaps alone saved Europe from barbarism."‡ "The Papacy fought the battle of freedom and civilization."§

It cannot for a moment be supposed that the Popes were ever hostile to republican institutions, since, as I have shewn, they protected and fostered the Lombard cities in the assertion of their rights, and constantly showed favor to the republics which sprang up from the struggle. It would be a great mistake to think that these were not true republics, since even before that struggle, the Lombard cities, and many of the Tuscan, exercised all the rights of popular sovereignty. Hallam observes: "It is certain that before the death of Henry V. in 1125, almost all the cities of Lombardy, and many among those of Tuscany, were accustomed to elect their own magistrates, and to act as independent communities in waging war and in domestic government."|| Gregory IX. at the request of the Doge, took the Venetian republic under his special protection. It long flourished in arms and arts, commerce and enterprise of every honorable kind, the ally and friend of Rome, until Sarpi and other false men disturbed that harmony, by disregarding the ancient immunities of the clergy, which, in the zenith of her power, Venice had respected. The Eternal city still stands in her strength—whilst the queen of the waters has forfeited her dowry, and the German soldier guards the palace, where her merchant princes once deliberated whether they would grant the favors which Sovereigns did not disdain to ask at their hands. The favor of the Pontiffs was always lavishly bestowed on the republic, unless in circumstances of this unfortunate character, wherein the usages, which for ages had been deemed laws of the whole Christian confederacy, were wantonly violated. Many interesting examples of Papal interposition to arrange the dissensions of republics, one with the other, or within themselves,

\* American Encyclopædia, Article Gregory VII.

† Foreign Quarterly, for April 1836. Art. History of the Franks.

‡ Quoted by Fletcher, Comparative view p. 157.

§ Foreign Quarterly for January 1836.

|| Hallam, Middle Ages vol. i. ch. iii. p. i. p. 244.

are recorded. Speaking of the struggles for office between the aristocracy and commonalty, Hallam says: "In one or two cities, a temporary compromise was made through the intervention of the Pope, whereby offices of public trust, from the highest to the lowest, were divided in equal proportions, or otherwise, between the nobles and the people. This is no bad expedient, and proved singularly efficacious in appeasing the dissensions of ancient Rome."\* It is pleasing to be able to point out such examples of pontifical interposition to regulate the social relations in such a manner as to satisfy every class of the community. Saint-Priest says: "Rome from the age of Constantine, under the title of republic, which she never lost, had become a kind of free city, which for illustration sake, I shall compare to the Hanseatic cities of the north of Germany."† The Pope might well be styled the father and protector of the Roman republic. The desolation of the city, sometimes by famine, and often by hostile armies, imposed on him the necessity of defending it; and his treasury, containing the revenues arising from the possessions of the Roman Church in other places, was exhausted to furnish provisions to the famishing people, and to protect the remains of the imperial city from the incursions of hostile armies. With paternal solicitude, the third and fourth Leo directed their efforts to secure the city by a wall. At the entreaty of the nobles, who complained of the Saracen depredations, Leo IV. determined to execute what his predecessor had designed, and accordingly summoned the citizens to council, arranged his plans, ordering the cities dependant on the republic, and the monasteries themselves to furnish mechanics, and for four years he spared no personal labor or exposure, until the work was completed. There are traces of republican deliberation in this narrative, and every thing warrants us in regarding the Pontiff as the father, rather than lord of his people. The spirit of republican institutions is discovered by Hallam in the succeeding stages of Rome's political vicissitudes. "The spirit and even the institutions of the Romans were republican. Amidst the darkness of the tenth century, which no contemporary historian dissipates, we faintly distinguish the awful names of senate, consuls, and tribunes, the domestic magistracy of Rome. These shadows of past glory strike us at first with surprise, yet there is no improbability in the supposition, that a city so renowned and populous, and so happily sheltered from the usurpation of the Lombards, might have preserved, or might afterwards establish a kind

\* Middle Ages vol. i. ch. iii. par. i. p. 278.

† Histoire de la Royauté, l. iii. p. 284.

of municipal government, which it would be natural to dignify with those august titles of antiquity.”\*

The same learned historian considers the cession of his claims by the emperor Rodolph in 1278, as the period at which the civil principality of the Pontiff was completely established. “This,” he says, “is a leading epoch in the temporal monarchy of Rome. But she stood only in the place of the emperor; and her ultimate sovereignty was compatible with the practical independence of the free cities, or of the usurpers who had risen up among them. Bologna, Faenza, Rimini and Ravenna, with many other less considerable, took an oath indeed to the Pope, but continued to regulate both their internal concerns and foreign relations at their own discretion. The first of these cities was far pre-eminent above the rest for population and renown, and, though not without several interruptions, preserved a republican character till the end of the fourteenth century.”† The Romans often went beyond the limits of a municipal power, and reduced the Papal sovereignty to a protectorate void of all efficiency. On their reconciliation, in one instance, with an exiled Pontiff, they offered to bestow on him the title of Senator, which he condescended to receive, with a proviso, that it should not prejudice his higher claims to authority. They frequently assumed to themselves supreme power, as Hallam again testifies: “In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Senate, and the Senator who succeeded them, exercised one distinguishing attribute of sovereignty, that of coining gold and silver money. Some of their coins still exist, with legends in a very republican tone.”‡ In the vicissitudes of ages Rome, Venice, Florence, Pisa, Genoa, and Milan, have lost their republican institutions; but the small republic of S. Marino, in the Papal territory, remains as the memorial of the past, and the Pope is still the father of his people, ruling them with mild sway, and making all his temporal measures subordinate to the maintenance of truth and virtue. Using the power which Providence has placed in his hands for the protection of all, he gives to each one the security of property and life, and those rights which are guaranteed by the principles of justice and humanity contained in the Gospel. If at any time republican institutions have been viewed with suspicion at Rome, it was only when they were violently obtruded to disturb established order, with danger to the general peace and security, and when the enemies of religion, in the name of liberty, declared war against that See, which had been, in the worst of times, its most strenuous vindicator

\* Middle Ages vol. i. ch. iii. par. i p. 234.

† Ibid. ch. iii. p. ii. p. 293.

‡ Ib. p. 295.

The Popes, indeed, have never dealt in abstract theories of political economy, or sought to introduce new systems of polity into countries wherein order existed, but giving to every existing form of government, whether monarchical or republican, or mixed, the sanction of religion, sought only to instil those maxims which constitute individual and social happiness. The Catholic religion is suited to every form, and indifferent to all. The Church interferes not with despotism or liberty: but she changes by her mild influence the tyrant into a father, and she points out the moral restraints which may prevent licentiousness. Every where she is at home, directing by her holy counsels, encouraging by her smiles, and warning in the grave tones of experience. "The Christian Religion," says a late writer, St.-Priest, "which has existed for near two thousand years, is not indissolubly attached to any political form. Under the shadow of absolute thrones, or of limited monarchies—on the borders of the republican lake of William Tell—in America, which is still more republican, it flourishes as an imperishable plant, nourished by the juices of earth, and refreshed by the waters of heaven. It is not a local, but a universal religion."\*

\* Histoire de la Royauté par le Cte Alexis de Saint Priest l. ii. p. 92.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## LITERATURE AND THE ARTS.

§ 1. *The Arts.*

It is only in a secondary point of view that literature, the human sciences, and the fine arts, deserve consideration. The apostles were not recommended to public attention by their literary qualifications, nor charged by the Divine Master to labor for the extension of human knowledge. Their commission was to deliver the heavenly truths wherein they had been instructed, to make men wise unto salvation, to level every height of human knowledge raising itself up against the knowledge of God, and to fill the whole earth with divine truth. The vain hope of knowledge like unto that of the Deity had seduced our frail mother, and the shame of the experimental knowledge of evil was the punishment of inordinate curiosity. Yet the Popes have, at all times, well understood that science might be usefully promoted, and art fostered, without detriment to religion: nay their enlightened zeal found means to make the arts tributary. "If there be a Church," says Saint Priest, "predestined to a social mission, which far from throwing obstacles in the way of civilization, has developed and fostered its germs in the focus of ardent faith, the Roman Church must be recognised by these features. We shall see her during the first period of her existence, causing the education of the soul and of the mind to advance with equal pace, cursing in the name of faith the gods of paganism, and protecting their images in the name of art: afterwards for the interest of both, which she always happily combined, opposing the force of her word to the blind fury of the Iconoclasts. . . . Her true character was always to unite the maintenance of faith with the exercise of all the human faculties, to regulate them all without proscribing any of them, thus to devote them, in a purified state, to the service of God. Rome attached to the altars of Christ the imagination itself, the rebellious slave of reason."\*

The proofs of these enlarged views are found in the acts of the ancient Popes, who as soon as the danger of idolatry had ceased, availed themselves of the labors of the artist for the decoration of the churches.

\* Histoire de la Royauté vol. ii. l. v. p. 7.



St. Sylvester, Julius I., Liberius, St. Leo, and others, are related by Anastasius the librarian, to have adorned the Churches with Mosaic works and paintings. Symmachus, in the sixth century, adorned the basilic of St. Peter with Mosaics, and placed new paintings in St. Paul's. The like zeal was manifested in the following ages. Churches were built, and adorned with Mosaics, according to the taste and genius of the times. John VII. who was made Pope in 705, adorned the Churches with many paintings. Leo III. bestowed many Mosaics and paintings on the Churches, and is the first who is known to have introduced the use of stained glass. Stephen V. in the commencement of the ninth century, gave paintings to several Churches. Eugene II. adorned with paintings the Church of St. Sabina, which he had repaired. Gregory IV. in like manner restored and adorned the Church of St. Saturnine, and gave Mosaics and paintings to other Churches. Sergius II. raised a vestibule before St. John of Lateran, supported by columns and arches, and adorned it with Mosaics and paintings. Leo IV., Nicholas I., Adrian II., are related to have exercised great munificence by similar donations.\* The like gifts, as also ciboriums, which were then taken to mean silver canopies for the altar, highly ornamented, were given by various Popes from time to time. Towards the end of the twelfth century, Lucius III. and Urban III. caused several sculptured ornaments to be placed in St. John of Lateran. These are a few instances of the zeal of the Popes to adorn the house of God, that the facts of sacred history might be read on its walls, and the mysteries of faith constantly kept in view. The elegance of the execution varied according to the general condition of the times; but at all times art presented her best offerings on the altars of religion.

Blind zeal against Paganism would have destroyed the temples and statues of the gods, as so many monuments of idolatry: the Popes preserved them with care, wisely judging that the temples might be transferred to the worship of the true God. No glory could redound to the Deity from the destruction of the statues, wherein the skill of man appears, fashioning the lifeless stone to the imitation of the Divine work. Paul II. gathered ancient statues from all parts of the city into his own palace, and rewarded with munificence all who brought them from Greece, Asia, or other country. What Leo X. did for the recovery of the works of art cannot be told. These monuments rescued by the care of the Popes from the destroying arm of the barbarian, or the fragments gathered up by them from the ruins of the deso-

\* Tiraboschi, Storia della letteratura Italiana l. iii. c. vi. p. 240.

late city, came down through ages of tumult, as models of perfection, which in a happier age were to be rivalled, if not excelled. The Pantheon—the glory of Roman architecture was to be placed in the clouds by the sublime genius of Michael Angelo; and Rome was to possess a temple crowned with the wondrous dome, which would far surpass in its vast and just dimensions all the ancient fanes of the false deities, and even the august mansion which God Himself had chosen among His favored people. If the middle ages produced nothing worthy of the ancient masters, it was a matter of just glory for the age of Julius and of Leo, that genius revisited the earth, and exhibited on the canvass such animated representations as filled the eye with wonder, and stirred the deep fountains of the heart. The Transfiguration and the General Judgment are miracles of genius, which the world might have never seen, but for the munificence and refined taste of the calumniated Pontiffs of Rome. “Rome,” says Tiraboschi, “was the first theatre wherein were collected the most perfect productions of nature and art. Julius II., Leo X., Clement VII. and Paul III. are names of immortal renown in the annals of the fine arts for the magnificence wherewith they promoted and cherished them during their pontificates. There were seen re-united, almost all at one time, Raphael of Urbino, Julius of Rome, John of Udine, Perino del Vago, Polidore of Caravaggio, Francis Mazzuoli, Baldassar Peruzzi, Anthony of S. Gallo, and James Sansovino, Alphonsus Lombardi, and Baccio Bandinelli, names so illustrious in painting, architecture, and sculpture; and there finally was Michelangelo Buonarroti, painter, sculptor, and architect, uniting in himself all the splendid endowments which were divided among the others.—The Vatican basilic would alone be sufficient to render immortal the names of the four Popes above mentioned, to whom its commencement and termination are principally due. In it all the arts seemed to vie, which should present the most splendid proofs of the excellence of its professors.”\*

Majesty.

Power, Glory, Strength, and Beauty, all are aided  
In this eternal ark of worship undefiled.

The animated portraits of Titian, and his living landscapes, which tempt the beholder to walk amidst the delightful scenery, found admirers in Leo X. and Paul III. and the miniatures of Julius Clovio, which present in the smallest imaginable space the distinct representation of the whole human figure, were rewarded by the munificence of

\* *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* v. vii. p. iii. l. iii. c. vii.

Farnese. Sofonisba Anguisciola, of Cremona, employed the pencil with such success in the portrait of the queen of Spain, that Pius IV., to whom it was forwarded, honored her with a complimentary letter on the excellence of the painting. Thus did the Popes prove themselves patrons of the fine arts, and lavish honors and wealth on those who attained to eminence in their cultivation.

It would be tedious, although not uninteresting, to enumerate instances of encouragement given to all the arts. Engravers, lapidaries, as well as painters, and sculptors, are indebted to pontifical munificence for the progress and success of their labors. Martin V. and Paul II. were their special patrons. Clement Birago, a youth of Milan, at the court of Clement VII. first practised the art of engraving on diamonds.

We cannot easily estimate the improvements in Church building, and decoration, which took place in various countries, under the guidance of Christian missionaries, and the influence of Roman models. To be just we should estimate these things according to the previous state of the respective countries. Of England a late eloquent writer observes: "St. Wilfrid and St. Bennet Biscop, the great improvers of Saxon architecture, made several pilgrimages to Rome, (the former three or four, the latter no less than five,) and never did they return without a rich importation of manuscripts, chalices, various utensils, vestments, and ornaments for the altar; besides statues and pictures to adorn the temples, which their observation of the Roman and continental structures had enabled them to erect. In these new structures, they exhibited to their admiring countrymen all the wonders of cut stone walls and towers, lead roofs and glass windows, with sundry other astonishing improvements, '*juxta Romanorum morem.*' And it may be well imagined, that not the least attractive of these novelties were the creations of the Italian or Grecian pencil."\*

## § 2. *Literary Endowments.*

The literary tendencies of the Popes may be seen from a very early period of their history in their efforts to establish a library. In the days of St. Leo there must have been a considerable collection of the works of the fathers at Rome, since he quotes them freely in his letter to Leo Augustus. St. Hilarus, who in 461 filled the chair, enriched the Lateran palace with two libraries. Stephen V. in the year 886, gave books to the library of St. Paul's. From a letter of Lupus, Ab-

\* Rome under Paganism, vol. ii. p. 243.

bot of Ferrieres, to Benedict III. in 885 it appears, that Rome was considered a good place to obtain rare and valuable books. He asks the Pope to send him some portion of the commentary of St. Jerom on Jeremiah, which he complained was wanting in the libraries of France; and also the books of Cicero *de Oratore*, and the twelve books of the institutions of Quintilian, and the Commentary of Donatus on the comedies of Terentius. Gerbert, afterwards Silvester II., in a letter to a friend, states that the desire of books, and the number of copyists was great in every city of Italy. The office of librarian of the Roman Church was generally held by a Cardinal, and was continued for a long lapse of ages.

The great Pope Nicholas V. pursued, on a vast scale, what had been begun at so early a period, and had been continued so steadily under circumstances of such difficulty. The Vatican library is justly considered as founded by him, since he enriched it with numberless manuscripts of rare value, and gave it the high character which it has never since forfeited among the learned collections of the world. Sixtus IV. increased its treasures, and laid them open to the public.

The writings of the Popes both in their official capacity, and individually, prove them to have been highly distinguished in literary attainments especially in those most befitting their high station. Their official documents are remarkable for perspicuity, force, dignity, and unction, even when the style bears marks of the decline of learning. Their works shew that they were not destitute of genius, or unfurnished with erudition.

Pope Damasus was learned, and encouraged learning, employing St. Jerom at Rome for the affairs of the Church, consulting him, when in Palestine, on Scriptural difficulties, and urging him to the revision of the received translation of the New Testament, and to a new version of the ancient Scriptures. He also gathered around himself the most learned men, to profit by their counsels. The holy Pontiff did not think it inconsistent with the grave character of his office to indulge his taste for poetry, that sacred subjects, presented with the ornaments of fancy and genius, might win minds less disposed for solemn thought.

From the lips of Leo the Great, the language of the Romans seemed to fall with almost its ancient grace and majesty. Attila, with his barbarous Huns, and Genserich, at the head of his Vandals, stood in admiration of the more than human eloquence with which he pleaded for the queen of cities; and each yielded to his persuasion, either to abandon the design of vengeance, or restrain it within limits.

Amidst the calamities that overspread Italy in his day, St. Gregory found time to write a moral treatise on Job, which is deservedly regarded as one of the most precious productions of the fathers. His work on the Pastoral office displays solid judgment, a thorough acquaintance with human nature, and the difficult science of governing men; it was so highly esteemed as to be translated into Greek by the patriarch of Alexandria, to gratify the emperor Mauritius. On the authority of a writer several centuries posterior, who adopted some popular tales, he has been accused of banishing mathematicians from his palace, and burning the Palatine library. If the testimony were admissible, it is known that astrologers were understood in the middle ages by the term mathematicians, and it would be no proof of hostility to learning to have discarded men who abused and degraded science by superstitious observations. It would take nothing from his literary fame to have consigned to the flames books infected with such superstition, as the apostles ordered to be burnt a vast and costly pile of works regarding magic. But we can place no reliance on a statement made by a writer so long after the age of the Pontiff, especially since we are assured by a contemporary author of his esteem for learned men and love for learning. "He was surrounded," says John the deacon, "by the most erudite clergymen and religious monks. Wisdom seemed at that time to have built for herself a temple at Rome, and to have raised the Apostolic See on the arts, as on seven most precious columns. None of the attendants of the Pontiff, even of the humblest class, manifested any thing uncouth in his language or deportment, but the Latin language, with the full Roman ornaments, was dominant in the palace. The various arts were flourishing."\* These praises, even if exaggerated, prove a high regard for learning. Justly did the saintly Pontiff set but little value on the ornaments of style, compared with the higher beauties of sentiment, and the grave importance of the Christian truths:† yet he assigned to each their just place, and did not neglect the graces, which, although natural, have their value and their influence. He would not have bishops neglect the high duties of their station for mere literary pursuits, still less become teachers in a grammar-school:‡ but he did not, on that account, blame others, who could

\* L. ii. c. xii.

† Ep. ad S. Leandr.

‡ L. ix. ep. liv. ad Desiderium ep. Vien. Guizot *Cours d'histoire moderne* t. ii. p. 120, does not understand the connexion between teaching Grammar, and uttering the praises of Jupiter, which Gregory says is unbecoming one whose mouth is consecrated to God: but I apprehend that *Grammatica* comprehends the whole course of classics, and might be rendered *Humanities*

imbue the young mind with the rudiments of learning, or lead the more vigorous intellect to the higher walks of science.\*

It may be admitted without any disparagement to the fame of the Popes, that they directed their efforts to promote sacred literature, rather than profane; and gave that turn to literary pursuits which is observable in the writers of those times. Guizot has well remarked that "it is a gross error to suppose that these were times of apathy and moral sterility, wherein brute force only was called into action, and intellect was undeveloped and powerless. On the contrary, there was great intellectual activity, but directed to enforce and recommend the practical duties of Christianity. There were, in abundance, sermons, instructions, homilies, conferences on religious matters. No political revolution, nor the press in its free action ever produced more pamphlets. Three fourths, perhaps ninety-nine hundredths of these small works are lost—and yet a prodigious number remains, which form a real and rich literature."† This is said of the fifth and sixth centuries.

Among the instructions of St. Gregory to Augustine, was the establishment of schools for the rudiments of learning, and before an age had elapsed, Pope Vitalian, in seeking a fit person to occupy the See of Canterbury, shewed special regard to erudition, as a qualification for that high office. To the latter a just tribute of praise is given by the eloquent writer, whom I have more than once quoted: "For the pre-eminence to which they (the English) attained in literature and the sciences, the Anglo-Saxons were mainly indebted to Pope Vitalian. He selected for the See of Canterbury, and for the abbey of St. Peter's in the same city, two of the most accomplished scholars of their age: the one, Theodore, a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia, whom he appointed archbishop: the other, Abbot Adrian, was by birth an African, and both were perfect masters of the Greek and Latin languages, and eminently versed in the entire circle of the sciences as they were then known. Ere long the palace of Archbishop Theodore, and the monastery of Abbot Adrian became normal schools for all the kingdoms of the heptarchy. The fire of emulation which they enkindled, soon

"Ce qui est evident, c'est le decroi des études profanes, même cultivées par des clercs." This is not so evident. To condemn the teaching of classics by a bishop, who is called to high functions, is not to condemn it in all clergymen. Gregory says that it does not become even a religious layman to sing the praises of Jupiter. By this he seems to blame too great ardor in the study of the Heathen poets.

\* See Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura Italiana* l. ii. vol. iii. c. ii.

† *Cours d'histoire moderne* t. ii. p. 122.

illuminated the entire land, extending its humanizing influence from the cloisters to the fortress-castles of the nobility, and to the courts of the royal princes. Even the Anglo-Saxon ladies became inflamed with the general enthusiasm for letters; and their accomplishments and classic taste may well excite the surprise, if not the envy, of their fair descendants of the present age. 'They conversed with their absent friends,' says Dr. Lingard, 'in the language of ancient Rome; and frequently exchanged the labors of the distaff and the needle (in which they excelled,) for the more pleasing and more eloquent beauties of the Latin poets.' \*

Learning continued to decline on the continent of Europe, where the ravages of war, and the gross habits of the new settlers from the North, or their descendants, left no taste for literary pursuits. Guizot, however, has candidly exploded the vulgar prejudice, that its decline arose from the dominion of faith over reason as exercised by the Popes and Church, and has shewn that literature flourished when the empire of faith was more absolute and general: "The fall of the empire," he observes, "its disorders and miseries, the dissolution of the social relations and bonds, the pre-occupation and suffering of personal interest, the impossibility of any long labor, and of any peaceable leisure, were the true causes of the moral and political declension, and of the darkness which enveloped the human mind." †

The Popes themselves, although generally superior to their age, had not that literary excellence which would recommend them to the admiration of moderns. Many of them, however, whose writings have not come down to us, sustained in their day a character for learning, and were celebrated by contemporary writers, or were placed in the annals of the Church with this special praise. Leo II. who was Pope in 682, was familiar with the Latin and Greek languages, thoroughly instructed in the Sacred Scriptures, and endowed with an eloquence which effectually impressed on the minds of his hearers the instructions which he delighted to impart to them. Benedict II. was distinguished for his knowledge of Sacred Scripture, and of Sacred Music. John V. is spoken of as a learned Pontiff. John VII. is praised for learning and eloquence.

Gregory II. is stated to have been thoroughly versed in Scripture, and distinguished for the graces of elocution. His esteem of learning is evident from the strict instructions given by him to St. Boniface, not to ordain an illiterate person. ‡ Boniface himself was distinguished

\* Rome under Paganism, vol. ii. p. 237.

† Cours d'histoire moderne t. ii. p. 344.

‡ Neque illiteratum.

for intellectual endowments. "As his pious, noble and enlightened soul," says Saint-Priest, "felt at an early period of life, that the cultivation and improvement of his understanding was a duty to God, he became learned in his youth, and was master of the subtleties of grammar, and of the rules of poetry, as well as of the interpretation of the holy Scriptures. His reputation for learning was widely spread, and disciples flocked from all parts to hear him. Such a man suited the views of Rome."\*

It is, nevertheless, certain that St. Gregory II. on being informed that the priest Virgil, an Irishman, taught that there is another world, and other men under the earth, another sun, and moon, directed Boniface to ascertain the fact, and if true, to depose him from the priesthood. It is not clear that the opinion of Virgil was the same as that which has since been found to be correct, namely that *antipodes* exist. The Pope seems to have understood him as asserting the existence of a race of men in another world, altogether distinct from this, not derived from Adam, from whom God made all mankind, and not redeemed by Christ, who is the Saviour of all men. Of the measures actually adopted we are not informed, but it is plain that no doctrinal decree was issued. If Virgil be the same individual who was afterwards created bishop of Saltzburg, as is more generally believed, he must have satisfied the archbishop and the Pontiff that his sentiment was innoxious. Granting, what is by no means proved, that Gregory wished deposition to take place for the holding of the opinion concerning the existence of antipodes, it does not shew any hostility to science, but a jealous care lest scientific speculations, not yet confirmed by satisfactory proofs, should weaken the belief in the revealed doctrines. This solicitude may in some instances be excessive, without implying any disposition to oppose the progress of science, within its legitimate sphere. The Church is not authorized to pronounce on subjects of this nature, unless as far as they may manifestly clash with revelation; but she may adopt precautions lest natural science be abused to cast discredit on revealed truth.

The low state of learning in Italy gave occasion to the elevation to the Papal chair of learned men from the East. St. Gregory III., a Syrian, succeeded his namesake, and is praised for his knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues. St. Zachary, a Greek, next held the chair, and for the benefit of his countrymen rendered the dialogues of St. Gregory the Great into his vernacular tongue, to the great edification and delight of the Greeks.

\* Histoire de la Royauté vol. ii. l. viii. p. 224.



Other Popes in this century, Italians by birth, shewed a laudable zeal for sacred literature, and enjoyed the reputation of learned as well as holy men. Hadrian I. wrote a reply to the Caroline books, in which much erudition is united with still greater logic. Leo III. has also merited the praise of learning, and of having patronized it. In the ninth century several Popes are commended for learning. Sergius II., when a youth, by his genius and piety, gained the esteem and affection of Leo III. who attended to his education, and thus prepared him for the high office, to which he was afterwards promoted. St. Nicholas I. rose above his age, on which he shed a brilliant light. His learning was considerable, his eloquence powerful, which added to the higher qualities of the mind and heart, namely, inflexible integrity, and apostolical vigor, merited for him the title of a great Pontiff. Stephen VI. gave evidence of his zeal for sacred learning in the gifts of books of Scripture, and homilies of the fathers, which he made to various Churches. He left also a discourse, wherein the Scripture is freely quoted to confirm the practical lessons which it contains. Men of this character deserve the esteem of all who love solid merit, and who feel zeal for Christianity.

### § 3. *Measures to promote Learning.*

The measures adopted by various Popes in those times to furnish the clergy with the most necessary knowledge for the exercise of the ministry, should not be forgotten. When darkness was spread around, they trimmed and held aloft the lamp of knowledge, which was still burning, although dimly. Stephen III. was wont to assemble the clergy in the Lateran palace, and to confer with them on the Holy Scriptures, exhorting them to study the ecclesiastical writings, that they might be able to refute the sophisms of unbelievers.

Eugene II. in a council held at Rome in 826, enacted several canons, which shew his zeal to dissipate the ignorance which prevailed. Bishops were ordered to suspend from sacred functions, and if this were unavailing, absolutely to depose priests ignorant of their duty; and metropolitans were charged to use like severity towards their suffragans. Schools were to be opened in cathedral and parish Churches, and wheresoever else they might appear to be necessary. "We have heard," he says, "that in some places neither teachers are found, nor is any regard had to literary pursuits: wherefore in all episcopal residences, and among the people subject to them, and in other places wherein it may be necessary, let care and diligence be used by all

means, to appoint teachers and doctors, who may assiduously teach letters and the liberal arts, and the holy doctrines, since the divine commandments are particularly manifested and declared in these things." When the efforts of the Popes to spread such general instruction had partially failed, through the scarcity of books and teachers, and the prevailing distaste for polite literature, another Roman Council, in 853, under Leo IV. contented itself with insisting on the study of the Divine Scripture, and of the ecclesiastical office: "Although teachers of the liberal arts be usually scarce, let there be at least a professor of the Divine Scripture, and instructors in the office of the Church." There were schools of this kind, especially at Rome, one of which was in the Lateran palace, where several of the Popes were trained from early youth. At Pisa, in 903, theology and the sacred canons were also taught.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Popes to promote the most necessary studies, it is deplorably true that they were much neglected in the tenth century, in consequence of the disorders of which Rome itself was the scene, whilst piety and learning, to a considerable extent, flourished elsewhere. At its close Gerbert, a Frenchman of great genius and learning, was placed on the chair of Peter, under the name of Silvester II. His character may best be described in the words of Hallam: "Gerbert, who by an uncommon quickness of parts shone in very different provinces of learning, and was beyond question the most accomplished man of the dark ages, displays in his epistles a thorough acquaintance with the best Latin authors, and a taste for their excellences. He writes with the feelings of Petrarch, but in a more auspicious period."\*

The eleventh century was illustrated by Popes of considerable learning, who adopted measures well calculated to promote sacred studies, and to facilitate the revival of polite literature. Alexander II. filled the chair in the decline of this century, and brought to it a cultivated mind, having been trained to sacred science by Lanfranc, then abbot of Bec in Normandy. The honor paid to the teacher, when, as metropolitan of Canterbury, he visited the Pontiff, has been thought worth recording. Alexander rose to embrace him, observing to the by-standers, that it was a pupil who greeted his professor, not the Pontiff that honored the archbishop.

The measures adopted by his successors prove their zeal in the cause of sacred science. St. Gregory VII. in 1078, in a Roman synod,

\* *Literature of Europe* ch. i. n. 78.

charged bishops to see that schools be opened in the Churches subject to their jurisdiction. The third General Council of Lateran, under Alexander III. in 1179, insists on the necessity of learning for bishops and priests; and orders, besides, the poor to be instructed, for which purpose a master must be employed in each cathedral Church to teach them gratuitously; which is also to be imitated in monasteries and other Churches. No money is to be demanded for the license to hold school, and license is not to be withheld from any person qualified to teach. In cathedrals a divine was to be devoted to the instruction of the younger clergy in the Sacred Scripture. Tiraboschi, from whom I have borrowed these facts, justly observes, that to the Roman Pontiffs is due the praise of having preserved the seeds of literature, which were almost destroyed, and having thus facilitated the restoration of the arts and sciences.\*

The value of books was, at all times, best understood by the Popes, who used much diligence in collecting and preserving them. Even before his elevation to the Pontifical chair, Victor III. when abbot of the celebrated Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino, delighted, like Cassiodorus, centuries before, to employ the monks in the most useful and pleasing labor of copyists, *antiquarii*, perpetuating by their industry the writings of the ancients. He sought after rare books, that he might enrich his library with copies of them.

The elegancies of the classic authors were admired by some, and the proficiency of Gelasius towards the purity of Latin style recommended him to the notice of Urban II., who chose him as his secretary, or chancellor, from which station he advanced to the supreme dignity. Honorius II., Lucius II. and Alexander III., were eminent for Scriptural knowledge, as their writings manifest. The last named Pontiff had filled the chair of Scripture in the university of Bologna, before his elevation.

At Paris, as well as at Bologna, a university was established, which counted a vast number of scholars, gathered together from many nations. Peter Lombard filled the chair of theology about the middle of the twelfth century, and continued to teach after death, by means of his book of sentences, which the professors were wont to expound to the candidates for sacred learning. Lothario de Conti, a noble Italian youth, was among the students in the decline of that age, and made such advances in knowledge and piety, that when but thirty-seven years of age, he was deemed worthy to fill the Apostolic See, in which

\* Storia della Letteratura Italiana l. iv. c. i. p. 249.

station he exhibited the wisdom of advanced age in admirable union with the energy of manhood. The works of his pen, both before and after his elevation, and the official documents which were published in his name shew his familiarity with the sacred volume. His zeal to diffuse knowledge, among the clergy especially, was seen in the great council of Lateran, wherein he presided in 1215, and with the assent of the assembled fathers, decreed, that each bishop, with the chapter, or clergy of his cathedral, should provide a teacher of grammar, that is of the Latin language, in each cathedral Church; and that the same should be done in every other Church furnished with sufficient revenues. The Sacred Scriptures were, by the same decree, to be expounded to the clergy and to others generally, in the metropolitan Churches, by a divine specially devoted to that most important duty. Thus did this eminent Pontiff labor to promote useful and necessary instruction.

The favor shown to the universities, whose students were allowed to enjoy Church-livings whilst pursuing sacred studies, and were exempt from many burdens, and from the authority of ordinary tribunals, being provided with special judges, in case of dispute, proves the zeal of the Popes for the encouragement of learning. If the students of Paris were numbered by thousands, it was owing, in a great measure, at least, to the liberality with which the third Innocent, and his successors Honorius III., Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. heaped privileges on them, not even disdaining to plead for them at the throne of the French monarch, when his displeasure had been provoked by some youthful disorders. Under the like patronage the university of Montpellier, founded by Nicholas IV. advanced to considerable celebrity, especially in the medical department. Spain gratefully received from several Popes privileges for Tolosa and Valentia; and Portugal traced to their liberality the privileges granted in the thirteenth century to the university of Lisbon. Italy wore at that period a literary crown, studded with many bright gems. The ancient schools of Pisa rose to the dignity of a university. Rome, Milan, Pavia, and Florence had each a like institution. At Fermo, a university was opened by Boniface VIII., at Perugia by Clement V., and at Ferrara, by the ninth Boniface. The university of Naples had the honor of training St. Thomas of Aquin. Padua rivalled, for a time, Bologna, which, with her far famed professors, and ten thousand scholars, enjoyed for the most part an undisputed presidency in the republic of letters. The multiplication of literary institutions, filled with crowds of eager students, who were attracted thither by the wide-spread fame of the professors, are incontrovertible evidences of a high esteem of learning, which was

plainly created by the assiduous efforts of successive Pontiffs. The light which long glimmered, and seemed almost extinct, by their breath was kindled anew until it grew into a flame, illumining the nations that long had sat in darkness.

#### § 4. *Mediæval Studies.*

To some it has appeared that the universities were ill calculated to promote solid learning, and served only for the vain subtleties of scholastic disputation. The fact, however, is, that they rendered immense service to religion, and exercised the reasoning faculties, in such a manner as to prepare the mind for deeper investigations of after times, when the treasures of antiquity were laid open.

Divinity was not originally studied in most of the universities; Paris for a long time having enjoyed the special privilege of public lectures on that subject. The youth of Italy did not hesitate to cross the Alps to hear the far-famed professors of that city descant on the sentences of Peter Lombard, or at a later period, explain the summary of the Angelic Doctor. Bologna, however, and other universities were afterwards allowed to teach the same sublime science, which Clement VI. aptly designates : *studium sacræ paginæ*, the study of Sacred Scripture. The holy volume was expounded to eager youth by men, who, although not skilled in the original languages, or familiar with classic lore, were, nevertheless, competent to teach accurately the revealed doctrines, and to guard against the shoals of error. Whoever will take the pains to peruse the summary of St. Thomas of Aquinas, who flourished in the middle of the thirteenth century, will not consider the scholastic study of divinity a mere exercise of vain dialectics. The whole counsel of God, as manifested and developed in the teaching of the Church, is there declared, and sustained, chiefly by the authority of Sacred Scripture, although, occasionally, illustrated by some testimony of ancient Christian writers. Reason herself is introduced as the handmaid of revelation. The difficulties which the pride of man presents to the belief of divine truth, are presented in close array, and not artfully evaded, but combated and dissipated by a powerful logic, based on divine authority. The searching mind of the Angelic Doctor ventured far beyond the positive teachings of the Church, and indulged in probable conjectures, which some may brand as vain speculations, but which certainly are not less profitable than many of the disquisitions of men of science in later times. It was the privilege of his great mind to see, almost with the clearness of intuition, the whole

revealed doctrine, comprehending and combining the sacred oracles, and the teachings of the ancient fathers, especially fixing his gaze on the Divinity with a steadiness scarcely before granted to an uninspired mortal, and reflecting with undiminished lustre the light in which he viewed the Divine counsels. In the language of the schools, he was as an angel, admitted to view the glory of the Deity, and appointed to unfold to men His counsels. Recent writers of the Oxford class have termed him "the great prophet of the Church," since his mind seems to have grasped in its vision the secrets of futurity—the objections which sectaries in after ages would make to the Divine doctrines. The Popes in commending his summary, shewed not only their zeal for accurate and precise views of doctrine, but their just appreciation of the admirable method and deep reasoning of this most eminent theologian. "The *summa Theologiæ*," says a writer in the *British Critic*, "is a mighty synthesis in which Catholic doctrine is bound together in one consistent whole."—"It was reserved for St. Thomas Aquinas to survey at one glance the whole of Christian truth as it had been developed in former ages, and to point out the relative bearings of the mighty mysteries to each other."\* "That the scholastic theology shall have been so commonly regarded among us, not merely as less interesting than physics, but as a sort of elaborate baby house, as a mere relic of antiquarian barbarism, this is one of those instances of matchless ignorance, folly and impudence, abounding in the present day, the very existence of which future ages will be tempted to discredit."†

I cannot vindicate with the same confidence the homage rendered to Aristotle by the schools of the middle ages; yet, although blind deference for the *dicta* of the Stagyrice may have prevented the advances of science, it cannot be thought that the study of his works, which are learned and profound, was in itself favorable to mental inertness. Urban IV. deserved well of mankind in laboring to revive philosophy, which for ages had been neglected. He enjoined on St. Thomas of Aquin to write commentaries on Aristotle, that the student of his works might not imbibe any error contrary to the teachings of the sublime Master of Christians. The schools that admitted his authority, corrected his ethics by the maxims of the Gospel, and failed not to adore the Christian mysteries, notwithstanding the abstruseness, or errors, of his metaphysical views. His sway, however, was that of an absolute

\* Number lxxv. p. 110, 111.

† Number lxxviii. p. 405.

monarch, in the realms of natural science. He was heard as an oracle, when he should only have been looked up to as a guide ; and the student, who should have sought to penetrate further into the recesses of nature, fancied he had reached the goal, when he had understood what Aristotle had revealed of her secrets.

It might be a matter of just exultation, that this excessive regard for individual authority has given place to a spirit of inquiry, which assumes nothing, and rests only on demonstration and experience, had not skepticism succeeded faith ; the temerity of man extending the philosophic doubt to the very axioms of natural right, and to mysteries divinely revealed. A heathenish system, which abstracts from the fact that God has spoken, and with the glimmering light of reason, scrutinizes the depths of His nature and works, has taken the place of the old philosophy, and men fancy themselves enlightened and intellectual in proportion as they are destitute of the certain conviction of revealed truth. To be a philosopher in the modern acceptance of the term, it is necessary to doubt of the spirituality and immortality of the soul ; or to hold them only as far as reason renders them probable. The whole structure of religion is placed by many on the sandy foundation of natural reason, unassisted and unenlightened. "One cause," says the British Critic, "why we do not enter into the scholastic philosophy is, that our reason is so little accustomed to bow to faith, that we have reduced ourselves to the condition of doubt."\*

Whatever may be thought of the philosophy of the middle ages, we should not forget that the great science of legislation, both ecclesiastical and civil, was then effectually cultivated and promoted. The Popes by their decrees on various cases submitted to their judgment, and the councils of bishops, combining their wisdom to remedy prevailing disorders and promote piety, had gradually formed a vast code of laws, of which collections had been made by various persons in the East and West ; but it was reserved to Gratian, a Benedictine monk, in the middle of the twelfth century, to classify them, and adapt them to the use of students. This *decree of Gratian*, as it has been rather strangely styled, was designed especially for the university of Bologna, to which the Popes, likewise, were thenceforward accustomed to address various collections of subsequent decrees. These only who are unacquainted with the Canon Law, as the ecclesiastical code is styled, can speak disparagingly of it. The Scripture is its great foundation, the fathers of the Church have furnished many of its axioms, and its rules are the

\* Number lxx. p. 143.

fruits of the experience of ages. It combines persuasion with authority, equity with law, and a due regard for forms with an inviolable respect for justice and right. It throws its shield over the humblest individuals, and bears aloft its mace to awe the proud. It tempers the exercise of power by the spirit of charity, sustains dignity without fostering pride, and in the great variety of orders and offices, throughout the Universal Church, presents a compact hierarchy, bound together by mysterious ties in indivisible unity. By encouraging this study, it is manifest that the Popes proved themselves the friends of order, and justice, and took from the exercise of ecclesiastical authority all appearance of arbitrary power.

In the same spirit the study of civil jurisprudence was effectually promoted. The foundations of social order were laid by the Popes, in various enactments directed to maintain natural rights, and to restrain violence by the censures of the Church : but it was their earnest desire to see the social fabric rise in just proportions on the pillars of law, for which end they exerted their utmost influence to introduce every where the study of jurisprudence. The *civil* law, as we are wont to designate the code used in the Roman empire, had been neglected and forgotten during the tumult and wars consequent on its dissolution, and usages derived from barbarian ancestors, were the only rules of conduct acknowledged by the races that were spread over the greater part of southern Europe. It was revived in the Italian universities, especially in Bologna, where professors of great celebrity unravelled its intricacies with untiring ingenuity. Hallam observes : "The love of equal liberty and just laws in the Italian cities rendered the profession of jurisprudence exceedingly honorable ; the doctors of Bologna and other universities were frequently called to the office of *podestà*, or criminal judge, in those small republics ; in Bologna itself they were officially members of the smaller or secret council ; and their opinions, which they did not render gratuitously, were sought with the respect that had been shewn at Rome to their ancient masters of the age of Severus."\*

Innocent IV. directed schools of law to be opened at Rome, and founded at Placentia a university, in which it was specially taught. Padua also was for some time the successful rival of Bologna in this science. The *Cesarean* code is acknowledged to contain the most just arrangement of the family and social relations, and if in any case its provisions were found severe, the mild spirit of the Church tempered

\* Hallam *Literature of Europe* ch. i. n. 68.



its rigor, in the name of *equity*. Thus the confusion necessarily arising from the undefined customs of nations emerging from barbarism was remedied, and instead of a variety of laws, usages, and tribunals, which threatened society with anarchy, the beauty and order of a comprehensive code were exemplified in all the relations of life. What is even termed *common law*, namely ancient English usage, which jurists refer to laws of Alfred or Edward, no longer extant, and deduce from the uniformity observable in the principles of judicial decisions from time immemorial, may be, to a great extent, no more than the maxims of Christian justice, or natural right, as expounded by Christian judges, or as known from the civil law generally adopted. It is impossible to estimate how much the actual state of society, as far as it is regulated by law, is owing to the impulse given by the Popes in the thirteenth century to the study of jurisprudence.

Medicine, long before it received the necessary attention in most countries, was a favorite study at Salerno; and was subsequently embraced in the course of studies in the universities generally, among which Montpellier acquired high celebrity in this respect. The clergy and monks were among its most diligent students, until it became necessary to confine them to the duties more strictly belonging to their state of life. Hallam bears honorable testimony to the successful cultivation of medical science in the Italian universities. "Nicholas Leonicensus, who became professor at Ferrara, before 1470, was the first restorer of the Hippocratic method of practice. He lived to a very advanced age, and was the first translator of Galen from the Greek."\* "In the science of anatomy an epoch was made by the treatise of Mundinus, a professor of Bologna, who died in 1326. It is entitled *Anatome omnium corporis interiorum membrorum*. This book had one great advantage over those of Galen, that it was founded on the actual anatomy of the human body."—"His treatise was long the text-book of the Italian universities."† "The first book upon anatomy, since that of Mundinus, was by Zerbi of Verona, who taught in the university of Padua in 1495.—The germ of discoveries that have crowned later anatomists with glory, is sometimes perceptible in Zerbi; among others that of the Fallopian tribes."‡

It was the wish and endeavor of several Popes to introduce into the universities the study of the Greek and Oriental languages. Long before the establishment of these institutions, they had labored to promote the study of Greek, in order more effectually to knit together the

\* Hallam *Literature of Europe* ch. ix. n. 9.

† *Ibidem* ch. ii. n. 37.

‡ *Ibid.* ch. iii. n. 17.

two great portions of the Church. Paul I., about the year 766, erected a monastery for monks of the Greek rite. Stephen IV. (or V.) in 816, founded for them the monastery of St. Praxedes: and Leo IV. introduced them into the monastery of St. Stephen. Mills bears testimony to the efforts of Honorius IV. after the example of his predecessors, to promote the study of the Oriental tongues. "In the year 1285, Pope Honorius IV. in his design to convert the Saracens to Christianity, wished to establish schools at Paris for the tuition of people in the Arabic and other oriental languages, agreeably to the intentions of his predecessors.—The council of Vienne in 1312, recommended the conversion of the infidels, and the re-establishment of schools, as the way to recover the Holy Land. It was accordingly ordered that there should be professors of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic tongues in Rome, Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca: and that the learned should translate into Latin the best Arabic books."\* Mills, indeed, states that these measures were not effectually followed up; but this detracts nothing from the merit of the Popes, who devised them, and but for the difficulties of the times, would have urged their execution. "The Roman Pontiff," as Tiraboschi observes, "used every possible means to rescue men from ignorance, and probably would have done much more, had the sad state of the times allowed it, which was the cause of their not deriving that abundant fruit from their efforts, which in better times they might have reaped."†

The partial revival of learning, as well as the great advances towards social order, in the eleventh and succeeding centuries, may be traced to the efforts of the Popes, who sought, in every way possible, to establish law and order, and to promote every study that could improve the mind. This is virtually admitted by Hallam, who ascribes to Italy this intellectual and social renovation, which was in reality the work of the Popes. "It may be said with some truth," Hallam remarks, "that Italy supplied the fire, from which other nations in this first, as afterwards in the second æra of the revival of letters, lighted their own torches. Lanfranc, Anselm, Peter Lombard, the founder of systematic theology, in the twelfth century, Irnerius, the restorer of jurisprudence, Gratian, the author of the first compilation of canon law, the school of Salerno, that guided medical art in all countries, the first great work that makes an epoch in anatomy, are as truly and exclusively the boast of Italy, as the restoration of Greek literature, and

\* History of the Crusades ch. xv. p. 211. Note.

† Storia della Letteratura Italiana t. iv. l. i. p. 36.

of classical taste in the fifteenth century.”\* The same writer justly denies that in the thirteenth century learning declined: “In a general view,” he says, “the thirteenth century was an age of activity and ardor, though not in every respect the best directed. The fertility of the modern languages in versification; the creation, we may almost say, of Italian and English in this period; the great concourse of students to the universities; the acute, and sometimes profound, reasonings of the scholastic philosophy, which was now in its most palmy state, the accumulation of knowledge, whether derived from original research, or from Arabian sources of information, which we find in the geometers, the physicians, the natural philosophers of Europe are sufficient to repel the charge of having fallen back or even remained altogether stationary, in comparison with the preceding century.”\*

#### § 5. *Revival of Letters.*

“Dante and Petrarch,” Hallam observes, “are, as it were, the morning stars of our modern literature.” The taste of the Italians for the sublime inspirations of poetry was manifested on the appearance of the *Divina Commedia*, which was soon adopted as a text-book in the Italian universities, men of station and age, as well as the young, crowding the halls wherein learned professors revealed the deep thoughts of the divine poet. The same ardor was manifested in the following century. 400 hearers, most of them of high station and senatorial rank, attended the class of Francis Filelfo at Florence, where he explained Dante, in the time of Eugene IV., who invited him to his court, to reward his learning and genius. The eagerness of the Pope to honor the professor, proves his liberal encouragement of the study, although Dante had treated some of his predecessors with severity. Nicholas V. on hearing of the arrival of Filelfo at Rome, on his way to Naples, sent for him, and pressed him to accept a present of 500 ducats for the expenses of his journey. “Petrarch,” says Hallam, “formed a school of poetry, which, though no disciple comparable to himself came out of it, gave a character to the taste of his country.—He gave purity, elegance, and even stability to the Italian language,—and none have denied him the honor of having restored a true feeling of classical antiquity in Italy, and consequently in Europe.”† Such was the man on whom the laurel crown was bestowed in the Roman capitol in the year 1341. Clement VI. and Urban V.

\* Literature of Europe ch. i. n. 81, vol. 1.

† Literature of Europe ch. i. n. 86.

‡ Ibid. n. 46.

gave him marks of their favor, and invited him to Avignon. Gregory XI. offered him, in his declining age, whatever could relieve or solace him. This is the more remarkable, as the poet was known to have satirized the papal court; and shews that genius had charms for the Popes, which made them view its aberrations with indulgence.

The favor shown to poets is manifest from many facts. Nicholas V. with his own hands, placed the poet's crown on Benedict of Cesena; and Callistus III., in a Brief, designated Nicholas Perotti "poet laureat," and his secretary. The union of the office of secretary with the profession of poet became a matter so usual, that poetry seemed to be a title, or qualification, for this honorable employment. Music gained the ear of the Popes even in an unrefined age, and Guy of Arezzo, in the eleventh century, had scarcely invented the gammut when John XIX. insisted that he should come to Rome to teach the clergy. Among the endowments of various Popes their knowledge of sacred music is mentioned, which, whatever may be thought of its imperfection, denotes the taste and diligence of those who cultivated it. History was always deemed an important study, and exercised the diligence of ecclesiastics, even when they were unable from the want of documents and critical light, to perform the task with success. The chroniclers of the middle ages are not without their claims on our gratitude, for having recorded the events of their own times, and preserved much of the history of the past, although sometimes disfigured by fables. As soon as the light of literature beamed anew on the world, the Popes drew around them men of deep research and accurate judgment, who labored to recover the hidden treasures of past ages, and rescue them from the superincumbent mass of fiction. The libraries were thrown open to their researches; coins, medals, vases, inscriptions, statues and other monuments of antiquity were dug from the earth, or gathered from remote regions, at the expense of the Pontiffs, and every encouragement was given to the curious and diligent student, in his efforts to retrace the progress of the human race, and to discover the manners and customs, laws and polity of the different nations of antiquity. Eugene IV. gave to Cyriacus of Ancona every facility in his researches which the most unbounded munificence could afford. Biondo Flavio, the historian, was Secretary of the same Pontiff, and of three of his successors. "His long residence at Rome inspired him with the desire, and gave him the opportunity of describing her imperial ruins. In a work, dedicated to Eugenius IV., who died in 1447, but not printed till 1471, entitled *Romæ Instauratæ libri tres*, he describes, examines, and explains by the testimony of ancient au-

thors, the numerous monuments of Rome. In another *Romæ Triumphantis libri decem*, printed about 1472, he treats of the government, laws, religion, ceremonies, military discipline, and other antiquities of the republic.\* Annius of Viterbo, who, although charged with literary imposture, must be acknowledged to have shed much light on the Egyptian, Chaldean, and Tuscan antiquities, was made Master of the sacred Palace, by Alexander VI., who, by this and other acts, proved that he was not incapable of appreciating literary merit. Pius II. led the way in the reform of historical narrative; and in the history of his own times gave proofs of great discernment, deep reflection, and elegant taste. It were tedious to relate the writers of history, who in the fifteenth century, under the patronage of the Popes, labored to shed light on antiquity, and to record the events of their own times.

Eloquence and *Belles Lettres* were cultivated in the fifteenth century, under the patronage of the Popes, who invited to their court the most eminent professors. George of Trebizond was called to Rome by Eugene IV. and Laurentius Valla received the like honorable invitation from Nicholas V. Cardinals and other illustrious strangers thronged the halls of the university of Florence, to hear Charles Marsuppini descend on the art of speaking. Hermolaus Barbaro, John Pico de la Mirandula, and other illustrious men of this age prove that the successful cultivation of *Belles Lettres* was not the peculiar privilege of the sixteenth century. "The Pope nominated Hermolaus to the greatest post in the Venetian Church, the patriarchate of Aquileja."†

The revival of letters was by more than a hundred years anterior to the so-called Reformation, which was highly injurious to literature. "It is probable," says Hallam, "that both the principles of this great founder of the Reformation, (Luther) and the natural tendency of so intense an application to theological controversy, checked for a time the progress of philological and philosophical literature on this side of the Alps."‡ "Erasmus, after he had become exasperated with the reformers, repeatedly charges them with ruining literature."§ John Malpaghino, who, towards the end of the fourteenth century, taught Latin at Padua and Florence, and Gasparin of Barziza, his disciple, gave the example of a pure and elegant style. "This," says Hallam, "is the proper æra of the revival of letters, and nearly coincides with the beginning of the fifteenth century."|| "It was from Italy that the light of philological learning spread over Europe."¶ Petrarch, who

\* Hallam *Literature of Europe 1471—1480*, vol. i. ch. iii. n. 48.

† *Ibid.* n. 116.

‡ *Ibid.* ch. iv. 61.

§ *Ibid.* Note.

|| *Ibid.* ch. i. n. 94.

¶ *Ibid.* n. 24.

had loved Malpaghino as a son, had applied himself for a time to Greek, but not quite successfully. Boccacio had succeeded somewhat better in that study, which in the following century became so general that scarcely an aspirant to the reputation of learning was unacquainted with this language. It is not for me to determine the causes which concurred to produce the enthusiasm wherewith this study was pursued; but I may be permitted to give the Popes their share of praise for having encouraged it by the honors which they bestowed on learned Greeks, and on others who cultivated the language with success. Chrysoloras, after having discharged the high office of ambassador from the Greek emperor to the Western powers, yielded to the solicitation of many to become professor of Greek at Florence, and afterwards in various other Italian universities, and was chosen by John XXIII. as his ambassador to the council of Constance. Bessarion, raised by Eugenius IV. to the purple, was no doubt thus rewarded for his zeal in accomplishing the reunion of the Greeks with the Latins, at Florence; but his solid and elegant learning strengthened his claims to this honorable distinction, and his presence at Rome, where in 1470 he published a work in defence of the Platonic philosophy, became an incentive to Greek studies.

Aurispa, a Sicilian, who was eminent in Greek literature, was made secretary of Eugenius; and Manetti, a Florentine, who spoke Greek and Hebrew, with almost the same facility as his vernacular tongue, was welcomed to Rome, raised to high honors, and provided with a pension of 500 golden crowns. Angelo Puliziano, the successful imitator of the Greek and Latin classics, was honored by Innocent VIII. with a letter full of esteem and affection, and rewarded with a gift of 200 crowns for his translation of Herodian. Domizio Calderino, when only 24 years of age, was invited by Paul II. to Rome to profess Greek, in which he had already attained eminence, and was made secretary by Sixtus IV. It were endless to enumerate instances of papal patronage, by which this study was effectually promoted; but I shall note a fact which shews at once the favor wherewith the Popes viewed it, and the success with which it was pursued. Ippolita Sforza, daughter of the duke of Milan, and afterwards wife of the king of Naples, delivered in 1456 a Greek oration at Mantua, in the presence of Pius II. This accomplished lady was the representative of a considerable class, who united with the usual graces of the sex a thirst for classic literature, and acquired an astonishing familiarity with the works of the Greek authors. The Pontiff was capable of appreciating such literary excellence.

Hallam, after having traced in outline the form of European literature, as it existed in the middle ages, and in the first forty years of the fifteenth century, observes: "The result must be to convince us of our great obligations to Italy for her renewal of classical learning. What might have been the intellectual progress of Europe if she never had gone back to the fountains of Greek and Roman genius, it is impossible to determine; certainly nothing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries gave prospect of a very abundant harvest. It would be difficult to find any man of high reputation in modern times, who has not reaped benefit, directly or through others, from the revival of ancient learning. We have the greatest reason to doubt whether, without the Italians of these ages, it would ever have occurred."\*

It cannot be doubted that the Popes eminently deserve the praise which is here given to the Italians generally. Hallam himself testifies that Eugenius IV. patronized learning; and he bears ample testimony to the claims of Nicholas V. on the gratitude of the literary world. Letters, he says, "had no patron so important as Nicholas V. (Thomas of Sarzana), who became Pope in 1447; nor has any later occupant of that chair, without excepting Leo X., deserved equal praise as an encourager of learning. Nicholas founded the Vatican library, and left it, at his death in 1455, enriched with 5000 volumes; a treasure far exceeding that of any other collection in Europe. Every scholar who needed maintenance, which was of course the common case, found it at the court of Rome."† The munificence of the Pontiff amply rewarded the literary labors of the many whom he drew around him. 500 golden crowns were bestowed by him on Valla for his translation of Thucydides; 1500 crowns were the recompense of Guarino for his version of the first ten books of the geography of Strabo. Manuscripts were purchased by him at high prices, and honor and wealth were held forth to all who chose to enrich the republic of letters by rare books, or successful imitations of the ancients.

Alexander VI. deserved well of letters for having established, on a large scale, the Roman gymnasium, which Eugene IV. had commenced, as well as for having promoted and honored learned men. Julius II. was an active patron of painting and the fine arts: but the boundless munificence of Leo X. to the lovers of the arts, votaries of the Muses, and cultivators of polite literature, has eclipsed all that his predecessors had done, and won for him the admiration of succeeding ages. I leave to others to describe the reunion of men of genius at the cele-

\* *Literature of Europe* ch. ii. n. 49.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. ch. iii. n. 2.

brated suppers of the Pope, where the feast of intellect far surpassed the richness of the banquet, and fancy soared aloft to delight the guests by her sublime inspirations. The *Academies* of literary men, so frequent in "Leo's golden reign," assembled on the banks of the Tyber, in the *circus maximus*, or in some of the magnificent villas which adorn the eternal city, brought to mind the groves of the *Academos*, where Plato descanted on divine and human things, and the Lyceum, where Aristotle perambulated, whilst delivering his sublime lessons. The illuminated halls, wherein the gravest prelates were seen in the fascinated crowds, listening to the poet of Arezzo, shewed the keen sensibility of the Italian mind to the beauties of imagination. Vida who sang in strains not unlike those of Virgil, and Ariosto, the prince of Romantic poets, charmed Leo, and the age, by the sublime and varied conceptions of their minds. Bembo and Sadolet, his secretaries, revived in the papal documents the chaste elegance of the Augustan age. The artist who dug from the earth some statue, the work of an ancient master,—the humanist who had recovered a manuscript of a classic author,—all the *literati* and *virtuosi* of every class received from the Pontiff rewards proportioned to their merit, and worthy of his munificence. But it were wrong to suppose that the patronage of eloquent literature was peculiar to Leo, since the praise must be shared with his predecessors, and with those who succeeded him. "Italy," says Hallam, "the genial soil where the literature of antiquity had been first cultivated, still retained her superiority in the fine perception of its beauties, and in the power of retracing them by spirited imitation. It was the land of taste and sensibility; never surely more so than in the age of Raffaele as well as Ariosto.—If the successors of Leo X. did not attain so splendid a name, they were perhaps, after the short reign of Adrian VI., which, if we may believe the Italian writers, seemed to threaten an absolute return of barbarism, not less munificent or sedulous in encouraging polite and useful letters."\*

Throughout the sixteenth century Oriental scholars of considerable reputation were found among the Italian clergy. Even high dignitaries assiduously applied to the study of Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaic, among whom I may mention Frederick Borromeo, raised to the dignity of Cardinal by Sixtus V. Gavanti, the famous Rubricist, was likewise familiar with Hebrew, in which language he addressed this Cardinal, on occasion of his taking possession of his archdiocese. Paul V. in 1610

\* Literature of Europe vol. i. ch. v. i.



issued a decree requiring the Religious orders to have a professor of Greek and Hebrew in all their institutions; and in the chief schools a professor of Arabic. Urban VIII. was familiar with Greek and Hebrew, and invited several learned Oriental scholars, among whom was Abraham Ecchellensis to settle at Rome.

History, a department in which the Italians excel, continued to receive liberal encouragement from the Popes. Charles Sigonio, the great historian of the Western empire, was highly honored by Pius V. Onuphrius Panvinio, an Augustinian friar, published at Rome valuable works, wherein he re-examined the *consulares fasti*, already arranged by Sigonio, and otherwise illustrated chronology, as connected with history. Possevino, a Jesuit, who added much to the stores of historic knowledge, was made Papal nuncio by Gregory XIII. to the court of Sweden, and afterwards to Russia. Cardinal Bentivoglio, the historian of the civil wars of Flanders, according to the judgment of Hallam, ranks as a writer among the very first of his age. Antiquarians received like patronage. Angeloni, who collected ancient medals with great industry, and illustrated them, was declared Antiquarian of Rome by Clement X. Falconieri, who wrote on the antiquities of Anzio, was raised to the episcopacy by Clement XI. Fabretti, the most celebrated of this honorable class, whose constant researches among caverns and ancient monuments are said to have made his horse instinctively stop at the approach to some ruin, or cave, was raised to office by Alexander VIII. and Inocent XII. This province, according to the remark of Hallam, is justly claimed by Italy as her own.\*

Genius instinctively sought Rome, which inspired the poet with his loftiest strains, and was to him a haven in which he might rest securely.

“O Rome, my country, city of the soul!

The orphans of the heart must turn to thee!”†

Torquatus Tasso, whose muse rivals that of Homer, twice repaired to Rome, where he closed his career, leaving the world astounded at the sublimity of his flights, and the illusions of his disordered imagination. Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. were themselves votaries of the muses.

Natural history was cultivated, under Leo X. and Adrian VI. by Mattioli, who published a work of great celebrity on herbs, plants, flowers, and animals. Aldovrandi, professor of simples at Bologna, in a work, published in 1574, which has received praise, although

\* Lit. Europe vol. iv. from 1650 to 1670 ch. i. n. 21.

† Childe Harold.

qualified, from Buffon, an excellent judge, treated at large of birds, insects, fishes, quadrupeds, and all kinds of animals, as also of metals and of trees. The Vatican Museum in the time of St. Pius V. contained a vast collection of minerals, and of natural curiosities, which were described by Mercati, the guardian of it, in a work styled "*Metallotheca*," which was published long afterwards, with splendid engravings, at the expense of Clement XI. Botany was a favorite study in Italy, especially in its connexion with medicine. Medical botany was taught in the Roman University under Pius V., and the *Sapienza* was furnished with a botanic garden by Alexander VII.

Medical science continued to receive the highest encouragement. Leo X. rewarded with his usual munificence the translation of the medical works of Hippocrates, by Mark Fabius Calvi, of Ravenna; and in noticing the embassy sent by the citizens of Padua, designated with special honor Jerom Accorambuoni, as "an excellent physician." The honor of Roman citizenship was bestowed in 1563 on Mercuriale, a native of Padua, to reward his eminence in the medical science. Berengario de Carpi, the great anatomist, was urged by Clement VII. to fix his residence at Rome. Eustachius, eminent likewise in the science of anatomy, was professor in the *Sapienza*, which Alexander VII. furnished with an anatomical theatre. Many most distinguished physicians and anatomists were either professors in that university, or in the immediate service of the Popes. Vesalius, a Belgian, who was professor at Padua, bore away the palm in anatomical science, in the sixteenth century; but Italy, which was the chief theatre of his scientific displays, came well nigh conferring it on her own sons. "Few sciences," says Hallam, "were so successfully pursued in this period as that of anatomy. If it was impossible to snatch from Vesalius the pre-eminent glory that belongs to him as almost its creator, it might still be said that two men now appeared who, had they lived earlier, would probably have gone as far, and who, by coming later, were enabled to go beyond him. These were Fallopius and Eustachius."\*—"The best physicians of the century were either Italian or French."†

The seventeenth century presents many like instances of the encouragement given by the Pope to the study of medicine and anatomy. Malpighi was invited to Rome by Innocent XII. to be Pontifical physician. The services rendered by him to science may best be told in the words of Hallam: "Malpighi was the first who employed good microscopes in anatomy, and thus revealed the secrets, we may say, of an invisible world, which Leuwenhoek afterwards, probably using still

\* Lit. Europe vol. ii. ch. viii. n. 39.

† Ibid. n. 49.

better instruments, explored with surprising success. To Malpighi anatomists owe their knowledge of the structure of the lungs.”\*

The *Medical legal questions*, published by Paul Zacchia, physician of Innocent X., are still highly esteemed for the exact specifications in anatomy which it contains. Many other medical works were published under the special patronage of the Popes. Lancisi, a Roman physician, gave his splendid medical library to the hospital of Santo Spirito, on condition that it should be for the general use of the profession. Italy still retained her pre-eminence in this science. “The Italians,” says Hallam, “were still renowned in medicine.”†

The like favor was shewn by the Pontiffs to the cultivators of civil jurisprudence. Leo X. honored the elegant jurist Alciati with the title of Count Palatine of Lateran. Rinaldo Petrucci was raised to the office of Auditor by Julius III. Sylvester Aldobrandini, a Florentine, and eminent professor of law, was invited to Rome by Paul III. and appointed to offices of high distinction. His son Gregory XV. was a profound jurist. Paul likewise called to Rome Francis Bellincini, an eminent jurist of Modena, and created him senator and judge. He raised James Simonetta, a lawyer of eminence, to the dignity of cardinal. Clement VIII. bestowed a golden medal on Jerom Boccadiferro, for his legal knowledge and integrity in judgment. It may be a just subject of glory for Rome, that Gravina, who, in 1698, was appointed professor of civil law in the Sapienza, gave to the world a profound and accurate work on the origin of civil law, and on the Roman empire, which has gained the homage of all the cultivators of jurisprudence. Chesterfield recommended the diligent study of it to his son, and modern English writers have not withheld the tribute of their praise.

It would be easy to cite numerous instances of Pontifical favor to those who cultivated the exact sciences. Sylvester II. was an eminent arithmetician, algebraist, mathematician and mechanician. The wonderful structures erected in the middle ages, shew a greater acquaintance with the principles of architecture, than we might otherwise suppose, as Hallam observes. He regards “the hypothesis as not very untenable, that some parts of physical science had already,” (in the fifteenth century,) “attained a height which mere books do not record. The extraordinary works of ecclesiastical architecture in the middle ages, especially in the fifteenth century, as well as those of Toscanelli and

\* Lit. Europe from 1650 to 1700 vol. iv. ch. viii. n. 37.

† Ibid. n. 22.

‡ Ibid. 1440 to 1500 vol. i. ch. iii. n. 113.

Fioravanti . . . . lend some countenance to this opinion, and it is said to be confirmed by the notes of Fra Mauro, a lay brother of a convent near Venice, on a planisphere constructed by him and still extant."† In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it is obvious that these sciences were eminently possessed. Alexander VII. enjoined on Matthew Campani degli Alimeni to construct a time-piece with a pendulum, on the plan of Galileo. Under Innocent XII. the chair of hydrometry was erected in the university of Bologna, to give to Dominick Guglielmini an opportunity of communicating to many his observations on the nature of rivers, and the science of hydraulics. Torricelli, who changed the whole system of Physics, by discovering the cause of the suspension of liquids in tubes, and invented the Barometer, was a pupil of Castelli, as was also Borelli, who was the first to treat scientifically of the motion of animals.

#### § 6. *Astronomy.*

The study of astronomy was always encouraged by the Popes, whilst its abuse by the superstitions of astrology was severely prohibited. A splendid evidence was afforded of the successful cultivation of astronomical science by the correction of the Calendar, under the authority of Gregory XIII. The ancient Calendar, in use since the time of Julius Cæsar, and adopted by the council of Nice, was formed on the supposition that the annual course of the sun is completed in 365 days and 6 hours, which in reality takes place in 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes and 25 seconds: whence, in the lapse of so many ages, a difference of ten days existed in the designation of a vernal equinox; the astronomical being prior to the civil calculation. Even in the eighth century, in the comparatively low condition of the sciences, the error had been pointed out by Venerable Bede, and subsequently by others. Sixtus IV. had resolved to remedy it, and for that purpose had called to Rome Muller, the greatest mathematician of his age; but the glory of the sublime task of reconciling the calculations of time with the precise motion of the heavenly bodies, was reserved to Gregory XIII. Luigi Lilio, a man of obscure origin in Calabria, suggested the subtraction of ten days from the month of October 1582, and to prevent a recurrence of the error, proposed the omission of the leap year at the close of each century, with the exception of the four hundredth year, which should be bissextile or leap year. The suggestions of the astronomer, communicated after his death by his brother, who survived him, were graciously received by the Pontiff, and submitted to the examination of

a body of learned astronomers, among whom was the Jesuit Clavius, and being found just, were proposed to the whole civilized world by Gregory, who, whilst acknowledging their source, lost nothing of the glory which the correction imparted. Although the dominion of science belongs not to the Vicar of Christ, it was a sublime spectacle to see him regulating by its aid the calculations of time, and the great festivals of the Church; and at a time when his authority in the things of salvation was proudly rejected by many, fixing a standard to which all civilized nations would sooner or later conform. "The new calendar," says Hallam, "was immediately received in all countries acknowledging the Pope's supremacy; not so much on that account, though a discrepancy in the ecclesiastical reckoning would have been very inconvenient, as of its real superiority over the Julian. The Protestant countries came much more slowly into the alteration, truth being no longer truth, when promulgated by the Pope. It is now admitted that the Gregorian calendar is very nearly perfect, at least as to the computation of the solar year."\*

To the learned institutions of Italy this and many other fruits of scientific observation may be fairly referred. I have not space to dwell on the many inventions and discoveries which were made by the professors of the various universities, or by those who had been introduced by them into the halls of science. Ignatius Danti, a Dominican, professor of Mathematics in Bologna, left, as Tiraboschi remarks, an imperishable memorial of his astronomical knowledge in the great meridian drawn by him in the temple of St. Petronius in that city in the year 1576: which, however, was not as great, or as accurate, as that which the immortal Cassini drew in the following age.

Nicholas V. in 1448, in raising to the dignity of cardinal Nicholas Cusanus, a German, author of a work on statics, and a defender of the earth's motion around the sun, gave an unequivocal mark of his regard for science. In Bologna, where astronomy was cultivated with success, this system was probably maintained by Dominic Maria Novara, under whom Copernicus, a Prussian youth, studied at the close of this century. Lionardo de Vinci, a most illustrious astronomer, mathematician, and mechanician, as well as painter, "in a treatise written about the year 1510, speaks of the earth's annual motion as the opinion of many philosophers of his age."† Celio Calcagnini, professor in the university of Ferrara, early in the sixteenth century, published a work in support of it; but Copernicus, who at the commencement of the

\* Hist. of Lit. vol. ii. ch. viii. n. 15.

† Ibid. vol. i. ch. iii. n. 115.

century was professor of astronomy at Rome, gave it celebrity, when, after the reflections and observations of 36 years, he published his work, under the auspices of Paul III. in 1543. The difficulties in which Galileo was involved in 1616 and 1633, shew that his manner of maintaining the system must have provoked the displeasure of the ecclesiastical tribunal, since the system had been advanced without censure, nearly two hundred years before, by a high dignitary of the Church, and had been expressly maintained, with the implied approbation of a most enlightened Pontiff, full ninety years before the sentence pronounced against the Florentine astronomer. Had he confined himself, as he was repeatedly warned, to scientific demonstrations, without meddling with Scripture, and proposed his system as probable, rather than as indubitable, he would have excited no opposition. To urge it absolutely, at a time when it was not supported by those observations, and calculations which have since been made, was scarcely reconcilable with the respect due to the sacred text, whose literal meaning could not be abandoned, unless scientific demonstrations were presented to the contrary. "Mankind," says Hallam, "can in general take these theories of the celestial movements only upon trust from philosophers; and in this instance it required a very general concurrence of competent judges to overcome the repugnance of what called itself common sense, and was in fact a prejudice as natural, as universal, and as irresistible as could influence human belief. With this was united another, derived from the language of Scripture; and though it might have been sufficient to answer, that phrases implying the rest of the earth and motion of the sun are merely popular, and such as those who are best convinced of the opposite doctrine, must employ in ordinary language, this was neither satisfactory to the vulgar, nor recognized by the Church."\*—"It must be confessed that the strongest presumptions in favor of the system of Copernicus were not discovered by himself."† It may be added that even Galileo did not furnish the most convincing proofs of the system, and that his chief reliance was on the flux and reflux of the tides, which no one at this day holds to be a satisfactory demonstration of the motion of the earth. Even long after his time eminent astronomers rejected his system. "In the middle of the seventeenth century, and long afterwards," says Hallam, "there were mathematicians of no small reputation, who struggled staunchly for the immobility of the earth." In such circumstances it is not to be wondered that the ecclesiastical authority, fearful lest the authority

\* Lit. Europe vol. ii. ch. viii. n. 10.

† Ibidem, vol. iv. ch. viii. n. 32.

of the Sacred Scriptures should suffer in the minds of the multitude, by the bold and unqualified maintenance of a system in apparent opposition to them, enjoined on Galileo, in the year 1616, to observe silence, and when he had violated this order, required him, in 1633, to abjure the system. The formulary of abjuration designates it "a heresy," but it is a mere technical expression, which in the acts of the Roman tribunal, is applied to any sentiment or act contrary to the obedience of faith.\* In this instance it could only denote the system advanced by Galileo in a manner derogatory to the authority of the Scriptures. It is certain that Pope Urban VIII. did not consider the act of the Inquisition as a definitive decree, and that the system was publicly taught at the time by two Jesuits in the Roman college. All that has been said concerning the persecution of the astronomer, is a tale of fancy. His discoveries gained for him the highest honors from all classes, from the Pontiff to the humblest citizen, in 1615, when he first visited the Eternal city. In 1624 he was again received graciously by the Pope and Cardinals, and in 1633, when his contemptuous violation of the injunction provoked their displeasure, his confinement was but nominal in the apartments of the Fiscal of the tribunal. No corporal punishment was inflicted, no dungeon was opened to receive him; but in consideration of his scientific merits, his pride and contempt were visited with the slightest expression of displeasure.†

The Pontiffs throughout this age were true to their character as patrons of science. During the reign of Paul V., "a Jesuit, Grassi, in a treatise de Tribus Cometis, Rome, 1618, had the honor of explaining what had baffled Galileo, and first held them to be planets moving in vast ellipses round the sun."‡ The astronomer Cassini, in 1657, was called to Rome, by Alexander VII., and whilst there gained new fame by his observations on the two comets, which appeared in 1664 and 1665. His calculations, confirmed by the event, appeared like the predictions of an inspired man: and were followed by other discoveries which seemed to mark him as one to whom the secrets of the skies were laid open. It was a glorious homage to science when the monarch of a great empire sought from Clement IX. in 1668, as a special favor, that France should be permitted to profit by the extraordinary

\* See *Directorium Inquisitorum* by Nicholas Eymerick.

† See the excellent pamphlet recently published at Cincinnati, *Galileo—Roman Inquisition*. The letter of Galileo, published by Tiraboschi, shews that he was treated with extraordinary kindness, the Pope changing the sentence of imprisonment into an order to remain for a time with the archbishop of Sienna, his personal friend.

science of this illustrious astronomer, and the reluctant Pontiff consented to lend him for a time; and after a few years, pressingly called for his return, whilst Louis XIV. declined parting with a treasure of so much value, and to bind him to the soil, and identify all his attachments and interests with France, granted him the rights of citizenship. In this and in many other instances, Italy had the glory of giving to other nations the luminaries of science.

Castelli, a Benedictin monk, disciple and defender of Galileo, was called by Urban to Rome in 1625, to occupy the post of professor of Mathematics in the *Sapienza*, and in 1628 he published in that city his celebrated works on the measure of running waters, and its geometrical demonstrations, whereby he has acquired the title of creator of this part of hydraulics. Another disciple of Galileo, Cavalieri, of the order of Jesuates, or Jeromites, who is generally reputed the father of the new geometry, was professor of mathematics, about the same time, in Bologna, where he published in 1632 his treatise on continuous indivisibles. Michelangiolo Ricci, an eminent algebraist, and mathematician, whose "Geometrical exercise" gained the admiration of the Royal Society of London, and was reprinted by them, by his science and virtue merited the esteem of Innocent XI, and was raised to the purple.

Benedict XIV. in the last century, followed in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors, and distinguished himself as the patron of astronomical science and general literature. By his orders the obelisk, 67 feet high, mentioned by Pliny,\* on which was a dial to mark the sun's shadow, and ascertain the length of the day at various seasons, was dug up from the earth, in 1748, and its precious fragments rendered accessible to the learned. He promoted to the government of Benevento, the learned Stephen Borgia, whose museum, full of rare medals, manuscripts, inscriptions and other ancient monuments, was already celebrated. He offered the honor of episcopacy to Calmet, to testify his esteem of the profound learning manifested in his Commentary on the sacred writings. Pius VI. showed his high regard for science, as well as personal merit, in raising Borgia to the dignity of Cardinal. Castiglioni in replying to Chateaubriand, the French Ambassador, and to Cutzow, ambassador of Austria, in the conclave, expressed a hope that God would give the widowed Church an enlightened Pontiff, and pointed to the Vatican and the propaganda, as the triumphant refutation of the calumny, that Rome is the enemy of science and the arts. The Church soon hailed in the person of the sa-

\* Hist. nat. ch. ix. x. xi.



cred orator, Pius VIII. Hallam truly observes, that genius and erudition have always been honored in Italy; and pays a tribute of praise to the spirit breathed in the works of Italians during the last fifty years, which shews that they are not unworthy of their sires. Byron, in many places, has rendered homage to the ancient glory of Rome, and sometimes avowed her actual pre-eminence in science, notwithstanding the decay of her earthly splendor. "Italy," he says, "has great names still—Canova, Monti, Ugo Foscolo, Pindemonte, Visconti, Morelli, Cicognara, Albrizzi, Mezzofanti, Mai, Mustoxidi, Aglietti, and Vacca, will secure to the present generation an honorable place in most of the departments of Art, Science, and Belles Lettres; and in some the very highest. Europe—the world—has but one Canova."\*

"Italia! too, Italia! looking on thee  
Full flashes on the soul the light of ages,  
— still  
The fount at which the panting mind assuages  
Her thirst of knowledge, quaffing there her fill,  
Flows from the eternal source of Rome's imperial hill."†

#### § 7. *Art of Printing.*

The zeal of the Popes for the promotion of elegant literature and useful knowledge was displayed, in the most unequivocal manner, on the discovery of what Berthold, archbishop of Mentz, did not hesitate to style the divine art of printing. To Germany belongs the glory of this invention; but only a few years had elapsed when Italy rivalled and surpassed her. "The whole number of books," as Hallam testifies, "printed with dates of time and place, in the German empire, from 1461 to 1470, according to Panzer, was only twenty-four; of which five were Latin, and two German Bibles."—"A more splendid scene was revealed in Italy. Sweynheim and Pennartz, two workmen of Fust, set up a press, doubtless with encouragement and patronage, at the monastery of Subiaco, in the Apennines.—In 1467, after printing Augustin De Civitate Dei, and Cicero de Oratore, the two Germans left Subiaco for Rome, where they sent forth not less than twenty-three editions of ancient Latin authors before the close of 1470.—The whole number of books that had issued from the press in Italy, at the close of that year amounts, according to Panzer, to eighty-two; exclusive of those which have no date, some of which may be referrible to this period."‡ Another German printer, Udalric Hahn, was patronized

\* Introd. to Canto iv. Childe Harold.

† Canto iii. ex.

‡ Lit. Europe vol. i. ch. iii. n. 33.

at Rome at the same time, and gave to the public the meditations of Cardinal Turrecremata, illustrated with wood cuts. The bishop John Andrew de Bussi, librarian of the Vatican, aided the printers in their literary labors. The example of Rome was eagerly imitated by no less than fifty cities of Italy. Venice became her rival, and soon surpassed her in the number of works issuing from her press; and Milan strove to excel her in the magnificence of the execution. All the works of Cicero were printed in splendid style at Milan, in 1498 and 1499: and "an edition of Cicero's epistles appeared also in the town of Fuligno."\* "The books printed in Italy during these ten years" (from 1470 to 1480) "amount, according to Panzer, to 1297; of which 234 are editions of ancient classical authors. Books without date are of course not included; and the list must not be reckoned complete as to others."† "A translation of the Bible by Malerbi, a Venetian, was published in 1471, and two other editions of that, or a different version, the same year. Eleven editions are enumerated by Panzer in the fifteenth century."‡ The books printed at Rome down to 1500 are 935, a far greater number than issued from any other city save Venice, which counted 2835. "Much more than ten thousand editions of books or pamphlets (a late writer says fifteen thousand) were printed from 1470 to 1500. More than half the number appeared in Italy."§ "The editions of the Vulgate registered in Panzer are ninety-one."||

The activity of the Roman press was considerably lessened by the wars, of which Italy was the theatre in the early part of the fifteenth century: but it was soon restored. "An Æthiopic, that is, Abyssinian grammar, with the Psalms in the same language, was published at Rome, by Potken, in 1513."¶ "The Æthiopic version of the New Testament was printed at Rome in 1548."\*\* A splendid edition of the works of Homer issued from the Roman press in 1549, under the superintendence of Anthony Bladus. Paul Manutius, the learned Venetian, on the invitation of Pius IV., established a printing office at Rome in 1561, and gave to the public many works, the expenses being defrayed by the munificence of the Pontiff. Pius appointed two correctors of the press for the Greek language, and ordered diligent search to be made for manuscripts even in the Oriental tongues. When after an absence for some time, Paul returned to Rome, in the pontificate of Gregory XIII., this enlightened Pope insisted on retain-

\* Lit. Europe, vol. i. ch. iii. n. 33.

† Ibidem n. 44.

‡ Ibidem n. 53. § Ibidem n. 143.

|| Ibidem n. 141.

¶ Ibidem ch. v. n. 77.

\*\* Ibidem ch. ix. n. 25.

ing him there, in his old age, and assigned him a pension, leaving him at liberty to pursue his literary labors, as might suit his convenience. "The increasing [zeal of Rome," Hallam remarks, "for the propagation of its (*the*) faith, both among infidels and schismatics, gave a larger sweep to the cultivation of Oriental languages." Sixtus V. placed the Apostolic printing office on a permanent basis, and spent 40,000 crowns in its establishment, providing it with Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, and Servian types, and with excellent paper, and all other requisites for elegant execution; and assigned pensions to learned men charged with the supervision of the press. During his pontificate an elegant edition of the Septuagint issued from this press; as also an edition of the Vulgate, which, however, although introduced to the public with his formal sanction, he ordered to be suppressed, on the discovery of many inaccuracies which had escaped the vigilance of those who prepared it. After some years a new edition was got up with great care, to which Clement VIII. affixed his approbation, and which thenceforward has been the standard version, which cannot be changed by private authority.

The munificence of the Popes was employed in encouraging the printing of books to be circulated in the Eastern nations. The first printing office in Europe for the Arabic tongue was established at Fano, by Gregory Giorgio of Venice, at the expense of Julius II., and a book in that language issued from it in 1514. Gregory XIII. declared Cardinal Ferdinand de'Medici, protector of Ethiopia, and of the patriarchates of Alexandria and Antioch, in order to stimulate his zeal for the conversion of the inhabitants of those countries: in consequence whereof the Cardinal gathered manuscripts from all parts, and at an immense expense, cast Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic and Armenian types, and employed learned men, especially John Baptist Raimondi, to superintend the press. An Arabic and a Chaldaic grammar issued from it: some works of Avicenna and Euclid were published in Arabic, with 3000 copies of the four Gospels in the same language, for distribution in the East. Raimondi also undertook to publish the whole Bible in ten different tongues. Thus in the sixteenth century, both before and after the so-called Reformation, the Popes and the Cardinals were active patrons of the press, and Bible-distributors! "The Persian grammar was given at Rome by Raimondi in 1614." "We find Ferrari, author of a Syriac lexicon, published at Rome in 1622." In 1627 there were types of 15 different languages in the printing establishment of Propaganda, and at a later period types of 23. There issued from it in, the decline of that age, a work styled "*Bibliotheca*

*magna Rabinica*," composed by Father Bartolucci, a Cistercian monk, who for 36 years had been professor of Hebrew. An Arabic grammar, a Syro-Arabic Latin treasure, a Syriac dictionary, and a Hebrew dictionary, and other works of a like character, were published there at various times. Three Maronites, namely Victor Scialac, Abraham Ecchellensis, and Faustus Nairo, were maintained at the expense of the Pope, for the purpose of publishing works in Arabic. In 1621 a great work called "*Hebrew Concordances*," came from that press, and was so highly esteemed as to be reprinted in London in 1617. An Arabic Bible, in three folio volumes, was published there in 1671, which was in preparation during 46 years. A printing office furnished with Oriental types was established in Milan, by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, from which an Arabic dictionary in four volumes issued in 1632. Cardinal Barbarigo established an Oriental printing office at Padua, which issued a splendid edition of the Koran. "A fine edition of the Koran, and still esteemed the best," as Hallam observes, "was due to Marracci, professor of Arabic in the Sapienza, or university of Rome, and published at the expense of Cardinal Barbarigo in 1698."\* The munificence of Clement XI., enabled Joseph Simon Assemani, a Maronite of Syria, to publish at Rome, in 1719, his learned work on the Vatican manuscripts in the Oriental languages. The publication of the works of St. Ephrem was also begun by him, and continued by his nephew Stephen Evodius. The Acts of the martyrs of the East and of the West were published in Chaldaic, and translated by the latter; and several other works composed by others of the same family came from the same press. It is not easy to enumerate all that Rome has done, and is still engaged in doing to promote Oriental literature. "Who," cried Ranke, "does not know what the Propaganda has done for philological learning?"†

#### § 8. *Restrictions on the Press.*

The services of the Popes to letters are forgotten, whilst the restrictions imposed by them on the press are made a matter of reproach. Berthold, archbishop of Mentz, who, as I stated above, called the art of printing divine, deemed it proper to guard against its abuse, by requiring the examination of books, by divines appointed for the purpose, previous to their publication. Alexander VI. published a similar decree with special reference to Germany, and Leo X., renewed and

\* Lit. Europe vol. iv. ch. viii. n. 41.

† Ranke, Hist. Popes vol. ii. l. vii. p. 59.

confirmed it. Paul IV. in 1539, published a list of prohibited books. A committee of divines was appointed by the council of Trent to form a list of bad or dangerous books ; but their task not having been completed at the close of the council, they were allowed to continue their labors, and ordered to submit them to the Pope for approbation. Hence there is a long list of books, the reading or retention of which is prohibited under ecclesiastical censures ; and although this discipline is over-ruled by contrary usage in most countries, it serves to give coloring to the charge, that the Popes are hostile to the liberty of the press, which our present Pontiff is said to have branded, in his encyclical letter, as worthy of all execration. It would lead me far away, were I to enter fully into this subject, and I despair of rendering these restrictions popular : but in justice to the Popes, I must observe that their sole object has been to restrain the press within the limits of the Divine Law, and that the licentiousness which sends forth impious and corrupt books, to poison the minds of youth, is that which the present Pope has visited with censure so unmitigated. Liberty of the press, considered as a civil right, does not suppose freedom from moral restraint, or impunity from civil penalties for its abuse. Its chief value, in a civil point of view, is to give free expression to public sentiment in regard to the management of public affairs by rulers, and other officers, and thus to prevent oppression, or procure its remedy, by exposing it to general censure. I am bold to say, that the exercise of such liberty, for the true interests of the country, is nowise opposed to the spirit or discipline of the Church. It is well known that the Popes have permitted the publication at Rome of works on civil polity, which, on account of their liberal and popular principles, were proscribed in several European States ; and that at all times they have shown themselves disposed to favor the oppressed, rather than stifle their complaints. Incendiary and seditious works could not, of course, be sanctioned by the rulers of the Church, who are bound to sustain established order, and promote peace : but these are not included in the true notion of liberty of the press ; since in France, where this is a constitutional right, they are liable to seizure, when discovered ; and in this country they expose the authors and publishers to the severity of the law. In all that regards science, literature, and the arts, the utmost freedom of the press may be enjoyed with no limit but the caution of not advancing on holy ground. The golden age of Spanish literature was precisely that in which the laws of the Index, as the tribunal which forms the list of prohibited books is called, were strictly enforced. How can it be pretended that science is impeded in her

legitimate progress, because she is warned not to displace the landmarks of religion? A vast space lies open to research and improvements, without encroaching on the realms of faith. If works of great depth, or sublimity, such as Locke's essay on the human understanding, or Milton's *Paradise Lost*, are found on the list of prohibited books, it is because the philosopher artfully undermined the doctrine of the spiritual nature of the soul, and the poet exhibited Christ according to the fancy of the Arians. Lest an incautious reader, misled by a great name, should imbibe fatal error, the books were proscribed; but even in countries where the discipline prevails, leave to read them is easily obtained. The Popes have at all times respected the meditations of true philosophy, and honored the inspirations of the Muses, but always saving the truth of what God has revealed. After the example of the apostles they level every height that raiseth itself against the knowledge of God, and bring into captivity every understanding to the obedience of Christ.

Freedom of the press, as a civil right, in this country, extends to the publication of works on doctrinal subjects, without regard to the faith of the Church: so that all the doctrines which we hold to be divine, may be assailed without incurring any civil penalty, which, however, may be inflicted, even here, on an open blasphemer of Christ. To the full enjoyment of this civil right by our fellow citizens, we make no objection whatever. The Constitutions of the various States, and the principles of the country and age, give it, leaving to each one the responsibility of its enjoyment.

For ourselves, believing firmly that God has made a revelation, of which the Church is the guardian, we cannot conscientiously approve of any thing written, or spoken in opposition to her teaching. The decrees of the Pope proscribing certain books as containing false doctrines, are for us the warnings of a father against what might pervert the understanding, and corrupt the hearts of his children. Independently of them, and waving the question of their obligation, we are naturally bound to shun whatever is dangerous to our faith and morals, according to our peculiar mental constitution. The youth, who, uninstructed in the great evidences of revelation, familiarizes himself with Paine's *Age of Reason*, exposes himself to the manifest danger of infidelity. The female, who, with morbid curiosity, peruses an obscene tale, is liable to lose that purity of heart which is her greatest treasure. In proportion to our information and moral habits the dangers may be diminished; but it is beyond a doubt, that to the reading of bad books may be traced the infidelity and corruption of innumerable individuals.

The restrictions which the Popes imposed would be unjust, if arbitrary; and unreasonable, if those for whom they were intended did not already recognize their pastoral authority: but this being recognized, nothing is more reasonable and just than to turn away the sheep from noxious pastures, by proscribing whatever is contrary to sound doctrine. At all events, the precedent of the proscription of bad books was given by the Apostles, when the vast collection of works of magic belonging to converts from that superstition, were consigned to the flames. Will the readers of Scripture charge the Apostles with hostility to knowledge? The moral restraints resulting from our discipline serve to avert many of the evils with which the licentiousness of the press deluges society. The pangs of the broken heart, when its shame has been revealed,—the desolation of families, whose sorrows have rung on the public ear,—the torture of high-minded patriots, writhing under the calumnies of reckless rivals,—the fury of a populace maddened to arson and bloodshed by incendiary publications, and the struggles and convulsions of parties, which almost threaten the dissolution of society, are no imaginary evils.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## SUCCESSION.

HAVING established the divine institution of the Primacy, and shewed its influence on society, I think it necessary to notice the difficulties usually alleged against the fact, that the present Bishop of Rome is truly successor of St. Peter. The perpetual character of the Primacy, with which he was clothed, being proved, the authority must plainly reside somewhere, and as it is claimed by none but the Roman Bishop, his claim must be admitted. Besides, from the earliest times it has been attested by the most venerable writers, whose testimony is liable to no exception. St. Irenæus gave a list of bishops in that See from Peter and Paul down to Eleutherius, who then occupied it.\* Eusebius continued it down to his own time, availing himself of authentic documents, and marking Linus as first after Peter.† St. Optatus terminated a similar catalogue with the name of Siricius, who in his time filled the chair. St. Augustin exhibited a list coming down to his time, and called on the Donatists to examine it, and mark the order of succession. The differences which are observed in these lists are not such as can affect their authenticity, or the fact of the continuance of the succession. St. Irenæus who lived in the decline of the second century, distinctly states the order of succession, and the number of bishops who had sat in the Roman Church, without giving dates. His testimony in regard to public facts, some of which he knew, and others he could easily ascertain, cannot be weakened by slight discrepancies from catalogues long posterior to his time, even if we suppose these to come down to us as the authors framed them, rather than as they have been disfigured by copyists. The want of dates affords no ground of objection, since he did not undertake to write a chronological series, but referred to the fact of succession as notorious, in order to overwhelm by the public tradition of the Roman Church all the corrupters of Divine truth. The confusion observable in the chronology of this early period, may have arisen from the attempt of some to supply by conjecture details of documents destroyed in times of persecution.

\* L. iii. adv. hæc.

† Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. iv.



The apostle St. Peter seems to have used the plenitude of his power in designating Linus to succeed him, but it was not on that account deemed lawful for any of his successors to imitate the example. On the vacancy of the See the clergy assembled, as was elsewhere practised, and proceeded to a public election, the people sharing in it, so far, at least, as to give their testimony to the merit of the candidates, and signify their assent to the choice. The neighboring bishops were present on the occasion, to guard the regularity of the proceedings, and to confirm them. From this fact Barrow infers that the Bishop of Rome was like any other local prelate, and had no general authority over the Universal Church, which otherwise would have been entitled to elect him. The mode of election appertains to discipline, and must necessarily depend much on circumstances. The power of a bishop is not limited by the persons who concur to his election, since it always extended to a diocese much larger than the city by whose clergy he was chosen, and in some cases to many dioceses, as when the See had metropolitical or patriarchal authority. It is, however, certain that the Universal Church took a deep interest in the election of the Roman Bishop, and that the assent of the other bishops, and their communion with him, were urged in support of the true Pontiff, whenever his rights were disputed by a pretender. Thus St. Cyprian urges in support of Cornelius, that "the whole body of his colleagues, throughout the entire world, unanimously agrees with him."\* This is not a mere appeal to the fact of general communion with an ordinary bishop. Language so strong is not used in regard to any other, whence his general authority may be fairly inferred from the general interest manifested in his election.

The contests and schisms which sometimes attended the election of the Pope, in early and later times, do not render the succession doubtful, since the true Pontiff was, for the most part, easily discernible. The purity of his character, the peaceable and orderly conduct of those who chose him, the priority of the election and other circumstances generally placed the true Pope beyond all reasonable doubt, whilst ambition, corruption, and violence marked the usurper. In cases of doubt or difficulty, the judgment of the Church at large was a safe criterion by which individuals might be directed. In the middle ages anti-popes were not unusual, the emperors, when struggling against the true Pontiff, setting up for themselves one who might favor their unjust pretensions, and dissemble their excesses. It was easy to distinguish a pre-

\* Ep. lii.

tender of this kind from the successor of Peter, who generally was prior in time, and a strenuous vindicator of the laws and rights of the Church, which the creature of imperial pride disregarded.

The schism which followed the long residence of the Popes at Avignon is the only instance of serious difficulty in ascertaining the true order of succession. After the death of Gregory XI., the Romans, fearing that if a Frenchman were chosen to succeed him, he would fix his residence at Avignon, as the French Popes had done for so long a period, surrounded the conclave tumultuously, demanding with menaces that a Roman, or at least, an Italian should be chosen. The cardinals fixed their choice on the archbishop of Bari, in the kingdom of Naples, who was consecrated Pope under the title of Urban VI. For three or four months they continued to recognise his authority, and by their free acts seemed to ratify the election which otherwise was open to the objection of having been made through intimidation. At the end of this period, several of them fled, in consequence, as it is said, of the severity of his reproofs; and alleging the want of freedom in the election, they declared it void, and proceeded to elect a Pontiff, who assumed the name of Clement VIII. Avignon, which had been for so long a time the residence of the Popes, was chosen by Clement for his residence, whilst Urban remained at Rome, or in the Roman States. The reasons alleged on each side were plausible, and the Christian nations were divided as to the validity of the claims of each pretender; France, Castille, and other parts adhering to Clement, whilst Germany, England, and other kingdoms acknowledged the prior right of Urban. The death of the claimants did not terminate the contest, since Boniface IX., Innocent VII. and Gregory XII. successively occupied the Roman chair, whilst Peter de Luna, under the title of Benedict XII. wore the tiara at Avignon. To relieve the Church from the scandal, some cardinals of each side convoked an assembly at Pisa, and summoned the two claimants, who refusing to recognize the authority of their self-constituted judges, were deposed for contumacy, schism, and heresy. Peter Filargo, under the name of Alexander V., was chosen in their place: but as the whole proceeding was deemed by many, among whom was St. Antonine, utterly void, he appeared only as a new competitor, so that there were actually three claimants of the tiara. On the death of Alexander, which took place after ten months, Balthassar Cossa was elected to succeed him, who, under the name of John XXIII. summoned the council of Constance; wherein, after the resignation of Gregory XII. he himself was deposed, as also Benedict XII. The acquiescence of

John in the sentence pronounced against him, gave strength to the council, which justly overruled and disregarded the obstinacy of Benedict. Thus the way was opened for the election of a Pontiff whom the whole Church might recognize; and the Cardinal Odo de Colonna being chosen by the council, was acknowledged by all, under the name of Martin V. Whatever doubts existed as to the respective rights of the claimants, one of them must have been the true Pope. It is now generally agreed that Urban, Boniface, Innocent and Gregory, who sat at Rome, were the legitimate successors of Peter. Whether the reign of Gregory terminated on his deposition by the council of Pisa, or only on his voluntary cession at Constance, is a matter on which a difference of opinion involves no difficulty as to the fact of succession.

I may be allowed, by way of illustration, to refer to a collision of claims between two courts in one of the United States, within my own remembrance. The Legislature of Kentucky being displeased with the proceedings of one of the courts (I believe the court of Appeals) passed an act for its re-organization, in order by this summary proceeding to avoid the tardy and uncertain process of impeaching the judges. Accordingly a new court was organized in conformity with this law, and judges were appointed, who proceeded to take cognizance of suits brought before them. The judges of the old court considered that the new law was unconstitutional; and disregarding it, continued in the exercise of their judicial powers. For several years these rival tribunals existed, until, at length, a compromise was effected: yet no one will pretend that the conflicting claims destroyed the judiciary of the State, or the special court in question.

Besides the cases of doubtful claimants, history records the intrusion of usurpers into the See, whilst the lawful Pontiff was alive, but in banishment. This, however, could not affect the succession, which was manifestly maintained in the person of the original incumbent, as long, at least, as he did not choose, for the benefit of the Church, to renounce his right. Liberius being driven into exile by the emperor Constantius, Felix was put into possession of the See, and whilst Silverius was alive, Vigilius was promoted, through the influence of the heretical empress Theodora. It is a matter of dispute whether Felix should be numbered among the Popes; but this does not throw any doubt on the succession, since Liberius, the lawful Pontiff, survived, and after an absence of two years, returned to his See. Vigilius survived Silverius, and was undoubtedly true Pope from that time; the consent of the Roman clergy, manifested by their recognition of his

authority, healing the irregularity of the intrusion. It is remarkable that both Felix and Vigilius, whilst occupying the See, maintained the faith, although their intrusion took place under heretical influence.

No doubt can be thrown on the succession from the long intervals of time which sometimes occurred between the reigns of two Popes. In an institution like the Church, which is perpetual, and yet is governed by an individual, holding the place of Christ, there must be some interval between the members of the series of governors; but this does not constitute a moral interruption, unless it be an enormous space of time, such as completely severs one from the other, according to the common judgment of mankind. Two years and nine months of vacancy occurred after the death of Clement IV., which was the greatest interval; since the learned do not admit the correctness of the statement that a vacancy of three years and eight months occurred after the death of Marcellinus. Even this space of time could form no difficulty, in a series continued throughout ages. In truth, the interval was generally much shorter than it appears, for when the custom prevailed of seeking the confirmation of the election and by the emperor, the See was deemed vacant until the imperial assent was obtained, and the consecration performed, although the Pope elect, aided by some of the chief clergy, governed the Church from the day of his election.

The long absence of the Popes from Rome, in the fourteenth century, when during nearly 70 years they resided at Avignon in France, forms no chasm in the succession, since the title and power of a bishop do not depend on the place of his residence. The Popes who resided at Avignon, were chosen to succeed those who held the place of Peter, and were truly Bishops of Rome, which they governed by a cardinal Vicar, and were consequently pastors of the whole fold of Christ.

Simoniacal elections were declared by many Popes to be utterly null; yet if in any case simony was practised, as is believed to have occurred in the election of Roderic Borgia, the subsequent acquiescence of the Church healed the defect, and gave the necessary jurisdiction. The same may be said of Popes, who, by the violence of potentates, were placed on the chair of Peter, as unfortunately took place in the tenth century.

The simplicity of some writers once gave currency to a ridiculous fable, which is now universally exploded by learned men, Protestants as well as Catholics, and among others by the learned Calvinist Blondell. Some interpolated copies of the chronicle of Marian Scotus, composed in the eleventh century, state that an English woman who had

passed her early life in disguise at the schools of Athens, was chosen to succeed Leo IV., in the middle of the ninth century, and for two years, five months, and four days, kept the secret of her sex, until she was overtaken by the pains of labor in a public procession ! This ill-concocted tale of Pope Joan is wanting in the best copies of the work of Scotus, and is inconsistent with the statements of the contemporary writers, and with the chronological series of the Popes. On the death of Pope Leo IV. which took place on the 17th July, 855, Benedict III. was immediately chosen to succeed him, and was consecrated on the 1st September of the same year : which leaves no room for the heroine of the tale. It is not necessary for me to account for its origin, which some, not without probability, ascribe to the pusillanimity, or effeminacy of some real occupant of the See, which may have been thus satirized by the people :—the tale was afterwards adopted by credulous writers.

A ceremony formerly practised, at least since the year 1191, on occasion of taking possession of the basilic of St. John of Lateran, but discontinued since the pontificate of Leo X., received from the ingenuity of the enemies of the Holy See an explanation calculated to give coloring to the fable of a female having sat on the Pontifical chair. I cannot notice the precaution alleged to be adopted against the recurrence of the supposed mistake ; but I shall simply state the true object of the ceremony. The Pope was placed on a low chair of stone, in front of the portico of that Church, and the chanters sang, in the mean time, the verse of the Psalmist : “ Raising up the needy from the earth, and lifting up the poor out of the dunghill, that He may place him with the princes of His people.” From the allusion which this verse contains the chair was popularly styled *stercoraria* ; and fancy added what credulity easily adopted. The lowly position of the Pontiff was intended to signify his condition before his elevation to the eminence which he occupies as prince of the people of God. This was obviously the sole end and meaning of the rite.

Although the fable of Pope Joan has been utterly exploded, some still refer to it for mere annoyance, not reflecting that what could not take place in the Catholic Church, except by an incredible imposture, has really been seen in the Anglican establishment, by a natural consequence of the principles on which the Papal authority was rejected. It was maintained that the Sovereign is of right the head of the Church in his dominions ; but as if to put to shame the abettors of the new system, God permitted that on the death of Henry VIII. a boy, and afterwards two women in succession, should sway the British sceptre.

Mary had the modesty and good sense to recede from the indelicate position in which the law placed her on the death of Edward; but Elizabeth boldly asserted her ecclesiastical supremacy, and made prelates tremble in her presence.\* Archbishop Whitgift was threatened with a *præmunire* for some theological decision made without her leave.

\* "Vè aqui una cosa admirable. Al mismo tiempo que los Protestantes se esforzaban à insultarnos con la disparatada especie de una Papisa, elegida en Roma, ellos erigieron otra Papisa en Inglaterra, constituyendo cabeza de la Iglesia Anglicana à su adorada Reyna." Cartas Eruditas por D. Fr. Benito G. Feyjoó t. v. c. iii. p. 146.

## CHAPTER XXV.

## PAPAL ELECTION.

§ 1. *Imperial Interposition.*

No authority in sacred things was ever acknowledged by the Church to reside in the emperor, even when a Christian, although he was sometimes implored to sustain, by the civil arm, the rights of lawful prelates against ambitious and disorderly men, who endangered or violated public tranquillity. The council of Aquileja besought the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, to use their authority, and prevent Ursicinus from disturbing Damasus, the legitimate occupant of the See of Peter.\* Eulalius, having ambitiously set himself up in opposition to Boniface, the lawful Pope, the emperor Honorius, on the report of Symmachus, ordered Boniface to be banished from the city; but on receiving from the Roman clergy a correct statement of the facts, and being informed of the return of Eulalius, contrary to his command, he gave his support to Boniface. To provide for the tranquillity of the elections, he decreed, that in case of a contested election, both candidates should be banished from the city.† This law is said to have been enacted in consequence of an application made by Boniface for some measure to prevent tumults.

Odoacer, king of the Heruli, having in 476 established himself king of Italy, on the death of Simplicius in 483, alleged that the deceased Pontiff had agreed that the Prefect, in the name of the king, should be present at the election of his successor; but the claim was resisted by the clergy, and the supposed concession disregarded as a nullity. Pope Symmachus, chosen in 498, forbade all laymen, even of royal dignity, to interfere in the election; yet Theodoric, king of Italy, in 526, forced Felix IV. on the Roman clergy and senate, who reluctantly acquiesced, on condition that the ancient freedom of election should be thenceforward inviolable. The royal assent, or confirmation of the election was, however, to be sought, which was to follow as a matter

\* Conc. Aquil. ep. t. i. conc. Hard. col. 837.

† Ibid. col. 1237.

of course, if the proceedings were regular. King Athalaric, successor of Theodoric, required the payment of 3000 crowns of gold on the occasion.

On the extinction of the Gothic power in Italy in 553, the emperor Justinian exercised the like prerogative of confirming the election, in the person of Pelagius I., chosen in 555. The confirmation was not awaited on the election of Pelagius II. in 578, it being impossible to obtain it, since the city of Rome was actually besieged by the Lombards. It was also neglected in the case of John IV. elected in 640, and of Martin in 649. The tax, which seemed the chief object of the imperial court, was remitted by Constantine Pogonatus in 680; who, in 684, completely restored the ancient freedom of election, not requiring any longer the imperial assent. His successor, Justinian II., renewed the claim in a mitigated form, allowing the exarch of Ravenna to assent in his name, and thus prevent delay. There is no instance of any election being set aside by the emperor, who seems to have regarded the right of confirmation as a mere measure of finance.

The Western emperors soon emulated the prerogatives of those of Constantinople. Louis the Pious in 818 merely required an embassy from the Pope when consecrated. In 824 he sent his son Lothaire to Rome, to terminate the contest which had arisen on the election of Eugenius II., who was opposed by the anti-pope Zizinius; whence the young prince took occasion to publish an imperial edict, requiring that the consecration of the Pope should take place in presence of the imperial ambassadors, if the emperor himself were not present; which regulation is stated by Pagi to have originated with Eugenius himself, and to have been confirmed by John IX. in 898, through an anxiety to prevent tumults, and irregular promotions. The ambassador of Lothaire came to Rome in 827, to examine the election of Gregory IV. and in 855 the decree of election of Benedict III. was forwarded to the imperial court for examination.

The canonical freedom of election was vindicated from time to time by decrees of the Pontiffs. Constantine, an anti-pope, with the aid of armed men, having obtained possession of the See, Stephen IV. in 769, forbade any layman, of any rank whatever, to interfere in papal elections.\* Adrian III., in 884, decreed that the elect might be consecrated without the presence of the king, or his ambassadors.

It does not appear that the emperors exercised or claimed any right over the elections, beyond the mere examination of their regularity,

\* Conc. Rom. act. III. apud Holstenium, in collect. Rom. par. i. p. 260.



until the middle of the tenth century. After Otho I., in 962, had been crowned emperor by John XII., he exacted an oath from the clergy and people, that no Pope should hereafter be consecrated without previously making, in presence of the imperial ambassadors, or of the son of the emperor, or of the public, a promise which is not distinctly specified, but is described as intended "for the satisfaction of all and for their future preservation," such as Leo IV. had spontaneously made. This pledge seems to have been directed to secure the imperial interests in Rome. Otho soon acted as if he could at will depose and create the Pope, and attempted to set aside John, and substitute the anti-pope Leo VIII. In this usurpation he was imitated by two emperors of the same name.

Henry I. restored the freedom of papal elections, which his successors Conrad and the second Henry also respected ; although the latter required the presence of the imperial ambassadors at the consecration. It must be owned that the disorders of popular elections at Rome, and the violent intrusion of several unworthy men, gave an appearance of expediency to this intervention, which might have been salutary, if it did not prepare the way for unjust influence amounting to control. Alexander II. directed that the royal authority should be awaited, unless dangerous circumstances forbade delay.

The imperial influence was exercised beneficially in several instances. At the solicitation of the clergy and people of Rome, Henry II. recommended Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, for promotion ; who, accordingly, under the name of Clement II., adorned the apostolic See by his virtues. Bruno, bishop of Toul, was recommended by the council of Worms, to the emperor, and by him proposed to the Roman clergy ; but the holy bishop entered Rome as a private individual, and refused to exercise any authority until the clergy and people freely elected him. He is known to us as St. Leo IX. Gebhard, bishop of Aichstat, was reluctantly yielded by the emperor to the urgent prayers of Hildebrand, and filled the See as Victor II.

The deference shewn to the emperors did not amount to an acknowledgement of any strict right on their part to control the elections, as is evident from the fact that many Popes were consecrated without awaiting the imperial assent. Leo IV. in 847 was consecrated without the presence of the ambassadors ; and only five out of nineteen Popes who lived in the ninth century awaited the confirmation of their election. Stephen X. was consecrated within a few days after the death of Victor II., when it was impossible to have received the confirmation. When in the minority of Henry IV. the right was claimed by

the Regency in virtue of an alleged grant of Nicholas II. to the emperor, and complaint was made that Alexander II. had been consecrated without the imperial assent being sought, the representatives of the Holy See strongly denied that even a Pope could give to the emperor a right of peremptory control, since the election of the Vicar of Christ must necessarily be free. The concession was shewn to be a personal privilege granted in critical times, to be exercised without detriment to the liberty of election. St. Gregory VII. by soliciting the emperor to withhold his assent and defeat the election, seemed to acknowledge in him a power of *veto*; but he grounded it on usage, or on the concession of his predecessors: whilst otherwise he is known to have zealously maintained the freedom of the Church, as of divine right. From his time the imperial pretensions were either altogether abandoned, or defeated by the constancy of the clergy.

From a careful consideration of documents and facts, it results that no right of interference in the election of the head of the Church, exists in emperors, or kings, or earthly rulers of any kind, and that any attempt on their part to control the election is a violation of the immunities of the Church. The privileges which they once exercised were granted them by the Church herself, as the guardians of public order, and were directed to secure regularity in the election, and the support of the civil power for the elect. Whenever they were exercised in an absolute and arbitrary way, or were assumed independently of the concession, or assent of the Pontiffs, they were usurpations, which can neither prove nor give any right whatever.

In modern times it has been customary for the electors to treat with respect the remonstrances of the chief powers, Austria, France, and Spain, and not to urge the promotion of an individual objected to by any of them, provided the objection be made before the election is completed by the consent of two-thirds of the electors. Each power can only exercise this prerogative in one instance. No strict right of *veto*, however, is acknowledged by this deference to the *exclusiva*, as this expression of the wishes of the crowned heads is called. The liberty of the Church remains inviolate, whilst a just regard is had for the representatives of great national interests.

## § 2. *Mode of Election.*

The plenitude of power with which the Pope is clothed, might appear to authorize him to provide a successor, when old age warns him of the approach of death, or when he has reason to fear that intrigues,

disorders, and violence may occur in the vacancy of the See. The language used by St. Irenæus in regard to Peter, who is said to have committed to Linus the administration of the Church, may be understood of the appointment of a successor; but all antiquity has taught us that the bishopric should not be as a legacy, dependant on the mere will of the actual incumbent. The elective principle, which was originally common to all episcopal Sees, is still held sacred in regard to the See of Peter, to which it is utterly forbidden to give the appearance of an inheritance. Pope Hilary, in the beginning of the fifth century, in a Roman council, declared that no Pope should choose his successor; and the same important declaration was repeated and confirmed by Pius IV. after the lapse of above eleven centuries. Pius added that no Pope could, even with the assent of the cardinals, choose a coadjutor, with the right of succeeding him. When Gregory XIV. lay at the point of death, he exhorted the cardinals to proceed to the election of his successor, but they declined. Boniface II. in 530, designated Vigilus for his successor, with the view of preventing the intrusion of an unworthy incumbent by the king of the Goths; but on maturer reflection, he committed his decree to the flames, lest his example should give an hereditary appearance to the sacred office. Several Popes on their death-bed recommended to the cardinals the person whom they deemed most worthy to succeed, as Clement VII. dying said, that he would choose cardinal Farnese, if the office could be bequeathed. Their recommendation was adopted in this instance, whilst in some cases it was neglected. By a decree of Symmachus, in 499, renewed by Paul IV. in 1558, it is forbidden under pain of excommunication, to treat, during the lifetime of the Pope, of his successor. It is likewise forbidden, under the same penalty, to make wagers concerning the future Pontiff, when the See is actually vacant: lest any persons should use improper measures to obtain a choice favorable to their interests.

It is beyond a doubt that the people for many ages had a great share in the election of bishops. It does not appear that they had at any time a strict right of suffrage; but their favorable testimony had considerable weight, their just wishes were respected, and the clergy willingly aided in the promotion of those who were most likely to secure popular respect and obedience. In those times, however, the Chief Pastor did not fail to admonish the clergy that they must not be driven forward by the popular impulse, which they should rather prudently direct and control. "The people," said St. Celestin in the fifth century, "should be taught, not followed; and we should admonish them,

if they be ignorant of what is lawful and what is forbidden, nor should we consent to them.”\* In the preceding age, the council of Laodicea had decreed that the “multitude must not be allowed to make the election of those who are to be raised to the priesthood.”† The publicity and popular character of the elections continued at Rome down to the twelfth century. Nicholas II., who in 1058 was elected by the clergy, in presence and with the concurrence of the people, decreed that the right of election belonged in the first place to the cardinal bishops who were to fix upon the candidate, and next to the cardinal priests and deacons, whose concurrence was to be sought, and that the clergy and people should express their assent, following the cardinals as guides. The people continued to be present at the elections, and, by their acclamations, to signify their assent to the individual chosen by the cardinal bishops, and already assented to by the clergy. Innocent II., in 1130, to remedy the disorders attending these popular assemblies, attempted to exclude the people from the election; but they rose in arms, and maintained their immemorial privileges: wherefore Eugène III., in 1145, was elected by the general wish of the clergy and people; and in 1154, the clergy and laity, with acclamation, enthroned Adrian IV. In the third council of Lateran, held in 1179, under Alexander III. it was decreed that in case of a division at the election, the person having two-thirds of the votes of the cardinals should be acknowledged as true Pontiff. The people, consequently, thenceforward ceased to have any participation in the choice; and they were effectually excluded from witnessing the election, when it became customary to hold it within an enclosure, called the *conclave*, which was occasionally done, even before it was specially decreed by Gregory X. in 1274.

The exclusion of the laity from the elections was rendered necessary by the tumults and sanguinary scenes that oftentimes attended popular assemblies. It was the wish of Gregory of Nazianzum, so early as the fourth age, that the choice of the prelates of the Church were reserved to a small number of good men.‡ This is verified in the body of cardinals, who are never more than seventy in number, as seventy elders aided Moses in the government of the people, and who generally are men of great experience, and unblemished morals. Six of them are bishops of the neighboring Sees of Ostia, Porto, Albano, Preneste, Sabina, and Frascati. Fifty may belong to the order of priests, and fourteen to that of deacons: all of whom have ti-

\* Ad ep. Apulie.

† Can. xiii. apud Hard. t. i. col. 784.

‡ Orat. xix.

ties taken from the ancient Churches of Rome, over which they preside ; and consequently they are the chief clergy of the Roman Church.

The election is conducted in a manner best calculated to result in a happy choice. A solemn mass is celebrated each day, in honor of the Holy Ghost, and His light is earnestly implored. A sermon is delivered at the opening of the conclave, in which the electors are exhorted to choose a worthy successor of Peter. All external influence is studiously excluded, no person being allowed to speak in secret, or to communicate by letter with any cardinal, under penalty of excommunication. Any elector, who, by gifts, promises, or entreaties, attempts to influence the votes of the others, incurs the same awful penalty. The election is made by ballot, and care is taken, by the ingenious folding of the tickets, that no one can know how another has voted, and that no deception be practised in the counting of the votes. At the close of each ballot all the tickets are burnt. When the electors please they make an open ballot ; or without voting, rush, as it were, by a general inspiration, to venerate as Pope the individual who is known to be acceptable to all. Each cardinal when depositing his vote in the chalice, on the altar, solemnly swears that he gives it according to his conscientious judgment : " I call to witness Christ the Lord, who is to judge me, that I choose the person, who, before God, I judge ought to be elected." Two-thirds of the electors must concur to a choice. Each morning and evening the ballot takes place ; and in case of no choice being made, a supplementary ballot immediately follows, in order to give the electors an opportunity to supply the number of votes necessary for a choice, by casting their votes for one likely to succeed. This is called the *accesso*. The cardinals continue confined within the conclave, like jurors in a jury-room, until the election is made.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## CEREMONIES.

§ 1. *Ceremonies after Election.*

AFTER the election of the Pope his consent is demanded, and he is asked by what name he chooses to be thenceforward called. The custom of assuming a new name was introduced in the tenth century, and although not originally so designed, it corresponds with the example of Simon, who received the name of Peter, on being called to the chieftaincy. The Pope then kneels before the altar in prayer, and retires behind it to lay aside the robes of cardinal, and assume those of Pontiff; clothed with which he seats himself in front of it, on a chair where he admits the cardinals to kiss his hand, and embrace him. Clothed with the mantle, called the cope, and wearing the episcopal mitre, he is placed on the altar of the Sixtine chapel, where, as the representative and vicar of Christ, he receives the homage of the sacred college in a manner far more solemn and expressive. They kiss his foot, and also his hand covered with the sacred robe, and embrace him, approaching their cheek to his, on each side. This ceremony has been popularly styled *adoration*, in the free sense in which this term was generally used, corresponding with veneration, homage, or respect. Novaes justly remarks that it does not even denote in this place veneration such as is given to the saints, but respect.\* The Rubricists term it *obedience*, because used in token of submission to the authority of the Pontiff. The kissing of the foot is an ancient Oriental rite, expressive of honor and affection. The penitent kissed the feet of our Divine Master; and the devout women, who met him after his resurrection, held fast his feet, no doubt kissing them affectionately. Cornelius, the centurion, cast himself at the feet of Simon Peter, venerating the divine messenger. From the acts of St. Susanna, a virgin who suffered martyrdom about the year 294, it appears that the custom of paying this mark of respect to the successors of the apostle already existed,

\* "Con questo nome noi qui intendiamo col Cardinal Bellarmino un atto di rispetto." Introd. alle vite de Ss. Pontef. per Giuseppe de Novas. Roma 1822 t. i. p. 237.

since *Præpedigna* is related to have kissed the feet of Pope Cajus, according to custom. The most powerful princes at various times gave this mark of profound honor to the Popes. The emperor Justin I. in 525, prostrated himself at the feet of Pope John : Justinian I. honored Agapetus in like manner : Justinian II., with the imperial crown on his head, kissed the feet of Pope Constantine in 710 : Luitprand, king of the Lombards, kissed the feet of Gregory II. : Rachis honored Zacharias in the same way : Charlemagne gave the like honor to Adrian I.; and to pass over many other examples, the emperor, Charles V. honored Clement VII. and Paul III. with the same mark of veneration. No one who knows the war waged by Charles against Clement, will ascribe this homage to pusillanimity, or superstition. Since the time of Gregory the Great, as Rubricists state, it has been customary with the Popes to wear the cross on their sandals, that the honor might be referred to Christ crucified. If, however, it be given directly to the Pope as His representative, there is nothing in it which reason may condemn. Besides, the Pope himself every year, on Holy Thursday, kisses the feet of thirteen priests, after having washed them in imitation of our Blessed Redeemer. Can his admission of others to perform in his regard a similar act, be a just cause of scandal ?

The splendid chair on which the Pope is borne aloft on the shoulders of twelve men, to the basilic of St. Peter, is used in consideration of his age, which is generally advanced, and in order to render him visible to the faithful, who should on this solemn occasion distinctly recognize their chief Pastor. The peacock feathers, which wave on each side of it, are symbolical of his universal inspection, as if he had as many eyes as appear in the plumage of the proud bird.

I deem it superfluous to explain in detail the ceremonies practised in the basilic of St. Peter, where after adoring the Blessed Sacrament, the Pope receives the like homage as had been given him in the chapel. Three cardinal priests are admitted to kiss his mouth and breast on this occasion : in token of the affection which they bear him, and of the reverence with which they will receive the words of his mouth.

## § 2. *Ceremonies of Coronation.*

The solemn coronation of the Pope takes place generally a week after the election. In this ceremony a long plated reed, surmounted with a bunch of flax, is carried by the Master of ceremonies, who lights it, bends the knee to the Pontiff in token of reverence, as is usually

done towards sovereigns, and says: "Holy Father, thus passeth away the glory of this world." This ceremony is repeated three times, that the Pontiff may never suffer his mind to be dazzled by the splendor with which he is surrounded.

On the altar where Mass is to be celebrated, seven candles are lighted, as is usual whenever any bishop celebrates in his own diocese, in conformity with the vision of the Evangelist, to whom our Lord appeared amidst seven candlesticks, emblems of the seven Churches of Minor Asia.

After the confession in the commencement of Mass, the Pope is placed on the seat on which he was carried to the Church, and the pallium is blessed by the three first cardinals, and is then hung on his shoulders, by the first cardinal deacon, who says to him: "Receive the holy pallium, the fulness of the Pontifical office, for the honor of Almighty God, and of the most glorious Virgin Mary, His Mother, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Holy Roman Church." The mention of the Virgin and the apostles, in conjunction with the Deity, is conformable to Scriptural precedent, where the agent of Divine power is mentioned conjointly with God Himself. Thus Moses\* and Gideon† are mentioned with God.

The cardinal deacon then goes to the tomb of St. Peter, which is styled his confession, accompanied by the judges of the tribunal called *Rota*, and by the consistorial advocates, where he thrice invokes Christ, in behalf of the Pontiff: "Hear us graciously, O Christ:" he cries, and those around him answer, praying: "Long life to the Sovereign Pontiff and universal Pope destined by God." "Saviour of the world," cries the cardinal deacon; they answering: "Do Thou help him." The aid of the prayers of the archangels and saints is then asked in a short litany.

The gospel is sung in Latin and Greek, to represent the union of those portions of the Church whose rite and language are different.

After the Mass, the Pontiff, seated in the great balcony in front of the church, in the presence of the whole people, is crowned with the tiara, by the first cardinal deacon, after the choir has sung the verse of the Psalmist: "A golden crown is on his head!"

It is a curious fact, which seems, nevertheless, unquestionable, that the tiara is, in its original form, no other than the cap used by the ancient Romans as the symbol of liberty, because given to liberated slaves. In the ancient images of the Popes, all who preceded the reign of Constantine, are represented with the head uncovered; and Silvester,

\* Num. xxi. 5

† Judges vii. 20.



who was contemporary with him, appears with the simple Roman cap. Papebroeck conjectures that the reason of this is, that when peace was granted to the church by Constantine, Silvester, either of his own accord, or by the order of the Emperor, took the cap as the symbol of liberty, according to Roman usage.\* The Bollandists concur in this view, and explain its signification as relating to the liberation of the Church by Constantine, from heathenish oppression, and the many immunities granted her.† Novaes, a Portuguese, writing at Rome in the beginning of the present century, adopts the same opinion, and expressly says, that the tiara was originally the Roman cap, the symbol of liberty.‡ An ornamental circle, which is called by many a crown, is observable around the lower part of the cap, in the ancient pictures of the Popes who succeeded Silvester; but there is no evidence of any coronation of a Pope, before the time of Nicholas I., in the middle of the ninth century, or at least before Leo III., in 795. I, therefore, incline to believe that this ornament was first added, when the Popes had acquired a temporal principality, and was used as a secular ornament, symbolical of their sovereignty over the Roman States. The circumstance of the tiara being blessed and placed on the Pope in the balcony of the church, and the fact of its never being worn at Mass, favor this view. Innocent III. speaks of it as the symbol of temporal power; but his words seem to regard the power which, as Vicar of Christ, he claimed over sovereigns, *ratione peccati*, as far as the morality of their actions was concerned. "The Church," he says, "has given me a crown as a symbol of temporalities: she has conferred on me a mitre in token of spiritual power: a mitre for the priesthood—a crown for the kingdom: making me the vicar of Him who bears written on His garment and thigh: "The King of kings, and Lord of lords."§ It is generally thought that Boniface VIII., who flourished a century afterwards, added a second circle, or crown, to the cap, to signify this power over sovereigns: but if the testimony of Benno can be relied on, the two circles were on the cap worn by Nicholas II., who was chosen Pope in 1053. Innocent, who lived a century and half later, manifestly lays no stress on the second crown, and makes no allusion to it. The third circle was added, as many think, by Benedict XII., who was chosen Pope in 1334. I know of no document which determines the meaning|| of the three cir-

\* In conatu. ad S. Silvest. n. 5.

† Acta SS. Maji l. iv. die. 19.

‡ Diss. v. Della solenne Coron. de' Ponf. p. 87.

§ Serm. in festo S. Silvest.

|| "Qual che siane il significato simbolico." Lunadoro.

cles, which may have been added for mere ornament, without any special signification.

The tiara was generally worn only in the solemn ceremony of the coronation, until the time of Paul II., chosen Pope in 1464, who used it on many occasions. Some Popes wore it on the chief festivals.

The address made to the Pope when the tiara is placed on his head, mentions the three crowns, and must have been composed, or amended, at a time when they were used. The cardinal deacon says to him: "Receive the tiara adorned with three crowns, and know that thou art the father of princes and kings, the ruler of the world on earth,\* the vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is honor and glory throughout all ages." This language might be considered as implying all that was claimed by Gregory, Innocent, or Boniface; but it is also capable of an interpretation consistent with the more moderate pretensions of the Popes, who, since the days of Sixtus V., or Gregory XIV., during two centuries and a half, have filled the chair of the fisherman. The Pontiff is truly "the father of princes and kings," venerated as such by all the children of the church, who, in their highest elevation, recognize him as the general head of the whole Christian family. He may be styled "ruler on earth of the world," because the church in which he holds the chieftaincy is spread throughout the world, and he is charged to promulgate to every creature the law of God, to which every soul must be subject. He holds the place of Christ, being entrusted by Him with the care of his sheepfold.

If it still be insisted that civil power is claimed by the Pope beyond the Roman States, I refer to the address of the fifth council of Baltimore to the present Pontiff, wherein the American prelates speak of our calumniators in these terms: "they strive to cast suspicion and bring the odium of government on us their Catholic fellow-citizens, although our fathers poured out their blood like water in defence of liberty against a sectarian oppressor; and falsely assert that we are enslaved to a foreign prince, namely under the political and civil authority of the Roman Pontiff, and that we are faithless to the government."† This disclaimer of all civil power in the Pontiff, which many

\* "Rectorem orbis in terra." Some put a comma after *orbis*, and refer "in terra" to *vicarium*; but the other punctuation seems correct: "orbis in urbe" is found in Ovid, and signifies a multitude in a city. The Church on earth may be aptly designated *orbis in terra*.

† Inter acta Conc. Balt. V. "Nos, Catholicos concives suos, quamvis patres nostri sanguinem suum tanquam aquam profuderint pro vindicatione libertatis contra oppressorem acatholicum, gubernio suspectos obnoxiosque red-

of us have made on our oaths, was graciously received by his present Holiness. Can any further evidence be required that the authority which we recognise in him is spiritual, and nowise inconsistent with the most unqualified allegiance to the civil government ?

*ders, utpote, ut falso asserunt, sub alieni principis, Pontificis scilicet Romani, ditione politica et civili in servitutem redactos, ideoque Reipublicæ infidos."*  
Conc. Balt. V.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## LIVES OF THE POPES.

It may scarcely be allowed me to close this treatise without noticing the personal conduct of the Popes. Their vices, indeed, cannot take from the authority of their office, which is derived from Christ; nor can their virtues increase their claims on our obedience, as rulers of His kingdom on earth: but it is interesting and useful to review their history, and consider how many of them shone with brilliancy on the high eminence on which they were placed; and what examples of weakness, or depravity, were afforded by others.

It is unnecessary to give a biographical sketch of the Popes of the first three ages, all of whom are honored as saints and martyrs. Clement, one of the immediate successors of Peter, is designated by St. Paul one of those whose names are written in the book of life. The charity of those early Pontiffs, and their paternal care of the faithful in the East, as well as of those immediately subject to them, is manifest from the letter of Denys, bishop of Corinth, addressed to the Roman Church, in the pontificate of Soter. "You were wont," he says, "from the beginning to bestow favors on the brethren, and to send means of subsistence to the poor of other Churches; here you come to the relief of the indigent faithful, especially of those who are occupied in the mines, and as becomes genuine Romans, you keep up the ancient custom of your ancestors. The blessed Bishop Soter was not content with pressing on in the footsteps of the fathers: besides taking on himself the charge of sending your generous offerings to the faithful, he comforted the brethren who had come to him with pious words uttered with the tenderest affection of a fond father towards his children."\* St. Denys, Bishop of Rome, in the decline of the third century, sent alms to Cesarea in Cappadocia, for the ransom of slaves, with consolatory letters to the afflicted Church.† From the earliest

\* Apud Euseb. lib. iv. c. xxiii.

† St. Basil. Ep. lxx. al. ccxx.

period the universal authority of the Popes was manifested, more by the paternal affection wherewith they embraced and succored the most distant portions of the Church, than by their mandates, or censures, although they did not hesitate to issue these when the integrity of faith was endangered.

The Christian fortitude and lively faith of the Roman Bishops during the three first ages were displayed in their cheerful endurance of martyrdom. When about the middle of the third century, the aged Xystus was led to execution, his deacon Lawrence lamented that he was not deemed worthy to accompany the Pontiff, whom he was wont to assist in the celebration of the sacred mysteries. Xystus comforted him by the assurance that in three days he would receive the martyr's crown, by torments more excruciating than those prepared for himself. The composure with which the holy bishop uttered this prediction marked him as the favorite of Heaven. Almost each one of the occupants of the apostolic chair gave like examples of fortitude, as Ranke has admitted: "During the persecutions, the bishops of Rome had displayed extraordinary firmness and courage; their succession had often been rather to martyrdom and death, than to office."\*

An exception to the general character of the Popes at this early period was supposed to exist in the person of Marcellinus, whose pontificate closed the third century, and opened the fourth. It was reported by the Donatists that he had yielded to the persecutors, and offered incense to idols. To give to the charge a coloring of truth, the acts of a council, alleged to have been held at Sinuessa, were fabricated, in which the penitent Pontiff was represented as deploring his fall in the presence of his colleagues. St. Augustin, however, did not hesitate to reject the tale as a groundless calumny. "What need have we," he cried, "of answering the charges brought by Petilian against the bishops of the Roman Church, whom he has attacked with incredible calumnies? Marcellinus and his priests are accused by him of betraying the divine books, and of offering incense: but does this prove them to be guilty, or is any authentic document produced to shew that they were convicted of doing so? He declares them wicked and sacrilegious: I pronounce them innocent."†

The adoption of the acts of the council of Sinuessa by the compilers of the Roman Breviary, can give them no weight; whilst so ancient a writer, within a century of the time when the fact is alleged to have taken place, denies that there was any foundation for the charge.

\* Ranke's history of the Popes l. i. ch. l. p. 29. American edit.

† L. de unico Bapt. contra Petil.

It only shews that no fears were entertained by the compilers lest the admission should derogate from the authority of the See, since the greatest prevarication would only prove the weakness of the individual.

The fourth century was illustrated by a series of Popes zealous for the integrity of the faith, and adorned with personal virtues. Melchisedes, Silvester, Julius and Damasus, are illustrious names among the successors of Peter. Liberius, although he also suffered from reports circulated by the Arians, which gained credence with Catholics, was an admirable Pontiff, tried in suffering, and ever strenuous in the maintenance of truth.

A galaxy of holy Popes shed their light on the fifth century. Anastasius, was, according to St. Jerom, a man rich in his poverty, and burning with apostolic zeal.\* Innocent, Boniface, Celestine, Leo the Great, are names which need no eulogy. Gelasius was as the servant of all men, but especially of the poor of Christ. Symmachus was in vain assailed by the calumnies of a schismatical rival. The council to which he voluntarily submitted the judgment of his case, unanimously attested his innocence.

Passing over St. John I., whose sanctity was attested by the cure of a blind man, St. Felix IV., St. Agapitus I., and many others who were adorned with all virtues, the name of St. Gregory I., who lived at the close of the sixth century, is a splendid evidence that the See was still illustrious for the sanctity of its occupants, and for their zeal in extending the kingdom of Christ.

The same character of holiness shines forth in the Popes of the seventh century. Each one of them was remarkable for his charity to the poor, which may be truly said to be the distinguishing virtue of all the Popes in every age, scarcely one failing in this respect. John IV. sent a large sum of money to Istria, to be employed in the ransom of prisoners, in which he was imitated by John VI. when Gisulph, the Lombard duke of Benevento, had led away many captives from Campania. St. Martin I. by his sufferings for the integrity of faith, for which he was banished by the emperor to Crimea of Thrace, gained the glorious title of martyr.

The eighth century possessed two Gregories, who are numbered among the saints, and who emulated the virtues of the first, who bore that name in the Papal chair. The sanctity of Gregory II. concurred with his high office in determining Luitprand, the Lombard king, to desist from the siege of Rome, and to lay his sword on the tomb of

\* Ep. cxxx. alias viii. ad Demetriad § viii.

the apostle. At the persuasion of Pope Zacharias, Rachis, a successor of Luitprand, left the battle-field for the peaceful retreat of the cloister. Pope Paul I. paid the debts of prisoners out of his own purse, and used clemency towards criminals. Hadrian I. was distinguished by the like clemency. The severity of Leo III. against the conspirators, who attempting to assassinate, wounded and mutilated him, has not prevented the Church from acknowledging his sanctity, since he was impelled by a sense of what he owed to public order and justice. St. Paschal I. was unjustly charged with causing the death of two traitors, who were slain by his attendants, without his participation, but who, as he did not hesitate to aver, had drawn on themselves their untimely end. At the expense of this munificent Pontiff, a house for the reception of English pilgrims was built at Rome, on the site of a similar institution which had been destroyed by fire.

The good odor of Jesus Christ continued to be shed abroad by the Popes of the ninth century. Eugenius II., Gregory IV., and Sergius II., were humble, charitable, and pious. Leo IV. and Benedict III. were raised to the pontificate entirely against their will; their humility shrinking from a burden for which their eminent merit qualified them. Hadrian II. was a man of prayer. Nicholas the Great was distinguished by inflexible attachment to justice, and by all the qualities of a holy and great Pontiff.

The first serious scandal that occurs in the history of the Popes, took place at the close of the ninth century, when Stephen, who had forcibly taken possession of the See, offered indignities to the corpse of Formosus, under the pretext that in passing from the See of Porto to that of Rome, he had violated the sacred canons, and indulged lawless ambition. Graveson, a judicious ecclesiastical historian, is of opinion that Stephen should be regarded as an intruder, and not be numbered among the Pontiffs; in which case the barbarity of his proceeding may shock, without distressing us: but if any insist that he must enter into the number, I shall only observe with St. Leo, that the merit of the prince of the apostles does not utterly fail in the unworthy heir of his authority. The body of Formosus was restored to its resting place by Pope Theodore, who, on the death of Stephen, occupied the See during twenty days, when he passed to the reward of a virtuous life. John IX., in a Roman synod, formally rescinded the acts of the conventicle, in which the memory of Formosus had been dishonored, and he subjected to anathema the accomplices of Stephen.

The opening of the tenth century was marked by the pontificate of Benedict IV., who is praised by a contemporary writer for his attention

to the public interests, rather than to personal advantage, and for charity to the widows, and to the poor generally. Anastasius III. and Leo VI. passed their short pontificates without reproach. Leo VII. was a man of prayer, with lofty views, mature wisdom, and affable manners. Marinus III. employed his zeal in restoring the Churches, reforming discipline, and relieving the poor. Agapetus II., Benedict V. and Gregory V. left behind them the fame of sanctity. Several others are mentioned without censure: but there are some whose character is grievously aspersed, chiefly on the authority of Luitprand, a schismatical adherent of an anti-pope, the rival of John XII. Sergius III. is charged by him with illicit connexion with Marozia, daughter of Theodora, marchioness of Tuscany; yet Flodoard, a contemporary writer, represents him as a favorite with the Roman people, and a kind [pastor of the flock, which is scarcely reconcilable with licentiousness. Lando, who during six months occupied the See, although some do not count him among the lawful Pontiffs, is accused of weak condescension, and of licentious conduct. John X. is represented by the same writer as a gallant of the younger Theodora, and raised through her influence to the apostolic See; and is stated by Hermann Contractus, a writer of the eleventh century, to have caused the death of Benedict VII. The evidence for these charges has been canvassed and rejected by a recent writer.\* Baronius, who adopted them, admits that his administration was better than might have been hoped for from the supposed means of his promotion; and Muratori, no flatterer of the Popes, gives him the praise of being a worthy Pontiff.† John XI., whom Luitprand calls the son of Sergius, but whose father was Albericus, Roman consul and marquis of Tusculum,‡ is spoken of by Ratherius of Verona, as a Pope "gloriosæ indolis" "of glorious disposition." John XII. at the age of sixteen, or eighteen, having succeeded his father Albericus, as Roman consul and marquis of Tusculum, seized on the pontificate, and held it for seven years. He is charged with licentiousness, and is stated to have died in a debauch; but even the writers who admit his disorders, consider the narrative of his death as marked with the character of fable.

The enormities charged on several of these occupants of the See can scarcely receive entire belief on the sole authority of Luitprand, who, as an adherent of an anti-pope, created by the emperor, was inte-

\* D. Felice Nerini, *De templo et cœnobio SS. Bonifac. et Alexii.*

† *Annali d' Italia* an. 926.

‡ *Anonymus Salernitanus in chron. o. cxliii. et Ostiensis in chr. Casin. l. i. c. lxi.*



rested in giving the most exaggerated views of the misconduct of Popes created without the imperial intervention. It is not easy to imagine, that public licentiousness should have become hereditary in ladies of noble family, and that powerful princes should have dissembled the insult offered to their honor in the persons of their wives and daughters.\* The frailty of individuals of high birth or station, and their secret intrigues may easily be imagined; but that they should unblushingly indulge the worst vices, and dissemble the wrongs to which the vicious themselves are keenly alive, is not to be believed unless on proofs of a most positive kind: such as is not certainly the satire of a partisan anxious to furnish a plausible pretext for the interference of his master, the emperor. It may be true that the influence of the marquis of Tuscany was highly injurious to the purity of morals which should adorn the successors of Peter, inasmuch as members of his family, unworthy of that station, were intruded into the See; and that his power was employed in the support of the occupant; but I cannot persuade myself of the open profligacy of a succession of Pontiffs and ladies of high rank, with the connivance of their injured lords. The anxiety of the Romans to prevent German influence, concurred to cause irregular elections, or the intrusion of unworthy men: but can it be doubted that the abettors of the imperial claims exaggerated these disorders?

Whatever may be thought of a defence, which from the scarcity of documents is necessarily imperfect, the vices of all who are marked as censurable, cannot detract from the authority of the See, since we are commanded to hear those who occupy the chair of instruction, even when their examples are not in harmony with their teaching. The eminence of the virtues of those who preceded, and who followed, far outweighs the excesses of the few unworthy Pontiffs.

Benedict V. who succeeded John XII., and died in banishment, is said to have had the gift of prophecy, and has received the title of martyr, in several martyrologies, in consequence of his sufferings. Donus II. governed with great integrity, during his short administration of three months. Benedict VII. was magnanimous and a lover of the poor. John XV. is accused by some of enriching his relatives; yet his epitaph describes him as maintaining canonical discipline, de-

\* The persons concerned are Adalbert II., Duke of Tuscany, Theodora, and her daughters Theodora and Marozia, Sergius III. and John X. They have been vindicated by Fedele Soldani, in his *Lettera nona verificante la dis-cendenza de' Serenissimi Duchi Estensi, e della Real Casa di Brunswick, dagli antichi Duchi di Toscana*. Arezzo 1753.

pite of human fear, gain, or favor, and extols him as a learned and eloquent Pontiff, enforcing by his example the truths which he inculcated. Gregory V. was unquestionably a holy Pope, although chosen at the early age of twenty-four.

The eleventh century was not free from scandals. After the reign of some blameless Pontiffs, Benedict IX. in 1033 took possession of the See. He is said to have been a youth of ten years of age; but this is evidently a mistake, sufficiently obvious from the licentiousness with which he is charged from the commencement. Of his unworthiness there can be no doubt, since it is attested by the respectable authority of St. Peter Damiani, a writer nearly contemporary: but the question may be fairly raised, whether he should be reckoned in the list of Popes. He was confessedly an intruder in the first instance; and was subsequently expelled by the Romans, and although at intervals he returned, he was never in peaceable possession. The Church, afflicted by these scandals, found consolation in the zeal of several holy Pontiffs. St. Leo IX. brought to this sublime station the austerity of German manners, with apostolic zeal and fervent devotion. Victor II. with fearless determination stood up for the cause of God and of His Church. Stephen X., Victor III., Urban II., are named among the blessed in several martyrologies. St. Alexander II. and Nicholas II. labored strenuously to raise the clergy to the same holiness of life to which they themselves aspired. But above all St. Gregory VII. with untiring zeal and unbending resolution, strove to cleanse the sanctuary, and restore the beauty of the house of God. The age in which he lived must be regarded as glorious for religion.

A long series of holy Popes adorned the twelfth century. The condescension of Paschal II. when a prisoner of Henry V., to whom he granted the right of investiture, with some important qualifications, detracts from his glory, although it argues no moral guilt: and his subsequent retraction shews his humility and zeal for the interests of religion. Gelasius II., Callistus II., Eugenius III. and Gregory VIII. brought the virtues of the monastic life to the government of the Church, and admirably combined the active duties of their office with their favorite exercise of contemplation. The hoary locks of Innocent II. and Lucius III. did not so effectually recommend them to veneration, as their long perseverance in the exercise of every virtue. Honorius II. and Alexander III. were eminent for piety and learning. No cloud of scandal obscured the ecclesiastical firmament, whilst these venerable Pontiffs arose in succession, shedding each a brilliant light on the Church of God.

Innocent III., although chosen Pope in 1198, may be considered as belonging to the thirteenth century, having lived until the year 1216. Although but thirty-seven years of age, he was mature in wisdom and virtue, and one of the most worthy and illustrious occupants of the See. Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. rivalled him in zeal. Clement IV. and Martin IV. shewed an entire detachment from their relatives. When the brother of Martin repaired to court, he was dismissed with a small gift to meet the expenses of his journey, the Pope observing to him that the riches of the Church were not to be employed as if they were his own patrimony. The praise of similar detachment is not given to Nicholas III., who was otherwise exemplary. The spirit of prayer particularly distinguished Alexander IV., and in a still higher degree, St. Celestine V., who descended from the pinnacle of ecclesiastical power, only to soar still higher on the wings of contemplation. His successor, Boniface VIII. has incurred censure for having placed him in confinement, and still more especially, because of his controversies with Philip the Fair. The restraint to which Celestine was subjected was most probably necessary, to guard against designing men, who might abuse his simplicity to create a schism. His proceedings towards Philip were conformable to the opinions and jurisprudence of the age. The charges of ambition, arrogance, and impetuosity, are sustained by no proof; whilst on the contrary, his zeal for justice seems to have been marked by as great moderation as the temper of the times admitted. With a magnanimity worthy of his station he robed himself as Pontiff to await the approach of the emissaries of the French king, when he found himself betrayed: and not in the writhings of despair, as fabulously asserted, but with the submission which became the vicar of Christ, he sunk in death, after the insults of the pretorian hall had been renewed in his person. The discovery of his body entire, three centuries after his death, was a splendid refutation of the idle tales circulated to disgrace his memory.

Perchè men paja il mal futuro e'l fatto,  
Veggio in Alagna entrâr lo fiordaliso,  
E nel vicario suo Cristo esser catto.

Véggiolo un'altra volta ésser deriso;  
Veggio rinnovelâr l'aceto e'l fele,  
E tra vivi ladroni éssere anciso.

Veggio 'l nuovo Pilato sì crudele  
Che ciò nol sazia, ma senza decreto  
Porta nel tempio le cupide vele.

*Dante Purgatorio c. xx. 85.*

The virtues of the immediate successor of Boniface in the beginning of the fourteenth century, have obtained for him the title of Blessed, in the Roman martyrology. Clement V. the successor of B. Benedict XI. has not left behind him the same reputation of sanctity. His character has seriously suffered from an alleged compact made with Philip the Fair to secure his election, and from the proceedings against the Knights Templars, which resulted in the capital punishment of a large number of them, by the authority of the French monarch. The compact has been believed by most writers "on the authority of Villani, a contemporary author, but who being a partisan of Louis of Bavaria, and enemy of the Popes, is liable to much exception. It may be no more than the surmise of his enemies. The guilt, or innocence, of the Templars is a problem in history. Clement is also blamed for permitting proceedings against the memory of Boniface VIII., although he is excused by others on account of the rectitude of his intentions, and his firm conviction, that the charges would be found groundless, as he afterwards declared them, notwithstanding the efforts of Philip the Fair to bias his judgment. His morals were likewise assailed, being charged by Villani with an attachment to the countess of Perigord. The silence of his early biographers, six in number, seems a sufficient refutation of this accusation. On the whole, there does not appear proof of his unworthiness; although I cannot give him praise.

John XXII. was learned, zealous, magnanimous, frugal, modest, just, and although somewhat irritable, easily appeased. B. Benedict XII. was illustrious for sanctity and miracles, and is venerated in the Cistercian order, to which he belonged, and throughout France. Clement VI., previously called Peter Roger, is praised by his ancient biographers for virtue less austere than that of his predecessor, and is blamed for too great facility of character, as well as for extravagance and pomp: but the charges against his morals, advanced by Villani, are supported by no other testimony. Innocent VI. was learned, just, zealous and of irreproachable conduct. Urban V. was adorned with the sublime virtues which became his station. Gregory XI. was mature in virtue, although young (but thirty-nine years of age) at the time of his elevation. Modesty, humility, benignity, prudence, liberality, and piety adorned him. The severity exercised by Urban VI. against some cardinals charged with conspiracy, is shocking to our feelings of humanity, and at variance with the modern forms of punishment: but if the charges were true, as may be presumed, the mode of the punishment can scarcely detract from his general character, which was distinguished for sternness and integrity. The chastity of Boniface IX.

was evinced in his cheerful submission to death, rather than seek a remedy for infirmity, with the loss of this virtue. The charge of simony brought against him, regards rather his officers, and may have originated in the measures necessarily taken to provide for the wants of the See at a time so calamitous.

The fifteenth century had several Popes eminent for learning and piety. Innocent VII. was mild, kind, compassionate, without pride or partiality, ambition or avarice, as Theodoric Niem, who was free in censuring the Popes, testifies. Gregory XII. was distinguished for austere piety. His hesitation to resign his office is easily accounted for, as he feared that the sacrifice on his part would not secure the peace of the Church, and his final resignation deserves our admiration. After two centuries his body was found entire, which affords no trifling grounds for believing him to have been a faithful servant of his heavenly Master. Alexander V. (if we number him among the Popes) will reflect no disgrace on their body, as his virtue is acknowledged. Against John XXIII. weighty charges were advanced, when his deposition was deemed necessary for the unity of the Church. It is unfortunately easy in such circumstances to find accusers, and to mistake for evidence popular rumors, or the rash surmises of rivals, or enemies. As, however, his claims to be numbered among the successors of Peter are doubtful, I am the less solicitous to enter on his vindication. Martin V. was a virtuous Pontiff and great statesman. Eugenius IV. was a rewarder of merit, a lover of justice, a friend to the poor, and one of the greatest Pontiffs, although among the least felicitous. Nicholas V. was more happy and glorious in his pontificate, having succeeded in re-establishing the peace of Italy, and gathering around him learned men. He was liberal towards the poor, whom he loved as if they were his own kindred.

Alphonsus Borgia, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, was chosen Pope, and took the name of Callistus III. St. Vincent Ferreri had predicted to him his elevation; which from that time he so confidently anticipated, that he subscribed himself as Pope, in a vow which he made to rescue Constantinople from the Turks. His administration was marked by zeal for the interests of religion, and his personal conduct in the pontificate was irreproachable. His table was sparingly furnished, his discourse was modest, his liberality to the poor great, and he was always ready to grant the just petitions of those who addressed him. The promotion of his nephews to ecclesiastical and civil stations, some of whom proved totally unworthy, has brought censure on him, which I can scarcely pronounce unjust. Roderico Lenzoli, the

son of his sister, whom he allowed to assume the name of Borgia, was made cardinal, and afterwards rose to the pontificate, under the name of Alexander VI. This is one of the most striking instances of nepotism, which was a failing of several Popes, even of some who were otherwise exemplary and useful in the government of the Church. Partiality for our kindred is natural, and where they are worthy, can scarcely be censured, although in the high station of chief Bishop, it is highly dangerous, as experience has fully shewn. Like the Divine Teacher, the Pope should know no relatives but those who are allied to him by the faithful observance of the word of God.

Pietro Barbo, a Venetian noble, succeeded Pius II. the immediate successor of Callistus, and assumed the name of Paul II. He combined justice with clemency, using great zeal that crime should not pass unpunished, and yet suffering no one to be put to death. In the distribution of Church livings he displayed much discrimination, and conscientious delicacy. Although his life was not austere, there is no ground for any charge against his morals, much less for the fabulous circumstances attached to his sudden death. He was found dead in his bed after an unwholesome supper. The only plausible ground for censure is his neglect to fulfil the engagements which in common with the other cardinals he had entered into the conclave, for the speedy assembling of a council, and for the pontifical administration. This, however, may be ascribed to the difficulty of the times, and to the change of views consequent on his change of position, wherein he perceived that the measures contemplated would be unwise and prejudicial.

Sixtus IV., a Franciscan friar, was exemplary and zealous in his government, but unhappily too much devoted to the interests of his kindred. Justice, however, was on his side in his efforts to maintain the temporal rights of his See, as Ranke admits: "The other powers of Italy were already contending for possession, or for ascendancy, in these territories (Rovigo in Romagna), and, if there was any question of right, the Pope had manifestly a better right than any other."\* The Pazzi and the Medicis were contending for the mastery in Florence, and Sixtus was known to be favorable to the former noble family: but the presence of his nephew cardinal Raffaello Riario at the solemn Mass in the Dome of Florence, at which the Pazzi assassinated Julian de Medicis, and wounded his brother Laurence, is no evidence that the cardinal, much less the Pope, was cognizant of this sacrilegious conspiracy.

\* History of the Popes l. i. ch. ii. p. 47, vol. i.

Much blame has been cast on Sixtus for abandoning the Venetians, whose aid he had solicited to repel the attack of Ferdinand, king of Naples : but on the unconditional submission of the king, all cause of war being removed, the Pope could no longer continue hostilities. He employed the most urgent entreaties to induce the Venetians to desist from the siege of Ferrara, the duke being son-in-law of the king of Naples : it was only when these had failed, that he united in a league with various Italian princes against his former allies ; and by the advice of a council held in Cremona, excommunicated the Venetians for opposing the peace of Italy, an object which he always had at heart. In this instance, however, and in all other circumstances wherein the Popes acted as temporal sovereigns, it is difficult to justify them completely, as we have not that full knowledge of facts which would enable us to judge fairly of their political relations. The most I may ask of my readers is to abstract altogether from these relations, in their judgment of the Popes, and to consider more especially their acts in the government of the Church. As temporal sovereigns they had rights to defend with the sword, which they bore not in vain : they were under the necessity of seeking alliances to maintain those rights, and repel the attacks of powerful enemies : and we have reason to presume that a love of justice and peace animated them, unless evidence to the contrary be produced.

The early life of John Baptist Cibo, son of a Roman Senator, who became Vice-roy of Naples, was spent in the Neapolitan court, during which time, if Ciacconio be correct, he married a Neapolitan lady, by whom he had two children. The marriage is denied by other writers who represent the children as illegitimate. On his subsequent entrance into the ecclesiastical career, his conduct was such as to gain general esteem, and the wisdom of his government of the episcopal Sees, to which he was successively promoted, and of the city of Sienna, where he acted as Papal legate, recommended him as qualified for the government of the Universal Church, to which he was unanimously chosen by the cardinals on the death of Sixtus IV. A love of peace, and all the mild virtues distinguished his pontifical administration. He showed for a considerable time an indifference to the interests of Franceschetto Cibo, and Theodorina, so that Lorenzo de' Medicis, whose son was married to the latter, took occasion, in the fifth year of his pontificate, to remonstrate with him on this neglect. Lorenzo, who had the reputation of being the wisest man in Italy, and who declared that he was influenced by motives of conscience, succeeded in inducing the Pontiff to bestow the wealth of the Church on those whom, if illegitimate

children, he should have blushed to recognize. Thus was the lustre obscured of a reign otherwise marked by zeal for religion.

The memory of Alexander VI. the successor of Innocent is the most disgraceful of all the Popes. Whilst occupying the highest office, Roderico Borgia had carried on a licentious intrigue, and become the father of four children by a Roman lady of noble family. He had now attained the advanced age of sixty-one years, and was chosen Pope by the cardinals, unconscious of his secret disorders, or, as many assert, corrupted by bribery. In his elevation he openly recognized his children, and lavished honors upon them with an utter disregard to decorum, as well as the interests of religion. Their disorders, especially the excesses of Cæsar, his favorite son, covered him with infamy. This ambitious youth was raised to the dignity of cardinal deacon, which he soon renounced to gird on the sword, and indulge without restraint the strong passions which he felt within him. Peter Louis, his brother, was assassinated, and the malignity of popular surmise attached suspicion to Cæsar. The accomplished Lucretia sat in her father's palace, as if it were no shame to be the fruit of his amours, and fell under the foulest suspicions of incest, which, however, Roscoe acknowledges to be without any foundation. Poisoning, treachery, pillage, cruel butchery are all charged on the unfortunate Pontiff, who is said to have died of poison prepared by his orders, for a cardinal: but most of these crimes have no other ground but popular surmise against a hated prince, a foreigner by birth; and the certificate of his attending physician proves that he died of fever, after receiving the sacraments. I cannot easily persuade myself that a Pontiff who ascended the throne at the age of sixty-one, committed all the enormities laid to his charge, especially since he succeeded in maintaining his influence and authority in the va-

\* " La memoria de nuestro Espanol el Papa Alexandro Sexto esta tan manchada en las Historias, que parecen borrones todos los caractères con que se escribió su vida. Ni yo emprendo, ni juzgo que nadie pueda probablemente emprender su justificaciôn, respecto de todos los crímenes que se le atribuyen. ¡Pero, no puede discurrirse, que el odio de sus enemigos aumento el volumen de las culpas? Es cierto, que fue Alexandro muy aborrecido de los Romanos, parte por culpa suya, y parte por las de su hijo el desaforado Cesar Borja y creo firmemente, que hasta ahora a ningun Principe, que haya incurrido el odio publico, dexó el rumor del vulgo de atribuirle mas culpas, que las que verdaderamente habia cometido. A que se debe anadir, que si los Escritores estan tocados del mismo afecto, facilmente admiten, y estampan en las Historias los rumores del vulgo." Teatro Critico por D. Fr. B. G. Feyoo T. iv. disc. viii. p. 212.



rious courts of Europe. There is even reason to believe that the vices of Cæsar Borgia, the darling of the soldiery, although great beyond a doubt, are exaggerated. Voltaire, as well as Roscoe, has removed a portion of the infamy with which the character of Alexander is loaded; but it still remains a bye-word for the enemies of religion, and an occasion of deep humiliation for her friends.

Since the fifteenth century closed, and the sixteenth opened with the pontificate of Alexander, it is no matter of surprise that in the early part of this latter century a revolt broke out against the authority of the Church, on the specious pretext of reforming the morals of her members, and her corrupt dogmas. Pius III., who succeeded Alexander, was too soon snatched away, to be able by his known piety and prudence to repair the calamities inflicted on the Church by his unworthy predecessor. The military glory of Julius II. eclipsed the mild splendor of the Christian pastor, and left it a matter of question whether the success of his arms should be rejoiced at or deplored. In order to recover the possessions of the Church from the Venetians, he joined in the league made in 1508, at Cambray, between the emperor Maximilian, Louis XII. and Ferdinand V. of Spain; but on the victory obtained by the French in May, 1509, over the Venetians, these latter having sued for pardon, and yielded to the pontifical demands, Julius became reconciled with them, and, by his withdrawal from the league, brought down on himself the displeasure of the French monarch. His change of policy, which soon put him in a hostile position to his former allies, has been represented as a breach of faith; but as in the case of Sixtus IV. is easily accounted for by the motive of the war with the Venetians being removed. The government of Julius was just, and directed to the interests of religion. "He endeavored," says Ranke, "every where to appear as a liberator; he treated his new subjects wisely and well, and secured their attachment and fidelity."\* Yet he must be acknowledged to have given the example of elevating to the high dignity of the cardinalate relatives who should have been far from the throne. In early life he had fallen into some excesses, and a daughter, the fruit of his passion, was owned by him, and her children were promoted to the purple. We have reason to believe that his conduct in mature age was worthy of his vocation, since St. Francis de Paula foretold to him his election to the Pontificate, which he was not likely to announce to a corrupt and disorderly ecclesiastic.

\* History of the Popes, l. ii. ch. ii. p. 52.

Leo X. was blameless in his morals, as Luther and Erasmus acknowledged. The brilliancy of his court led many to censure in the Pontiff what would have won their admiration in a prince: and the entertainments of music and poetry, in which he delighted, detracted from the gravity and austerity of character which men look for in the chief Pastor of the Church. "Leo's gay and graceful court," says Ranke, "was not in itself deserving of censure: yet it were impossible to deny that it was little answerable to the character and position of head of the Church."\* He had his practices of mortification and self-denial—especially the weekly fast of Saturday—and he performed his public functions with such solemnity and reverence as to impress the bystanders with religious feeling. The austere piety of Adrian VI. was worthy of the primitive ages. With great devotion he celebrated the holy sacrifice every day. He was averse to pomp and indulgence, and sought to retrench all unnecessary expenditures, and to reform abuses, and thus to win to religion those weak souls who had been scandalized by the splendor of his predecessor. "Adrian," says Ranke, "was of a most spotless fame; upright, pious, industrious; of such a gravity that nothing more than a faint smile was ever seen upon his lips, yet full of benevolent, pure intentions; a true minister of religion."† Clement VII. was an afflicted Pontiff, whose patience under calamities the most overwhelming, and whose clemency towards his enemies commend him to our veneration. "Every thing was conducted with prudence, and his own conduct, at least, was marked by blamelessness and moderation."‡

Paul III. was among the ablest and most zealous Pontiffs of the sixteenth century, and would have been unblemished in his administration, as towards death he himself observed, had not domestic attachments diminished its lustre. Before entering into orders he became a father, by a secret marriage, as some allege, whilst others deny it, and in his advanced age, when occupying the highest post in the Church, he raised to the cardinalate the son of his own son, Pier Luigi Farnese. This humiliating fact, which is scarcely atoned for by the exemplary piety of the young Cardinal Alexander, detracts from the honor to which his long and successful government otherwise entitles him. Ranke praises his selection of cardinals. "The most honorable act of Paul III.'s life was perhaps the one which marked his accession to the

\* History of the Popes, l. i. ch. ii. p. 61.

† Ibidem ch. iii. p. 72.

‡ Ibidem p. 75.

throne; viz: the summoning into the college of cardinals several distinguished men, without regard to any thing but their merits.—They were men of unblemished manners, renowned for their learning and piety, and acquainted with the spiritual wants of different countries.”

Julius III. a Pope of easy manners and integrity of life, lost something of his claims on our respect, by the promotion of a young relative of his brother, who was ill qualified to occupy a place in the council of the head of the Church.

Marcellus scarcely had risen as a brilliant star, when he suddenly disappeared, verifying in himself the prediction of the poet concerning one whose name he bore:

“ Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata.”

Paul IV. was distinguished by great holiness of life: yet his pontificate was disgraced by the mal-practices of his nephews, whom he removed on discovering their misconduct, and by the sinister suspicions which he too easily indulged, of men of undoubted orthodoxy. Pius IV. united with great ease of manners, and love of peace, zeal for the advancement of religion, and integrity of morals.

St. Pius V. from earliest youth was devoted to the service of God, and in the highest station he “preserved all his austerity, poverty and humility.”† Ugo Buoncompagno of Bologna, a jurist, who rose into life in the civil service, had a son born out of wedlock. He afterwards entered the career of the Church, and distinguished himself by talent and integrity, and at the age of seventy, was chosen to succeed Pius, under the name of Gregory XIII. In his reign, which lasted nearly thirteen years, he displayed all the high qualities of a wise prince, and holy Pontiff. Even Ranke acknowledges that “his life and conversation were not only blameless, but edifying. Never did Pope perform certain duties of his office with more fidelity than Gregory.”‡ No qualification was needed of an encomium so well deserved. The severity of Sixtus V. might appear to be the mark of an unforgiving disposition: yet before his elevation, “when his nephew, the husband of Vittoria Accorambuoni, was murdered, he was the first to entreat the Pope to let the investigation drop.”§ The execution of the bandits and of others guilty of transgressing the laws, was, at least, in many instances, necessary to restore public confidence and security. He was eager to

\* L. II. ch. i. p. 103.

† Ib. l. III. § viii. p. 217.

‡ Ib. l. IV. § iii. p. 255.

§ Ib. l. IV. § iv. p. 267.

preserve the most friendly relations with crowned heads, and voluntarily ceded many disputed claims in order to conciliate them. With the nobles of his own States he pursued a like course. "After chastising the offending feudatories, he sought rather to conciliate and attach the other barons."\* He also delighted in dispensing privileges. He was at bottom good natured.† The Church owes much to Sixtus for the qualifications which he prescribed for the cardinalate, namely, unblemished morals, and eminent merit. His regulations have ever since been had in view in the selection of the members of the sacred college. In his own time the number of holy and illustrious men who belonged to it was considerable.‡

Gregory XIV. was adorned with modesty, chastity, and every virtue—"a soul of virgin innocence."§ Innocent IX. left after him the fame of a blameless life, as well as of profound learning. The legal science and experience of Ippolyto Aldobrandini qualified him for the active duties of the pontificate to which he was raised under the name of Clement VIII., "nor with all this attention to secular business, had he to reproach himself with the smallest neglect of his spiritual duties. He confessed every evening to Baronius; every morning he celebrated Mass himself; at noon, at least during the first year of his pontificate, twelve poor men always dined with him, and the pleasures of the table were utterly unknown to him. On Fridays and Saturdays he fasted. He thus raised to an extraordinary pitch the reputation he had always enjoyed for virtue, piety, and exemplary life."|| He "was generally found busied in the study of St. Bernard."¶

All the Pontiffs of the seventeenth century have left an unblemished and illustrious name. Leo XI. who lived but seventeen days after his election, shewed entire detachment from his relatives, in refusing to nominate his nephew, a youth of high promise, to the cardinalate, although the cardinals urged him to appoint him. Paul V. during a glorious pontificate of fifteen years and eight months, labored for the embellishment of Rome, the happiness of his people, the peace of Italy and Europe, and the advancement of faith and piety. The grandeur of his undertakings did not so absorb his attention as to interfere with the practice of religious exercises. Every day he approached the holy altar, after presenting himself previously to the minister of penance. The purity of his life was such that he died with the re-

\* Ranke l. iv. §. vi. p. 271.

† lb. l. iv. § x. p. 297.

‡ lb. § v. p. 436.

§ lb. l. vi. § iii. p. 441.

§ lb. l. vi. § iv. p. 429.

¶ lb. vol. II. l. vii. p. 104.

putation of having preserved his virginal integrity. His last words were : " I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." Need we wonder that his body was found entire, when his tomb was opened, a year after his death ?

Gregory XV. after an active pontificate of two years and five months, closed a virtuous career by a most edifying death. Thrice he made the confession of his sins; then received the holy viaticum ; and whilst being anointed, sought with earnestness the prayers of the bystanders. With great humility he resigned himself to death, expressing his confidence that his successor would govern with greater zeal and energy. Urban VIII. verified the prediction, and during almost twenty-one years, labored successfully in the government of the Church, and the propagation of the faith, for which he founded at Rome a college destined for the education of the youth of the East, and which still bears his name. The congregation of cardinals founded by Gregory XIII. and placed on a firm footing by Gregory XV., was enabled by this means to supply the wants of the Oriental nations. Ranke observes that " it labored (and perhaps in the first years of its existence with the amplest results,) to fulfil its general vocation with admirable grandeur of conception."\* At the age of seventy-seven, Urban, being conscious of the approach of death, sent for his confessor, and received the last rites of religion with a piety which moved the beholders to tears. The only thing that detracts from the glory of his reign was the excessive confidence which he placed in the representations of his nephews, whose views were sometimes more interested than became the counsellors of the head of the Church.

St. Felix of Cantalicio foretold to cardinal John Baptist Pamfili that he would wear the tiara, and the prediction was accomplished on the death of Gregory XV. He was seventy-two years of age at the time of his election, and he governed the Church with zeal, and not without success, for more than ten years. His temperance, modesty, and personal virtues are recorded ; but his reign was inglorious on account of the influence which Donna Olimpia, the widow of his brother, exercised in the distribution of his favors. " Pope Innocent," says Ranke, " was under obligations to his sister-in-law, Donna Olimpia Maidalchina of Viterbo, especially in consequence of the large fortune she had brought into the house of Pamfili. He also regarded it as a high merit on her part, that after the death of his brother she had never chosen to marry again. This had been productive of advantage to

\* History of the Popes, Vol. II. l. ii. ch. ii. §. ii. p. 59.

himself, since he had constantly left the economical affairs of the family to her guidance; it was therefore no wonder if she now acquired great influence in the administration of the papacy.\* Partiality to his relatives was the weakness of the old age of Innocent X. He was, nevertheless, generous to the poor, not confining his alms to the 100,000 crowns which his predecessors had been wont to distribute every year, but adding many and large donations, especially to families burdened with children.

"Personally," says Ranke, "he was a man of qualities by no means ordinary. In his earlier career, in the Rota, as nuncio, and as cardinal, he had shown himself industrious, blameless, and upright, and this reputation he still preserved. His exertions were the more remarkable, since he had attained the age of seventy-two when he was chosen. 'Labor,' it was said, 'does not tire him, he is as fresh after it as before; he has pleasure in conversing with people, and he allows every body to say all he has to say.' He was particularly anxious to preserve the order and peace of Rome. It was his ambition to maintain security of property and of person by day and night, and to permit no oppression of the low by the high, of the weak by the powerful. He compelled the barons to pay their debts."†

"On his death-bed, Innocent X. exclaimed to Ottobuono,—'we must endeavor to find an upright man.' 'If you want an upright man, replied Azzolino,—'there stands one,'—pointing to Chigi."‡ He was in fact elected, and chose the name of Alexander VII. In order never to forget death, he caused his coffin to be made, and put under his bed. Mental prayer and the celebration of Mass daily, were followed by a conference with a Jesuit father, to whom he entrusted the direction of his conscience. He displayed patience and fortitude in adversity, and zeal for the advancement of religion. During the first year of his pontificate he shewed entire detachment from his relatives; but yielding to the importunate counsels of many, he afterwards called his brother and nephews to the court, and lost the glory which perseverance in his original course would have secured him. On his death-bed he assured the cardinals that he had not ambitioned the pontificate, or desired to have his relatives around him; and then exhorted them to elect a successor who would be likely to repair his faults. The Romans asked his permission to raise a statue to commemorate his paternal solicitude and charity, at a period when famine

\* History of the Popes, Vol. II. l. viii. §. v. p. 150.

† Ibidem p. 151.

‡ Ibidem §. vi. p. 155.

and pestilence stalked abroad. He refused the tribute with the dignity and grace which usually characterized him, telling them that he wished no monument but the kind remembrance and gratitude which they cherished in their hearts.

The humility and piety of Clement IX. who succeeded Alexander are worthy of our admiration. In the conclave "it was agreed by acclamation, that it was impossible to find a better or a kinder man." His profound learning was extolled by Hoffman, a declared enemy of the Holy See. His care to relieve his people from oppressive burdens, and to provide for their wants, manifested his paternal affection. Zeal for the integrity of the faith, a love of peace, which he established effectually between the great European powers, and attention to the duties of the ministry, distinguished his administration. He devoted two days of each week to the hearing of confessions in the basilic of St. Peter, and shewed the greatest attention to poor penitents especially. "All those virtues," says Ranke, "which consist in an absence of vices, such as purity of manners, modesty, temperance, he possessed in an eminent degree." His corpse by his orders, was laid on the ground with no sepulchral inscription but: CLEMENTIS IX. CINERES: "The ashes of Clement IX."

The dying Pontiff from his couch of sorrow, nominated several new cardinals, among whom was Emilio Altieri, to whom he predicted the honors of the triple crown. Before assuming the purple, Altieri, at the age of eighty, was chosen to fill the vacancy under the name of Clement X. In vain he pleaded the weight of his years, and wept, when pressed to accept a burden, which he declared himself unable to bear. In his new elevation he continued his usual prayers and contemplation, giving his heart to watching before the Lord, even from the morning-dawn, and spending full six hours each day in these holy exercises. His zeal for the peace of Europe, and for the glory of the Church was conspicuous; and after six years of useful administration he passed to his final resting place, with no censure on his memory save what was attached to the acts of his nephew, who during the two last years of his pontificate governed in his name.

Innocent XI. of the illustrious family of Odescalchi, succeeded Clement, and preserved himself from all stain of nepotism. During nearly thirteen years he discharged all the duties of his high station with such zeal as to leave behind him the reputation of sanctity, which has led to some preparatory proceedings for his canonization. In his

last sickness, when suffering excruciating pains, his cry was: "O Lord, increase my sufferings; but at the same time increase my patience." Ranke thus describes him: "He was a man of such mildness and humility of manner, that when he called for any of his servants, it was with the reservation: 'if it was convenient to them;'<sup>\*</sup> of such purity of heart and life, that his confessor declared that he had never discovered in him any thing which could sever the soul from God; meek and gentle, but impelled by the same conscientiousness which governed his private life, to fulfil the duties of his office with inflexible integrity."<sup>\*\*</sup>

The glory of Alexander VIII. chosen Pope at the age of seventy-nine, would be complete, but for the promotion of his relatives to high offices. His long life however, was without any moral stain, and his administration was useful to the Church. Zeal for the faith, and intrepidity in maintaining the rights of the Holy See characterized him, and in death he recommended to the cardinals to defend them strenuously.

Innocent XII. when seventy-six years of age, was elected Pope. He undertook to root out nepotism by decrees, as well as by his own example, and called the poor his nephews. To them he bequeathed whatever might result from the sale of the furniture of his palace after his death. Their gratitude led them forth to meet him on his return from Civitavecchia, when they hailed him saying: "Behold our father comes,—the father of the poor;" they insisted on being allowed the honor of carrying him on their shoulders in the chair in which he rode. On the day of his death he subscribed with his own hand an order for 40,000 crowns, to be employed in the ransom of slaves. He gave to the college of Propaganda 50,000 crowns for the missions of Ethiopia, and 100,000 for the missions of China. During nine years he governed the Church with zeal, intrepidity, and wisdom, and gave in his own person the example of the most delicate purity, combined with austerity of life.

The eighteenth century opened with the pontificate of Clement XI. whose memory is in benediction. Cardinal John Francis Albani, as he was previously called, had, at the age of fifty-one, received the sacred order of priesthood, just as he was about to enter the conclave, in which by a unanimous vote he was chosen Pope. His courteous manners, literary talents and irreproachable conduct, had procured for him universal popularity.† During three days he declined the honor, weeping

<sup>\*</sup> Ibidem l. viii. §. xvi. p. 218.

† Ranke, Vol. II. l. viii. §. 17, p. 225.



and entreating the cardinals to abandon all thoughts of his promotion, and actually fell sick on the occasion. The positive declaration of four eminent divines, who expressed their opinion that he would sin grievously by continuing to resist the manifest will of God, at length determined his acceptance, on 23d November 1700, the feast of St. Clement I. whose name he adopted. Entire detachment from his relatives marked his whole pontificate, during eleven years of which he deferred the promotion of his nephews, whom distinguished merit recommended. On his death-bed he declared to them that conscience had directed his conduct in their regard. He was zealous and intrepid in maintaining the rights of the Church, but patient and submissive under the wrongs which he endured. When the active occupations of his sacred office brought on him sickness, and forced him to seek the country air, he took occasion thence to promote the sanctification of the people among whom he sojourned at Castel Gandolfo. He caused the exercises of a mission to be performed there, and on one day administered communion during several hours to twenty-two thousand persons, who had assembled from the neighboring country. During more than twenty years he continued indefatigable in all his duties, governing the Church with a determination that yielded to no difficulties, and giving the example of every sublime virtue.

A much shorter reign was granted to Innocent XIII. an exemplary and zealous Pontiff, who in less than three years was called to his reward.

The heir of the dukedom of Gravina, Peter Francis Orsini, at the age of eighteen, took the habit of St. Dominic, and renounced his claims to the ducal coronet. Devoting himself to the study of the Sacred Scripture, and to holy meditation, he refused three several times to accept the purple; but his resistance was at length overcome by the special command of the Pope, and of his immediate superior. The like struggle occurred, when the unanimous suffrages of the cardinals called him to the tiara. It required the eloquence of learned and holy cardinals, and the positive command of the General of his Order, to induce him to accept it. On entering the Vatican he removed the magnificent furniture that adorned his apartments, in place of which he introduced his humble pallet which he had used when a friar, and a few rush chairs, with a crucifix. For three days after his election he devoted himself to prayer and meditation. When he went forth into the city, he wished no retinue, or life-guards, and reluctantly yielded to the remonstrances of those who insisted that he should

not disregard established usage, and the dignity of his station. The first time he left his palace, after the solemnities of his coronation, was to visit a public hospital, where with his own hands he administered the last sacraments to a dying man: and during his pontificate he continued to frequent these abodes of suffering, and often repaired to the houses of the dying, to give them the pontifical blessing and indulgence. In a time of distress he lent from the Papal treasury sixty thousand crowns to the farmers of the Roman district, and fifty thousand to those of other parts, to be employed in the cultivation of wheat, and directed that the poorer class of agriculturists should be provided with the necessary aid. As he retained in his charge the arch-diocese of Benevento, over which he presided before his elevation to the pontificate, he made the visitation of it several times, held provincial councils, and edified the clergy and faithful by the performance of the duties of a metropolitan in all the details. He heard the complaints and the petitions of all, and afforded them relief to the utmost of his power. He fervently exhorted the clergy to aspire after the perfection of their calling, and gave them the example by examining the children in the catechism, administering the sacraments, preaching, and joining in the recital of the divine office in the choir. It was a truly edifying spectacle to behold the Sovereign Pontiff closing the exercises of the day by a visit to the hospitals, where, with unaffected humility, he served the sick, and washed their feet with his own hands. His reign did not reach six years, and at the age of eighty-one, he resigned his soul to his Creator, after having celebrated Mass in the morning of the same day. He was entirely free from nepotism; but not always fortunate in the selection of his officers, so that the public had reason to regret that his relatives, who were remarkable for their integrity, were not admitted to his confidence.

Clement XII. was chosen Pope at the advanced age of seventy-nine, and governed the Church during nine years and six months. To encourage those who had possession of ecclesiastical livings, in Saxony and other parts of Germany, to return to the faith, he published decrees allowing them in case of their conversion, to retain the revenues. He sent missionaries to Thibet, and gave sixty thousand crowns to the Propaganda, in aid of the Coptic mission. His attention to the sufferings and wants of his people proved his fatherly solicitude. Four thousand Romans, who by a vast conflagration were turned houseless on the world, were relieved by his munificence. He was easy of access, and prompt to relieve all: rigid in the punishment of crime, and clement towards the penitent.

The elevation of Lambertini to the pontifical chair, in the year 1740, filled with exultation the admirers of learning and merit. Benedict XIV. as he chose to be thenceforward called, united with the most profound erudition great integrity of life, and governed the Church with wisdom nearly eighteen years. To avoid nepotism, he ordered his nephew, a senator of Bologna, not to come to Rome until he should be called, and took care not to give the invitation. He urged the prelates of his court to cultivate letters, and rewarded their proficiency, when accompanied with integrity of life. On occasion of a visit to Civitavecchia the illustrious Pontiff served the sick in the public hospital, and gave each of them a small present in money. In the celebration of the Jubilee in the year 1750, he joined in the exercises, making the visit of the four great basilics thirty times on foot notwithstanding his advanced age. In the hospital of the Holy Trinity where the pilgrims were lodged, he washed the feet of twelve priests, whom he likewise served at table: and he frequently repaired to another house, specially fitted up for the prelates and clergy from foreign parts, to whom he rendered every kind attention. A long malady of eighteen months prepared him for eternity. When he saw himself on its verge, he called some cardinals to his bed-side, and declared to them the sincerity of his affection for the sacred college: then made and signed the profession of faith, as is usual with Popes when dying; and gave his soul to God.

John Baptist Rezzonico, a Venetian noble, when at the point of death, was informed that his son Charles, then sixty-five years of age, was raised to the pontificate. The father, consoled by the grateful intelligence, expired on the same night. In the conclave the son burst into tears, when the result of the election was communicated to him. Clement XIII. as he was styled, during his whole career, had shed around him the fragrance of virtue. "Clement was a man of pure soul and pure intentions: he prayed much and fervently."\* He commenced his administration with letters to the crowned heads and to his own republic, expressive of his ardent desire for the peace of Europe. His attention was next directed to the poor among his subjects, to whom he caused provisions to be distributed abundantly. Like his predecessor, he visited the hospital at Civitavecchia, and waited on the sick, and left alms with them. The prison at Corneto was also visited by him, where he inquired diligently into the treatment given to the inmates, and left proofs of his clemency and liberality. Ten thousand

\* Ranke vol. ii. l. viii. § xviii. p. 236.

crowns were employed by him in the erection of an hospital for women, and a house of education for girls. With admirable constancy Clement struggled to maintain the rights of the Church, and with no less patience he bore the many assaults made on them, especially in the persons of the Jesuits, by the courts of Portugal, Spain, France and Naples. At the foot of the crucifix, he wept over the evils which he could not remedy. At length, after a pontificate of ten years and six months, he closed his holy life, in the night following the feast of the Purification, having in the morning of that day celebrated Mass, blessed and distributed the candles, and in the afternoon visited the Holy Sacrament, as he was wont to do every day.

The morals of Clement XIV. are unimpeached. He receives the highest encomiums from Ranke.\* When chosen Pope, not being yet bishop, he spent nine days in spiritual exercises to prepare for his consecration. He refused to send special messengers to apprise his three sisters of his elevation, observing that they were not wont to receive ambassadors, and that the poor of Christ were his family. So utterly opposed was he to nepotism, that no one could prevail on him to admit his relatives to his presence, or send them any gift. His abolition of the society of Jesus has drawn most censure on his memory. He seems to have acted against his own inclinations, under the influence of what he deemed imperious necessity, on account of the importunities of the crowned heads of Europe. Whether this justified the measure it is not for me to determine.

Twenty-two months before his death, Clement adorned with the purple John Angelo Braschi, a learned prelate who had merited the confidence of Benedict XIV., and been employed as his private secretary. After a protracted conclave, which lasted four months, Braschi, who was fifty-eight years of age; was unanimously chosen Pontiff, and assumed the name of Pius VI. He displayed the qualities of a wise prince and holy pastor, planned and executed vast designs for the improvement of Rome and the Roman States, and suffered much for the interests of religion. His charity towards the poor, and his munificence towards his subjects appeared in many ways, but especially on occasion of public calamities, as when Bologna and many other cities and towns were visited with an earthquake, and the fortress of Civitavecchia was accidentally blown up, by the explosion of a powder magazine, as also at various times when famine prevailed. His zeal, humility, and charity were manifested in the journey which he under-

\* Ranke vol. ii. l. viii. § xviii. p. 238.

took, in the year 1782, to Vienna, to remonstrate with the emperor Joseph II., on the dangerous innovations in which he was engaged. When one of the Cardinals, whose advice he sought, observed to him that he would have a hard struggle, he replied: "Be it so: we shall employ no weapons but meekness and Christian charity." To those who opposed the project as likely to be unsuccessful, and to afford the enemies of the Holy See an occasion of scoffing and triumph, he said: "I shall go whither duty calls me, as if I were going to martyrdom, for the interests of religion, for the maintenance of which so many successors of St. Peter did not hesitate to lay down their lives. I cannot abandon the fisherman's bark when storms rage around it. What care I for the scoffs of a corrupt world, whilst the Gospel teaches us to glory in appearing as fools for the sake of Jesus Christ?" His condescension appeared in receiving the emperor and the Doge of Venice to his embrace, and kissing them affectionately, raising them up as they knelt to do him homage. "It cannot be denied," says Ranke, "that the mildness, nobleness, and grace which characterized his whole appearance and manner, had some influence."\*

The prudence and paternal affection of Pius were seen in the concessions made to Napoleon, when, in the name of the French republic, he hovered over the ecclesiastical States, like a bird of prey, seeking to glut himself with human victims. "Had we attempted any defence," Pius observed, "torrents of blood would have flowed to no purpose." The plate of his palace, with all that could be gathered from others, was sacrificed to pay the immense sum which the general, elate with his many victories, demanded; and every humiliating condition was accepted: but when the infidel Directory insisted on his retracting the condemnation of the civil constitution of the clergy, the heroic Pontiff was inflexible: "The crown of martyrdom," he observed, "is more brilliant than the tiara." When, after immense sacrifices made by Pius and his faithful subjects, the French, in violation of the treaty of Tolentino, took possession of his capital, and Cervoni, in mockery, presented him with the French cockade, and promised him a pension, the Pope answered: "I care for no ornaments but those with which the Church has decorated me. You have full power over my body, but not over my soul, which defies your utmost efforts. I want no pension. A staff and the coarsest garment are enough for me, who for the maintenance of the faith, am soon to expire on ashes." Cervoni persisting in urging him to resign his temporal principality, and

\* Ranke vol. ii. l. viii. § xviii. p. 241.

accept a pension, the aged Pontiff replied : " My power comes by free election from God alone, and not from men, and I cannot and ought not resign it. I am now near the eightieth year of my life, and have nothing to fear. Whatever violence, insults and indignities may be offered me, by those in whose power I am, my soul is still free, and so resolute and courageous, that I am ready to meet death rather than dishonor myself, or offend God." After separating the Pontiff from all his counsellors and friends, and pillaging his palace, Haller, a Swiss Calvinist, in the name of the French, intimated to him that he must quit Rome. In vain he pleaded the weight of his years, his infirmities, which at any moment might terminate in death, and his duty which required him to remain. The brutal messenger told him he should be forced away, unless he consented. At the foot of the crucifix the afflicted old man poured out his complaints, and bowed in homage to the Divine will. As he rose he exclaimed : " It is the will of God : His holy will be done : let us bow to his just decrees." As he descended the stair case, he was met by a criminal whom he had pardoned, but who, like Semei, exulted in the misfortunes of his sovereign, and taunted him : " See, tyrant, your reign is at an end." Pius replied : " Were I a tyrant, you would not be alive." Thus on the 20th February, 1798, he was hurried away from his capital. On his journey he received a message of condolence from Ferdinand III., Grand duke of Tuscany, on which occasion he observed : " My afflictions encourage me to hope that I am not altogether unworthy of being vicar of Jesus Christ, and successor of St. Peter. The situation in which you behold me recalls to our minds the early ages of the Church which were the days of her triumphs." When Charles Emmanuel IV., the exiled king of Turin, with his wife, visited the Pontiff in his retreat at the Cistercian monastery near Florence, Pius exclaimed : " All in this world is vanity. No one can say it more truly than we can. Yes : all is vanity, but to love and serve the Giver of every blessing. Let us raise our eyes to heaven, where thrones are prepared for us, of which men cannot deprive us." On the 27th March, 1779, Pius was forced from this peaceful asylum, and notwithstanding the testimony of medical men, given on oath, that travelling would expose his life to imminent danger, he was inhumanly dragged from place to place, without losing his patience, or sweetness of disposition. When he had reached Turin, and found himself obliged to travel still further, he exclaimed : " The will of God be done. Let us go cheerfully whithersoever they please." As he was carried up the rugged heights of Mount Cenis, he appeared more happy, than when borne on a chair

of state in the solemn functions of the vatican. The calm resignation and noble demeanor of the august prisoner struck with admiration a French Calvinist, who witnessed the eagerness with which the Catholics rushed to venerate him, as he was hurried on through France. A few days before his death at Valence, being presented on the balcony of his residence to gratify the devotion of the faithful, he recalled to their minds the resemblance which he bore to his insulted and suffering Master, and then for the last time, gave them his blessing. When about to receive the holy Eucharist, as a Viaticum, the officiating prelate asked him, whether he forgave his enemies; the holy Pontiff raising his eyes to heaven, and then fixing them on a crucifix which he held in his hands, answered: "With all my heart."

On the death of Pius VI., the shattered bark of Peter, which had long been the sport of the storm, being now bereft of her pilot, whom it seemed impossible to replace, was, according to all human probabilities, sure to sink for ever beneath the next wave that might break over it. The cardinals were scattered abroad: the infidel Directory, which in France had labored to exterminate the Catholic religion, had Rome and Italy under their control, and the entire extinction of Christianity was confidently anticipated by the numerous disciples of Voltaire. Suddenly a ray of light pierced the gloom. The French troops, hitherto victorious, were worsted in battle with the Russians: the English and Neapolitans succeeded in rescuing Rome and Civita Vecchia; and the Turks, united against the common enemy, took possession of Ancona. The cardinals availed themselves of the opportunity which Providence thus afforded to assemble in Venice for the election of a successor to the martyred Pontiff. After deliberations protracted during several months, they united in the choice of Gregory Barnabas Chiaramonti, who, from the age of sixteen, had been an inmate of a Benedictine cloister, and had afterwards governed the Churches of Tivoli and Cesena. He was recommended by his acknowledged virtue, as well as by a disposition to yield to the times whatever could be conceded without detriment to the interests of religion. In the beginning of the preceding year a sermon was published, which had been preached by him on the festival of Christmas, wherein was shewn the compatibility of republican institutions and Catholic faith. Before he took possession of his See, the French eagle, almost with the quickness of lightning, had descended from the heights of the Alps, and filled with consternation the Austrian troops, who could scarcely realize the unexpected visit. Once more the flag of France floated in triumph on the field of Marengo. The conqueror, who seemed led forward by the

genius of war, for the first time acknowledged that victory depends on the God of hosts, and appeared in the cathedral of Milan, where the *Te Deum* was chaunted on the occasion. Pius VIII. without waiting to calculate the results of this change of fortune, pushed forward to his capital. Napoleon soon found it to be his interest to court the favor of the Pontiff, that the order which he had bidden to arise out of anarchy, might become permanent, under the mild influence of religion. Accordingly as first consul, under which modest title he exercised supreme power, he negotiated and ratified a concordat, whereby public worship was restored, and a new hierarchy created. The Pope yielded all to the imperious necessity of the crisis, and consoled himself, and exulted, when on a sudden the gates of the Churches flew open, the priests re-appeared at the altars, and bishops sat on their thrones of judgment to govern the flock of Christ. Ambition whispered to Napoleon that the imperial diadem became the man who had achieved a double triumph over impiety and anarchy; and accordingly he sought the presence of the Pontiff, to legitimate and hallow, in the minds of men, the usurpation of a crown in the name of liberty. The coronation of Charlemagne a thousand years before, by a predecessor of Pius, recurred to his mind, and the hope of founding an empire, as durable, and more extensive, flattered his vanity. The Pope deemed it just to give the sanction of religion to order already established by military force, and acquiesced in by the nation, and he thought worthy of the imperial crown the soldier, who after performing prodigies of valor in the field of battle, had crushed by one deed of noble daring a sanguinary faction that had vowed hatred to Christianity. Napoleon, however, would not follow too closely the model which he held before him; but instead of repairing to Rome to receive the crown, he insisted that the ceremony should be performed in Paris, and urged the aged Pope to undertake the journey. Pius yielded to his wishes. Lest Napoleon should seem to owe his crown to aught but his own valor, he indecorously took it from the altar, with his own hands, and placed it on his head. Pius dissembled the insult. Could forbearance and condescension be carried farther?

There were limits, however, to the pliancy of the Pontiff's will, and to his indulgence. No effort of Napoleon could induce him to receive into favor the constitutional bishops, intruded into the episcopal Sees, until, by the retraction of their errors, they had disposed themselves for pardon. No importunities could avail to make him annul the marriage of Jerom, brother of the emperor, with an American Protestant lady. Principle was at stake, and it could not be yielded.



A bright day appeared to dawn, when Napoleon restored to Catholic France the freedom of religious worship, and asked the blessing of the Pope on the order which he had re-established : but clouds of portentous aspect soon darkened the heavens. Pius felt himself a prisoner, and only escaped, by making known the measure of precaution which the foresight of such a contingency had led him to adopt—namely the formal abdication of the Papal power, signed at Rome, to take effect in case of his detention. The wiles of his enemy were thus defeated, and Rome welcomed the returning Pontiff with shouts of joy.

It is manifest that the splendor of the tiara did not dazzle Pius. He professed himself ready to retire to a convent, or to seek a hiding place in the catacombs, if the sacrifice of his personal rights could appease the emperor. The offer of pensions and honors had no influence on his conduct : “ We want no pension—no honors. The alms of the faithful will suffice. Other Popes have been poor as we are.”

In maintaining the rights of his See the Pontiff was influenced by a sacred sense of duty. When the ministers of the emperor addressed him in his own palace, with threats of vengeance on their lips, should he resist the imperial will, he replied : “ We have done every thing in our power, and we are still ready to do all things for harmony and peace, provided principle be safe. Our conscience is at stake, and we cannot sacrifice it, even were we to be flayed alive. Such is our natural disposition that we become more inflexible, when threats are addressed to us. We fear nothing : we are ready for whatever may befall us.”

These heroic sentiments lose something of their grandeur, by the momentary weakness into which Pius, when a prisoner at Fontainebleau, was betrayed, by the importunities of his advisers, who induced, and almost forced him to subscribe to the preliminaries of a treaty with Napoleon, seriously compromising the rights of his office : but his speedy retractation, and his humiliation before the cardinals, changed the fault itself into an occasion of new merit. From that time he refused to enter into any terms, until he should be restored to liberty and to his capital. “ It may be,” he said, “ that our sins render us unworthy to see Rome again, but our successors will recover the States which belong to our See. As to the rest, the emperor may be assured that we are not his enemy. Religion forbids it.”

God soon cast the mighty emperor from his throne, and raised up the humble Pontiff once more to the pinnacle of power. Napoleon signed his abdication in the very room wherein he had treated imperiously the venerable prisoner ; and Pius entered Rome in triumph, amidst the

enthusiastic acclamations of his devoted people. The brilliant illumination of the eternal city on the night of his return, rivalled the meridian blaze. In this miraculous change the devout Pontiff saw no occasion for self-complacency, and indulged no exultation over his fallen oppressor : on the contrary, he became an intercessor in his behalf with the British government, to obtain the mitigation of the rigors of his captivity, and sent a pious priest to console and sustain him by the succors of religion. The eagle which rose with so much pride and daring at Austerlitz, perished on the rock of St. Helena. Pius, notwithstanding his great age and sufferings, outlived Napoleon, and received the intelligence of his death, with the feelings which became a fond father of a wayward child, tempered with hope that his penitence in death had been accepted.

When the venerable Pontiff, himself, two years afterwards, was at the point of death, his tried friend cardinal Consalvi told him how deeply the Romans were afflicted at the thought of losing him ; Pius raised his hand, as if to bless them, and yielded his soul to God.

Leo XII., during a pontificate of six years, gave examples of zeal and devotedness worthy of the Chief Pastor. As temporal prince he sought to prevent intemperance and strife, and to alleviate the sufferings of the unfortunate. He visited the prisons and hospitals, afforded redress wherever grievances were discovered, and acted with great charity to the poor of Christ. In the Jubilee, which fell during his administration, he served the pilgrims at table, and walked barefoot in a public procession of penitents to the visit of the Churches. When two priests of Montreal asked his blessing on their departure from the eternal city, he raised his hands to impart it ; but added with deep feeling : "Pray earnestly for a man whose salvation is in danger at every moment." Before death he asked and received with great devotion the last sacraments. Like his immediate predecessor, he had kept himself free from all undue attachment to his relatives.

On the election of Pius VIII., he wrote affectionate letters to his nephews, warning them, however, not to indulge in any pomp, or pride, but to pray to God in his behalf, that he might be able to bear the burthen of the pontificate. "Let none of you," he said, "leave his dwelling or post. We love you in God." He was suffering under many infirmities : but his zeal and courage enabled him to attend strenuously to the duties of his office. When any missionary was announced as desiring an audience, Pius, disregarding his own sufferings, ordered him to be introduced, and received him with cordial affection, as a champion of religion who came from the battle-field, crowned with many laurels.

Perceiving a faithful domestic at his bed-side, as he was dying, he called for the Treasurer, and provided liberally for his future support, crowning by this act of generosity the many good works of his pontificate and life.

Of the present Pope who succeeds Pius VIII. I can safely say, that he is a faithful imitator of Gregory the Great. From early youth he cultivated the Christian virtues in solitude among the Benedictin monks of Camaldoli, whence he was called to the council of the Sovereign Pontiff, and afterwards to the Papal chair. The integrity of his life, his learning, piety, zeal, firmness and patience are known to all. It is pleasing to be able to close the review of the conduct of the Popes with a name so glorious as that of Gregory XVI.

From the sketch which I have given of the lives of the Popes, the general purity of their character is manifest. Seventy-nine of them are enrolled in the list of the Saints in the Roman martyrology, an honor not to be attained unless on unquestionable proof of heroic virtue. Of others who have not attained the honors of the altar, many were eminently holy, and the vast majority free from any moral stain in their pontificate. The civil government of several Popes and their political relations lay them open to censure, which it is not my business to remove, or to sustain. Errors of judgment, and faults of administration in the government of the Church itself may be supposed without detracting from their personal virtue, much less from their spiritual authority. Abuses often existed under them, to which they were entire strangers, or which they in vain endeavored to correct. Their general character has been that of men of unblemished lives, of great zeal for the faith, and of great love for the poor. Let any series of rulers, or of prelates, be pointed out in which these sublime qualities were equally conspicuous, or so uniformly exhibited.

#### *Recapitulation.*

In the first thirteen chapters of this work I have accumulated testimonies and facts which prove that the Primacy of the Roman Bishop rests on the act of Christ our Lord, who charged Peter with the care of His sheepfold, and that it was exercised and admitted in the East and in the West, in the first five ages of Christianity. The authority which is established by these testimonies was chiefly evinced in the guardianship of faith, the regulation of discipline, especially where faith itself might be endangered, and in the correction of delinquents, whatever their station might be, by the infliction of ecclesiastical cen-

tures. Here I would have closed my labors, did I not know that the popular objections to the Papal power regard rather its temporal character, as it presents itself in the sovereignty of the Roman States, or in the control over princes exercised for many ages.

Although the temporal principality of the Pope does not at all embrace Catholics living out of his States, I have thought it proper to trace its origin and progress. Of its advantages I may be allowed to say with Bossuet, what I have elsewhere expressed in my own words: "God wished this Church, which is the common mother of all kingdoms, not to be dependant on any kingdom in temporalities, that the See, wherein all the faithful should preserve unity, might be above the partialities which the different interests and jealousies of States might occasion. The Church, independent in her head of all temporal powers, is thereby able to exercise more freely, for the common advantage, and under the protection of Christian kings, this heavenly power of governing souls; and holding in her hand the balance, in the midst of so many empires often at enmity, she maintains unity in all bodies, sometimes by inflexible decrees, and sometimes by wise temperaments."

There are doubtless inconveniences connected with this temporal principality. The cares of temporal administration may easily distract ecclesiastics from the high duties of their vocation, and give them a secular character and spirit. A government conducted by them is open to much censure, if they exercise their authority with vigor and severity; and it easily becomes ineffective and weak, from the clemency and lenity to which their spiritual character inclines them. The bandits, who from time to time infest the public roads, might be extirpated by the unsparing hand of a prince having no ecclesiastical attribute: and many disorders, which grow and spread in large cities, might be repressed by a police unrestrained by considerations which are respected by the officers of the Roman States. Taxes might be imposed, or contributions levied with greater facility, where the representatives of the people would be the judges of the necessities of government, and would apportion the burthens to the various classes of citizens: a form of government harmonizing more with the prevailing sentiments of the age. It is just, however, to observe that the Papal administration is ordinarily most paternal, as well as strictly just, and that the rights of all classes to security in their persons and property have a sacred guarantee in the divine principles of our holy religion, which are the basis of society in the Roman States.

The civil sovereignty of the Pope formerly gave occasion to alliances with other powers, whom he aided with men and money in just wars,

especially where the interests of religion were at stake. In general these alliances were of a defensive character, and the Pope in several instances withdrew from them, when, the circumstances being changed, the war became offensive. When the forces of the emperor Joseph I. invaded the States of the Church, Clement XI. raised troops to defend his dominions, and Louis XIV. suggested to him to form a league offensive and defensive with all the Italian princes. The Pope replied that "he was the common father, and that it did not become him to make an offensive war on a Catholic emperor; that he would therefore strictly confine himself to a mere defence, as his duty obliged him as Sovereign of the States entrusted to his administration. He felt that he would dishonor his station, if instead of exhorting others to peace, he urged them on to war; and although he did not wish to be a victim, he did not aspire to be a hero."\* In latter times the Popes observe a strict neutrality in the wars of various powers. Nothing could induce Pius VII. to close the Roman ports against the English, although Napoleon affected to identify his cause with Catholicity, and threatened vengeance, if his demand were not complied with. The venerable Pontiff replied in language worthy of his Apostolic station: "We, Vicar of the Everlasting Word, who is not the God of quarrel, but the God of concord, who is come into the world to expel enmities, and to preach the gospel of peace, both to those who are near, and to those who are far off, (such are the words of the Apostle) how can we in any way deviate from the instruction of our Divine Founder? How can we belie the mission to which we have been appointed?"

The policy of the Roman government, as Pius VIII., when cardinal, intimated to Chateaubriand, is regulated by the gospel, and above the considerations of mere expediency—the rule of most other cabinets. Yet discerning observers give to the Roman court the praise of profound sagacity. The Russian ambassador, Italinsky, remarked that "Rome is invulnerable in her dogmas, and that it is the only court in which no complete blunder in politics is ever made."†

The union of the ecclesiastical and civil authority in the person of the Pope does not consolidate or confuse powers, which, according to the very essence of Christianity, are necessarily distinct. His spiritual authority is grounded on a Divine commission, and regulated by the Divine Law, and embraces all the faithful of Christ, wheresoever they may be found: his civil principality is an accidental appendage, of

\* Novaes, *Vita de Clem. xi.* vol. xii. p. 69.

† *Histoire du Pape Leon XII.* par Artaud, vol. i. p. 327.

human origin, and limited to the Roman States. He is not as the Roman emperor, who in quality of Sovereign Pontiff exercised religious supremacy, controlled by no law but his will, and co-extensive with imperial sway. The religion of Christ is necessarily independent of the civil power, which it respects and supports, but with which it can form no union, although it studies to preserve harmony with it. Ranke has well observed: "In this separation of the Church from the State consists perhaps the greatest and most pervading and influential peculiarity of all Christian times."\*

The relations which I have shown to have subsisted between the Church and the civil authorities in the middle ages, have been sometimes represented as the union of Church and State: but they were, in reality, widely different from the consolidation of the civil and religious powers, since these were exercised by different persons, and regulated by different principles. Emperors and kings placed over nations professing the Catholic faith, were bound by an implied contract, and even by express pledges, to respect the laws of the Church, to which they accordingly gave the civil sanction and support. On the other hand the prelates of the Church, whose power was altogether distinct, were bound by the Divine law to respect and support the established order of society. The harmony of these authorities, so clearly distinct, was advantageous to both, as the present venerable Pontiff has observed, and their collisions were calamitous.

In avowing the advantages to religion and to society which resulted from the mutual respect, harmony and support, of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, when bound together by the ties of faith and religious communion, I must not be supposed to advocate the like order of things in the altered circumstances of the world. The Church always respects and supports established authority, independently of any return of favor, or protection. The prayers of the first believers were offered up for the Pagan emperor, and it was deemed criminal to resist his mandates, or violate the laws. Under a government, like that of the United States, which is totally unconnected with any religious society, and which offers civil rights and protection to all classes of citizens, the duty of obedience is still more manifest. Catholics have never entertained the least desire to change the social relations, as established by the Constitution; but on the contrary have opposed every departure from their letter and spirit. In treating of former ages I felt bound to point out the principles which were then generally admitted,

\* History of the Popes, Vol. I. ch. i. p. 29.

and to explain the facts of history by them, without caring to reconcile them with modern theories. I am not, however, insensible to the evils and calamities which resulted from that order of things; nor do I regret that, in the actual state of society, the Church should enjoy her independence, at the cost of foregoing the favors which the State formerly bestowed on her. As a lover of order and peace, I wish to see carried out, fully and faithfully, the Constitution under which we live. We ask no special favors—we aim at no ascendancy—we wish for our fellow-citizens the permanent security of all the civil rights which we ourselves enjoy.

In the latter portion of my work I have chiefly aimed at solving problems of history by reference to the principles formerly prevalent, as gathered from authentic documents. Although Catholic faith is unchangeable, it is manifest to every candid inquirer, that the opinions generally entertained in the middle ages with regard to the relations of the Church to the civil government are widely different from the popular theories, received, even among Catholics, at the present day. The Popes themselves, although inflexible in the maintenance of dogma, and strenuous assertors of ecclesiastical privileges, have not been unaffected by the change of society and of public opinion. The wave of time, which has broken over the rock of ages, has swept away some of those pretensions which were once so earnestly advanced. Benedict XIV. Clement XIV. and Pius VI. yielded much to the age, and to the imperious necessity imposed by the European cabinets. Even our present intrepid Pontiff, the heroic defender of right, has made concordats with the King of Sardinia, and Grand Duke of Tuscany, compromising several ecclesiastical immunities, which the eighth Boniface and seventh Gregory most unyieldingly maintained. The inferior prelates of the Church are open to the like influence of surrounding circumstances. St. Thomas of Canterbury died a martyr in defence of privileges which no one, at the present day, dreams of asserting. Their oaths of office bound the Popes and bishops of the middle ages to maintain the rights of the Church, and of the sacred ministers, such as they had existed from time immemorial. Custom and public sentiment have, in latter times, taken a contrary direction.

In regard to the deposition of emperors and kings, I have laid before the readers the documents, and stated with all candor the principles on which the Popes acted. If any one affect to believe that there is reason to apprehend the revival of the Papal pretensions in this regard, or to question the allegiance which Catholics—bishops and priests, as well as laymen,—with the full knowledge and express approbation of

the Pope, promise to the local governments, I care not to refer to the disclaimers of the Universities on the continent of Europe, or of the Catholic subjects of Great Britain: the answer of Pius VI. to the Irish bishops, who complained to him of the charges made against them on this head, is more authoritative. Cardinal Antonelli, prefect of the Propaganda, wrote to them, in the name of the Pontiff, in these terms: "We perceive from your late letter, the great uneasiness you labour under since the publication of a pamphlet entitled 'the Present System of the Church of Ireland,' from which our detractors have taken occasion to renew the old calumny against the Catholic religion with increased acrimony; namely, 'that this religion is by no means compatible with the safety of kings and republics; because, as they say, the Roman Pontiff being the father and master of all Catholics, and invested with such great authority, that he can free the subjects of other kingdoms from their fidelity and oaths of allegiance to kings and princes,' he has it in his power, they contend, to cause disturbances, and injure the public tranquillity of kingdoms with ease. We wonder that you could be uneasy at these complaints, especially after your most excellent brother and apostolic fellow labourer, the archbishop of Cashel, and other strenuous defenders of the rights of the Holy See, had evidently refuted and explained away these slanderous reproaches, in their celebrated writings.

"In this controversy a most accurate discrimination should be made between the genuine rights of the Apostolical See, and those that are imputed to it by innovators of this age, for the purpose of calumniating. The See of Rome never taught that faith is not to be kept with the heterodox:—that an oath to kings separated from the Catholic communion, can be violated:—that it is lawful for the Bishop of Rome to invade their temporal rights and dominions. We, too, consider an attempt or design against the lives of kings and princes, even under the pretext of religion, as a horrid and detestable crime."

On the return of Pius from Vienna, a pasquinade appeared, in which he was styled the least of the Popes, and accused of destroying, by his weak condescension to the emperor Joseph II., what the most illustrious of his predecessors, St. Gregory VII. had established, by his intrepid maintenance of the Pontifical rights. The meek Pontiff contented himself with pencilling these words at the foot of the satire: "The kingdom of Christ is not of this world. The dispenser of heavenly crowns does not care for the perishable crowns of earth. Let us give to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar—to God what belongs to God."\*

\* *Novaes, vite de Pont. Pie vi. t. xvi. p. 92.*



I am, however, convinced that the power exercised in the middle ages was essentially the assertion of the supremacy of right and justice over brute force, and a moral limitation of temporal sovereignty. It is called by a recent Italian writer "a spiritual tribuneship which effectually pleaded for the people, when sovereigns went beyond the just limits of authority."\* The same view was presented by the eloquent Brownson, even before he had set his foot on the threshold of the Church. "Wrong," said he, "wrong have they been, who have complained that kings and emperors were subjected to the spiritual head of Christendom. It was well for man, that there was a power above the brutal tyrants called emperors, kings, and barons, who rode rough-shod over the humble peasant and artisan—well that there was a power even on earth, that could touch their cold and atheistical hearts, and make them tremble as the veriest slave."—"It is to the existence and exercise of that power, that the PEOPLE owe their existence, and the doctrine of man's equality to man its progress."†

If any one be not satisfied with the reasons which I have advanced in justification of the crusades, I shall only observe that they were supported by the public opinion of the middle ages, and they concern us only as facts of history. In acknowledging the authority of the Pope, we do not necessarily bind ourselves to approve of all the enterprises which have received the Papal sanction. The crusades against sectaries in those ages present many scenes of the most revolting character, for which even the worst outrages may scarcely be admitted in justification. I feel no disposition to insist on the plea of provocation, or necessity, farther than to shew that the cruelties were not entirely unprovoked, or confined to Catholics. God forbid that the like scenes should ever be renewed! In the unhappy difference of religious sentiments which prevails, it is a consolation to know that there is a general disposition to respect the civil rights of all men; and that the magistrates are pledged to restrain and punish outrage, no matter from what quarter it proceed. That we may not be plunged into the horrors of anarchy, it is the interest and duty of all to uphold the constituted authorities, and rely on their protection and support in every emergency.

In my remarks on the Inquisition I have only sought to remove some false imputations, without attempting to justify coercion in matters of religion. I have traced the prevalence of the opinion that

\* Audisio, *Educazione del Clero*. Turino 1844.

† *Boston Quarterly Review*, January 1842, p. 13.

this is lawful, to the enormities which so frequently marked the progress of innovation ; but there are evidences, in every age, of the spirit of the Christian prelacy, which is naturally mild and forbearing. When the emperors Arcadius and Honorius subjected to capital punishment the perpetrators of outrages against religion, they deemed it necessary to forewarn the provincial governors not to await any action on the part of the bishops, whose lenity would expose the law to remain without effect. " If any one fall into sacrilege of this kind, rushing into Catholic Churches, to offer violence to the priests and ministers, or disturb the worship, and violate the place, let the offence be punished by the governors of the province : and let the governor of the province know that the injury done to the priests and ministers of the Catholic Church, and to the place itself, and to the divine worship, is to be punished by capital sentence against convicts or confessing culprits ; nor let him wait for the demand of vengeance by the bishop, who has suffered injury, since the holiness of his office leaves to him the glory of pardoning."\*

The oath taken at our consecration obliges us to pursue and impugn heretics ; but our arms are as such as become the successors of the apostles. The mitre which encircles our head is the emblem of the helmet of salvation ; the crosier is the symbol of pastoral authority ; and the cross, which rests on our breast, is the memorial of the sufferings of Him whose mercies we are commissioned to proclaim. We have no sword but that of the spirit, which is the word of God : justice is our breast-plate, and faith our shield, and our feet are shod as messengers of the gospel of peace. The clamors of those who would give to our pledge a sanguinary character were reported by the Irish bishops to the meek Pontiff, Pius VI., who, through cardinal Antonelli, prefect of Propaganda, gave an authoritative explanation of the offensive clause, and to remove all pretext for calumny, substituted a simpler formulary, not liable to cavil. The cardinal answered in these terms : " His Holiness, Pius VI., has not, however, disregarded your requests ; and therefore in order effectually to remove every occasion of cavil and calumny, which, as you write, some borrow from the words in the form of oath of obedience to the Apostolical See, that bishops are required to take at their consecration, ' I will prosecute and oppose heretics, &c., to the utmost of my power : ' which words are maliciously interpreted as the signal of war against heretics, authorizing persecution and assault against them, as enemies ; whereas the pursuit and op-

\* Cod. l. i. tit. iii. 10, de Episcopis et clericis.

position to heretics, which the bishops undertake, are to be understood as referring to their solicitude and efforts in convincing heretics of their errors, and procuring their reconciliation with the Catholic Church: his Holiness has graciously condescended to substitute, in place of the ancient form of oath, that one which was publicly repeated by the archbishop of Mohilow, to the great satisfaction of all the court of Petersburg, in presence of the empress, and which we transmit to you in this letter."

I have not thought it necessary to enter into any theological disquisition as to the extent of the Papal prerogatives. The practical exercise of them chiefly concerns us, and we know them only by the security which they afford to faith, and the mitigation of discipline granted by the indulgence of the Pontiff in consideration of our local circumstances. The dogmas of Catholic faith do not depend on the whim or good pleasure of any individual,—the laws of the Catholic Church are not fluctuating, or unknown. The idea of absolute power capriciously exercised, by an Italian bishop, over the citizens of a free republic, separated from him by thousands of miles, is absurd. He can only address our conscience: he does not and cannot lord it over our faith, although his authoritative teaching, in unison with the whole Catholic episcopate, receives our assent: his governing power is employed in sanctioning and confirming the acts of the American prelates in council, and in aiding them in the maintenance of order, and promotion of piety. The election of bishops is made by them, after the manner of a recommendation, and his interposition serves to give to our proceedings the advantage of more mature deliberation, free from local bias. He sends no mandates to individuals, unless when he employs his authority to prevail over the humility of some one who flees from the honors of the episcopate, or when he enforces the duties of the priesthood. Our rights and liberties as free citizens are entirely beyond the reach of his power, had he even the will, which he certainly has not, to interfere with them. I will not suffer myself to utter any indecorous protestations of the part the Catholic citizens of these States would act in contingencies which are absurdly imagined. It is sufficient to say, that in every circumstance they have proved their attachment to the national institutions, and have combined patriotism with religion.

The obedience which we owe to the Pope, regards the things of salvation, and is totally distinct from allegiance, which is due to the civil government. As to the peculiar forms of society, St. Augustin has well observed, that the Church is indifferent to the varieties of human polity, and approves and sanctions in each one all that is not in oppo-

sition with the Divine Law. "This heavenly society," he says, "does not hesitate to obey the laws of the earthly state which regulate the things appertaining to our mortal life.—Whilst sojourning on earth, she calls together her citizens from all nations, and forms her pilgrim band of every tongue—not caring for the diversity of laws and usages directed to the attainment or preservation of peace, not annulling or destroying any of them, but rather adopting and observing them; which different institutions of various nations are directed to one and the same object, the maintenance of public tranquillity, if they do not clash with religion, which teaches us to worship the one supreme and true God."\* Ranke acknowledges that: "This religious system has no inherent or necessary affinity to one form of government, more than to another."† The admission of the Primacy of the Roman Bishop is not attended with the remotest danger to our republican institutions, which it would rather serve to strengthen and perpetuate, moderating the enjoyment of civil liberty by moral restraints, and thus preventing the evils of licentiousness and anarchy.

The Papal authority is necessarily conservative and pacific—it is the guardian of order, the upholder of right—and it consequently strengthens all legitimate power, and promotes public tranquillity, as well as individual happiness. Its adaptation to every form of society, as well as its intrinsic vitality, is manifest from its continuance during so many ages, amidst the many changes which society has undergone. The jealousies of the civil power led from time to time to violent attacks on 'it, but "no weapon formed against it has prospered." Rival thrones have been raised, or rivals have installed themselves on the ancient Sees, and impeached the integrity and purity of the Apostolic teaching. The successors of Peter "condemned the tongues that resisted them in judgment;" and the barbarian and the infidel were charged by Divine Providence to sweep from the earth the chairs which hereby had polluted. Ephesus, Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, have lost the faith, and with it their ancient glory, as Churches wherein apostles, or their immediate disciples, once presided. The crescent shines over the proud seat of empire, whose bishop sought to rise to an eminence like that of ancient Rome. By a moral miracle, which is among the most splendid proofs of the Divine origin of Christianity, Peter still lives and teaches in his successor, and the voice of truth, coming forth from the chair of unity, reaches to the extremities of the world, and is re-echoed by countless millions. Empires and repub-

\* De Civ. Dei l. xix. c. xvii.

† History of the Popes vol. i. l. vi. § i. p. 407.

lics have passed away, dynasties have succeeded each other, and society has undergone numberless revolutions—all things have changed around : but the See of Peter still remains as an impregnable fortress, which no power can overthrow, a rock of strength against which winds and waves beat in vain.

## CATALOGUE OF THE POPES.

### FIRST CENTURY.

1. ST. PETER from the East, where he is believed to have founded the See of Antioch, passed to Rome about the year 45, returned to the East in 51, when the Jews were expelled by Claudius, returned to Rome in 56, and died a martyr with St. Paul on 29th June, 65.\*
2. ST. LINUS M.†
3. ST. ANACLETUS M.‡
4. ST. CLEMENT M.§

### SECOND CENTURY.

5. ST. EVARISTUS M.
6. ST. ALEXANDER M.
7. ST. SIXTUS I. M.
8. ST. TELESOPHORUS M.
9. ST. HYGINUS M.

\* Some say 66; some 67, some 69. The testimony of the ancient writers is unanimous as to the establishment of the Church of Rome by Peter and Paul, and as to their martyrdom at Rome. It is not easy, however, to determine the precise year of the first visit of Peter to Rome, or of the martyrdom of both apostles.

† Tertullian (*l. de præscript.*) says that the Roman Church proves the succession of her bishops by pointing to Clement ordained by Peter: but this does not necessarily imply that he was the immediate successor of the apostle. Irenæus, who was prior to Tertullian, states distinctly that Linus received from Peter the administration of the Church, and immediately succeeded him.

‡ Cletus and Anacletus are found in ancient catalogues, and the learned are not agreed as to their identity. St. Irenæus makes no mention of Cletus, and styles Sixtus the sixth from the apostles, which excludes Cletus.

§ Clement is put before Anacletus in the list of St. Augustin (*Ep. liii. alias olv.*) The authority of Irenæus seems preferable. From the doubts concerning the order in which they succeeded, and the want of specifications in the lists, it seems impossible to fix the chronology of this very early period, as Petau and Fleury have acknowledged.

10. ST. PIUS I.\*
11. ST. ANICETUS M. In his pontificate Polycarp came to Rome in 158. Anicetus died in 161.
12. ST. SOTER M. sat until 170.
13. ST. ELEUTHERIUS M. sat from 170 until 185.†
14. ST. VICTOR I. M. sat from 185 until 197.
15. ST. ZEPHYRINUS M. sat from 197 until 217.

## THIRD CENTURY.

16. ST. CALLISTUS I. M. sat from 217 until 222.
17. ST. URBAN I. M. sat from 222 until 230.
18. ST. PONTIAN M. sat from 230 until 235.
19. ST. ANTEROS M. sat from 21st November, 235, until 3d January, 236.
20. ST. FABIAN M. elected 11th January, 236, sat until 20th January, 250.
21. ST. CORNELIUS M. elected in June, 251, died in banishment on 14th September, 252.
22. ST. LUCIUS M. died on 4th March, 253.
23. ST. STEPHEN M. elected on 13th May, 253, sat until 2d August, 257.
24. ST. XYSTUS II. M. died on 6th August, 258.
25. ST. DENYS M. sat until 26th December, 269.
26. ST. FELIX I. M. elected on 28th September, 269, died on 22d December, 274.
27. ST. EUTYCHIAN elected on 5th January, 275, died on 7th December, 283.
28. ST. CAJUS M. elected on 15th December, 283, died on 21st April, 296.
29. ST. MARCELLINUS M. elected on 3d May, 296, died on 26th April, 304.

## FOURTH CENTURY.

30. ST. MARCELLINUS I. M. sat one year and eight months, and died in 309.
31. ST. EUSEBIUS M. elected in April, 310, sat until 26th September.

\* The Papal chronology in the second century is likewise imperfect from the want of specifications in the authentic lists.

† The list of St. Irenæus closes with Eleutherius. Hegesippus, a convert from Judaism, composed a list at the same time.

32. ST. MILTIADES M. elected on 2d July, 311, died on 10th January, 314.
33. ST. SYLVESTER I. was elected on 30th January, 314, died on 31st December, 335.
34. ST. MARK created Pope 18th January, 336, died 7th October, 336.
35. ST. JULIUS I. elected on 26th October, 336, sat until 12th April, 352.
36. ST. LIBERIUS was elected on 8th May, 352. Felix II. was intruded in 355.\* Liberius was restored in 359 : he died on 23d September, 366.
37. ST. DAMASUS I. sat from 1st October, 366, until 11th December, 384.
38. ST. SIRICIUS sat from 12th January, 385, until 22d February, 398.
39. ST. ANASTASIUS I.† sat from December, 398, until 14th December, 401.

## FIFTH CENTURY.

40. ST. INNOCENT I. sat until 12th March, 417.
41. ST. ZOSIMUS sat from 17th March, 417, until 26th December, 418.
42. ST. BONIFACE I. sat from 29th December, 418, until 4th September, 422.
43. ST. CELESTINE I. sat from 10th September, 422, until 18th July, 432.
44. ST. SIXTUS III. sat from 24th July, 432, until 11th August, 440.
45. ST. LEO THE GREAT sat from 22d September, 440, until 4th November, 461.
46. ST. HILARY sat from 12th November, 461, until 21st February, 468.
47. ST. SIMPLICIUS sat from 25th February, 468, until 1st March, 483.
48. ST. FELIX III. sat from 6th March, 483, until 24th February, 492.
49. ST. GELASIUS I. sat from 1st March, 493, until 21st November, 496.
50. ST. ANASTASIUS II. sat from 24th November, 496, until 17th November, 498.
51. ST. SYMMACHUS sat from 22d November, 498, until 19th July, 514.

\* Felix is put in the list of Popes by many : St. Augustin omits him.

† The list of St. Augustin ends with Anastasius.



## SIXTH CENTURY.

52. ST. HORMISDAS sat from 26th July, 514, until 6th August, 523.
53. ST. JOHN I. sat from 13th August, 523, until May, 526.
54. ST. FELIX IV. sat from 12th July, 526, until 13th September, 529.
55. BONIFACE II. sat from 31st September, 529, until 16th December, 532.
56. JOHN II. sat from 20th January, 532, until 26th May, 535.
57. ST. AGAPETUS I. sat from 13th June, 535, until 22d April, 536.
58. ST. SYLVERIUS created 8th June, 536, removed in June, 538, died on 20th June, 540.
59. VIGILIUS intruded, afterwards legitimate, sat until June, 554.
60. PELAGIUS I. died in March, 560.
61. JOHN III. sat from 18th July, 560, until 13th July, 573.
62. ST. BENEDICT I. sat from 3d June, 574, until 30th July, 578.
63. PELAGIUS II. sat from 30th November, 578, until 8th February, 590.
64. ST. GREGORY THE GREAT sat from 3d September, 590, until 12th March, 604.

## SEVENTH CENTURY.

65. SABINIAN sat from 13th September, 604, to 22d February, 606.
66. BONIFACE III. sat from 19th February, 607, to 10th November, 607.
67. ST. BONIFACE IV. sat from 25th August, 608, until 7th May, 615.
68. ST. DEUSDEDIT sat from 19th October, 615, until 9th November, 618.
69. BONIFACE V. sat from 23d December, 619, until 22d October, 625.
70. HONORIUS I. sat from 27th October, 625, until 12th October, 638.
71. SEVERINUS sat from 28th May, 640, until 1st August, 640.
72. JOHN IV. sat from 24th December, 640, until 11th October, 642.
73. THEODORE sat from 24th November, 642, until 13th May, 649.
74. ST. MARTIN I. M. sat from 5th July, 549, until 16th September, 655.
75. ST. EUGENIUS I. was chosen on 8th September, 654, in the lifetime of Martin, by the clergy intimidated by the Exarch of Ravenna. Martin by letter sanctioned the measure. Eugenius died on 2d June, 657.

76. ST. VITALIAN sat until 17th January, 672.
77. ADEODATUS II. sat from 22d April, 672, until 26th June, 676.
78. DONUS I. sat from 1st November, 676, until 11th April, 678.
79. ST. AGATHO sat from 27th June, 678, until 10th January, 682.
80. ST. LEO II. sat until 3d July, 683.
81. ST. BENEDICT II. sat until 7th May, 685.
82. JOHN V. sat from 23d July, 685, until 1st August, 686.
83. CONON sat from 21st October, 686, until 21st September, 687.
84. ST. SERGIUS I. sat from 15th December, 687, until 7th September, 701.

## EIGHTH CENTURY.

85. JOHN VI. sat from 28th October, 701, to 9th January, 705.
86. JOHN VII. sat from 1st March, 705, until 17th October, 707.
87. SISINNUS sat from 18th January, 708, until 7th February, 708.
88. CONSTANTINE sat from 25th March, 708, until 8th April, 715.
89. ST. GREGORY II. sat from 19th May, 715, until 10th February, 731.
90. ST. GREGORY III. sat from 18th March, 731, until 27th November, 741.
91. ST. ZACHARIAS sat from 30th November, 741, until 14th March, 752.
92. STEPHEN II.\* elected on 27th March, 752, died in three days.
93. STEPHEN III. sat from March, 752, until 24th April, 757.
94. ST. PAUL I. sat from 29th May, 757, until 28th June, 767.
95. STEPHEN IV. sat from 5th August, 768, until 1st February, 772.
96. HADRIAN I. sat from 9th February, 772, until 25th December, 795.
97. ST. LEO III. sat from 26th December, 795, until 11th June, 816.

## NINTH CENTURY.

98. STEPHEN V. sat from 22d June, 816, until 24th January, 817.
99. ST. PASCHAL I. sat from 25th January, 817, until 10th February, 824.
100. EUGENE II. sat from 16th February, 824, until August, 827.
101. VALENTINE elected on 1st September, 827, sat 40 days.
102. GREGORY IV. elected on 14th September, 827, sat until 26th January, 844.

\* He was not consecrated, and is therefore passed over in most of the lists, whence arises a difference in numbering the Popes of that name.

103. SERGIUS II. sat from 10th February, 844, until 27th January, 847.
104. ST. LEO IV. sat from 11th April, 847, until 17th July, 855.
105. BENEDICT III. elected on 17th July, 855, consecrated on 29th September, sat until 8th April, 858.
106. ST. NICHOLAS I. sat from 24th April, 858, until 13th November, 867.
107. HADRIAN II. sat from 14th December, 867, until 26th November, 872.
108. JOHN VIII. sat from 14th December, 872, until 15th December, 882.
109. MARINUS sat from 23d December, 882, until 23d February, 884.
110. HADRIAN III. sat from 1st March, 884, until 8th July, 885.
111. STEPHEN VI. elected on 15th July, 885, died in September, 891.
112. FORMOSUS sat from September, 891, until 4th April, 896. Stephen VII. intruded on 22d May, 896, was strangled in prison in 897.\*
113. ROMANUS sat from 17th September, 897, until 8th February, 898.
114. THEODORE II. elected on 12th February, 898, lived only 20 days.
115. JOHN IX. elected on 12th March, 898, sat until August 900.

## TENTH CENTURY.

116. BENEDICT IV. elected in August, 900, sat until 20th October, 903.
117. LEO V. elected on 28th October, 903, died after one month and nine days. Christopher, an intruder, occupied the See during six months.
118. SERGIUS III. was consecrated on 9th June, 904, and sat until August, 911.
119. ANASTASIUS III. sat until 20th October, 913.
120. LANDO sat from October, 913, until 26th April, 914.
121. JOHN X. sat from 30th April, 914, was suffocated in prison on 2d July, 928.
122. LEO VI. sat from July, 928, until February, 929.
123. STEPHEN VIII. sat from February, 929, until March, 931.
124. JOHN XI. sat from March, 931, until January, 936.
125. LEO VII. sat from January, 936, until July, 939.

\* Stephen is commonly put in the list of Popes, although Graveson holds him to be an intruder.

126. STEPHEN IX. sat from July, 939, until December, 942.
127. MARINUS II. sat from February, 942, until June, 946.
128. AGAPETUS II. sat from June 946, until August, 956.
129. JOHN XII. Octavian, the first who changed his name, held the Pontificate from 20th August, 956, until May, 964.
130. BENEDICT V. elected on 19th May, 964, sat until 4th July, 965.
131. JOHN XIII. sat from 1st October, 965, until 6th September, 972.
132. BENEDICT VI. sat from December, 972, until 974.
133. DONUS sat until 975.
134. BENEDICT VII. sat from March 975, until 10th July, 984.
135. JOHN XIV. died in 985, after governing during 8 months.
136. JOHN XV. (or XVI.)\* sat from December, 985, until April, 996.
137. GREGORY V. sat from May, 996, until 18th February, 999.
138. SYLVESTER II. elected on 28th February, consecrated on 2d April, 999, sat until 11th May, 1003.

## ELEVENTH CENTURY.

139. JOHN XVII. (XVIII.)† elected on 9th June, 1003, and consecrated on 15th, died the same year.
140. JOHN XVIII. (XIX.) consecrated on 26th December, 1003, died in May, 1009.
141. SERGIUS IV. sat until 18th August, 1012.
142. BENEDICT VIII. succeeded, but was expelled by the anti-pope Gregory, and restored by St. Henry, king of Germany. He died in the year 1024.
143. JOHN XIX. (XX.) sat from June, 1024, until the year 1033.
144. BENEDICT IX. was elected on 9th December, 1033. He was deposed by the Romans in a revolt on 29th June, 1037. In May, 1044, he was driven away a second time. He abdicated in favor of Gregory VI., but returned, and occupied the See during 8 months, until 17th July, 1048. He interfered in the election in April, 1054; but is said to have died penitent at Grotta Ferrata.
145. GREGORY VI. obtained from Benedict the renunciation of his claims in 1044, and sat 2 years and 8 months, but resigned in the council of Sutri.
146. CLEMENT II. sat from 25th December, 1046, until 9th October, 1047.

\* Another John died without being consecrated, or was not true Pope: whence there is a difference in the numbers.

† An anti-pope John in 997 increased the number.

147. DAMASUS II. created on 17th July, 1048, sat 23 days.
148. ST. LEO IX.\* elected on 2d February, 1049, enthroned on 12th, sat until 19th April, 1054.
149. VICTOR II. elected on 13th April, 1055, enthroned on 16th, sat until 28th July, 1057.
150. STEPHEN X. sat from 2d August, 1057, until 29th March, 1058.
151. NICHOLAS II. sat from 28th December, 1058, until 22d July, 1061.
152. ST. ALEXANDER II. sat from 1st October, 1061, until 21st April, 1073.
153. ST. GREGORY VII. sat from 22d April, 1073, until 25th May, 1085.
154. VICTOR III. sat from 24th May, 1086, (after refusing during an entire year) until 16th September, 1087.
155. URBAN II. sat from 12th March, 1088, until 29th July, 1099.

## TWELFTH CENTURY.

156. PASCHAL II. sat from 13th August, 1099, until 21st Jan. 1118.
157. GELASIUS II. sat from 25th January, 1118, until 29th Jan. 1119.
158. CALLISTUS II. sat from 1st February, 1119, until 13th December, 1124.
159. HONORIUS II. sat from 21st December, 1124, until 14th February, 1130.
160. INNOCENT II. sat from 15th February, 1130, until 24th September, 1143.
161. CELESTINE II. sat from 26th September, 1143, to 9th March, 1144.
162. LUCIUS II. sat from 12th March, 1144, until 25th February, 1145, when he was killed in a sedition by the throw of a stone.
163. EUGENE III. sat from 27th February, 1145, until 7th July, 1153. The Arnaldists forced him to flee from the city in 1146, but he re-entered in 1149.
164. ANASTASIUS IV. elected on 9th, and consecrated on 12th July, 1153, sat until 2d December, 1154.
165. HADRIAN IV. elected on 3d, and consecrated on 5th December, 1154, died on 1st September, 1159.
166. ALEXANDER III. sat from 20th September, 1159, until 30th August, 1181.
167. LUCIUS III. sat from 1st September, 1181, until 24th November, 1185.

\* Leo VIII. was an antipope whom Otho intruded in place of John XII.

168. URBAN III. elected 25th November, consecrated 1st December, 1185, sat until 19th October, 1187.
169. GREGORY VIII. elected 20th, consecrated on 25th October, 1187, sat until 17th December, 1187.
170. CLEMENT III. elected on 19th December, 1187, sat until 28th March, 1191.
171. CELESTINE III. elected on 30th March, ordained priest on 13th April, 1191, consecrated bishop on 14th, sat until 8th January, 1198.

## THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

172. INNOCENT III. sat from 8th January, 1198, until 16th July, 1216.
173. HONORIUS III. sat from 17th July, 1216, until 18th March, 1227.
174. GREGORY IX. sat from 19th March, 1227, until 21st Aug. 1241.
175. CELESTINE IV. elected on 22d September, 1241, sat only 17 days.
176. INNOCENT IV. elected on 24th May, and consecrated on 2d June, 1243, sat until 7th December, 1254.
177. ALEXANDER IV. elected on 12th, crowned on 20th December, 1254, died on 25th May, 1261.
178. URBAN IV. elected 29th August, consecrated on 4th September, 1261, sat until 2d October, 1264.
179. CLEMENT IV. elected on 5th February, crowned on 22d February, 1265, sat until 29th November, 1268.
180. B. GREGORY X. elected on 1st September, 1271, crowned on 27th March, 1272, died on 10th January, 1276.
181. INNOCENT V. elected on 21st January, crowned on 22d February, 1276, died on 22d June, 1276.
182. HADRIAN V. sat from 10th July, 1276, only during 39 days.
183. JOHN XX. (XXI.) elected on 15th and crowned on 20th September, 1276, died on 16th May, 1277.
184. NICHOLAS III. elected on 25th November, ordained priest on 18th December, consecrated on the 19th, and crowned on 26th December, 1277, died on 22d August, 1280.
185. MARTIN II.\* (IV.) elected 21st February, crowned on 23d March, 1281, sat until 29th March, 1285.
186. HONORIUS IV. sat from 2d April, 1285, until 3d April, 1287.
187. NICHOLAS IV. sat from 22d Feb., 1288, until 4th April, 1292.
188. St. CELESTINE V. elected on 5th July, 1294, crowned on 29th August, voluntarily abdicated on 13th December, 1294, died on 19th May, 1296.

\* The Marini have been popularly confounded with those named Martin, and counted with them.

189. **BONIFACE VIII.** sat from 24th December, 1294, until 10th October, 1303.

## FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

190. **B. BENEDICT XI.\*** sat from 22d October, 1303, until 4th July, 1304.
191. **CLEMENT V.** sat from 5th June, 1305, until 20th April, 1314. He was the first Pope who resided at Avignon.
192. **JOHN XXI. (XXII.)** sat from 7th August, 1316, until 4th December, 1334.
194. **B. BENEDICT XII.** sat from 20th December, 1334, until 25th April, 1342.
194. **CLEMENT VI.** sat from 7th May, 1342, until 4th December, 1352.
195. **INNOCENT VI.** sat from 18th December, 1352, until 12th September, 1362.
196. **URBAN V.** sat from 23d September, 1362, until 9th December, 1370. He established his residence at Rome in 1367, but returned to Avignon, and died there.
197. **GREGORY XI.** sat from 5th January, 1371, until 17th March, 1378. He re-established the Papal residence at Rome.
198. **URBAN VI.** sat from 8th April, 1378, until 15th October, 1389. Several cardinals created an anti-pope, Clement VII. who resided at Avignon, and was succeeded by Benedict XII. or XIII.
199. **BONIFACE IX.†** sat from 2d November, 1389, until 1st October, 1404.

## FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

200. **INNOCENT VII.** sat from 17th October, 1404, until 6th November, 1406.
201. **GREGORY XII.** was chosen on 30th November, 1406, and abdicated on the 14th July, 1415, in the council of Constance. Alexander V. was chosen in his place in the council of Pisa, on 26th June, 1409, who dying on 4th May, 1410, was succeeded by John XXIII.‡
202. **MARTIN V.** sat from 11th November, 1417, until 20th February, 1431.
203. **EUGENE IV.** sat from 3d March, 1431, until 23d February, 1447.
204. **NICHOLAS V.** sat from 5th March, 1447, until 24th March, 1455.

\* An antipope had been called Benedict X.

† Two antipopes had borne this name.

‡ Alexander V. and John XXIII. are found in most of the lists, even in those published at Rome.

- 205. CALLISTUS III. sat from 8th April, 1455, until 6th August, 1458.
- 206. PIUS II. sat from 19th August, 1458, until 14th August, 1464.
- 207. PAUL II. sat from 30th August, 1464, until 16th July, 1471.
- 208. SIXTUS IV. sat from 9th August, 1471, until 13th August, 1484.
- 209. INNOCENT VIII. sat from 29th August, 1484, until 25th July, 1492.
- 210. ALEXANDER VI. sat from 11th August, 1492, until 18th August, 1503.

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

- 211. PIUS III. elected on 22d September, 1503, lived only 26 days.
- 212. JULIUS II. elected on All-hallow-eve, and consecrated on 26th November, 1503, sat until 21st February, 1513.
- 213. LEO X. elected on 15th March, 1513, died on 1st December, 1521.
- 214. ADRIAN VI. elected on 9th January, 1522, sat until 14th September, 1523.
- 215. CLEMENT VII. sat from 19th November, 1523, until 26th September, 1534.
- 216. PAUL III. sat from 13th October, 1534, until 10th November, 1549.
- 217. JULIUS III. sat from 8th February, 1550, until 23d March, 1555.
- 218. MARCELLUS II. sat from 9th April, 1555, only 22 days.
- 219. PAUL IV. sat from 23d May, 1555, until 17th August, 1559.
- 220. PIUS IV. sat from 26th December, 1559, until 10th December, 1565.
- 221. ST. PIUS V. sat from 7th January, 1566, until 1st May, 1572.
- 222. GREGORY XIII. sat from 13th May, 1572, until 10th April, 1588.
- 223. SIXTUS V. sat from 24th April, 1588, until 27th August, 1590.
- 224. URBAN VII. elected on 15th September, 1590, died on 27th of the same month.
- 225. GREGORY XIV. sat from 5th December, 1590, until 15th October, 1591.
- 226. INNOCENT IX. sat from 29th October, 1591, to 30th December.
- 227. CLEMENT VIII. sat from 30th January, 1592, until 3d March, 1603.

## SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

- 228. LEO XI elected on 2d April, 1605, and crowned on the 10th, died on the 27th of same month.
- 229. PAUL V. sat from 16th May, 1605, until 28th January, 1621.



- 230. GREGORY XV. sat from 9th February, 1621, until 8th July, 1623.
- 231. URBAN VIII. sat from 6th August, 1623, until 29th July, 1644.
- 232. INNOCENT X. sat from 15th September, 1644, until 7th January, 1655.
- 233. ALEXANDER VII. sat from 6th April, 1655, until 22d May, 1667.
- 234. CLEMENT IX. sat from 20th June, 1667, until 9th December, 1669.
- 235. CLEMENT X. sat from 29th April, 1670, until 22d July, 1676.
- 236. INNOCENT XI. sat from 21st September, 1676, until 31st July, 1689.
- 237. ALEXANDER VIII. sat from 6th October, 1689, until 1st February, 1691.
- 238. INNOCENT XII. sat from 13th July, 1691, until 26th September, 1700.

## EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

- 239. CLEMENT XI. sat from 23d November, 1700, until 19th March, 1721.
- 240. INNOCENT XIII. sat from 8th May, 1721, until 7th March, 1724.
- 241. BENEDICT XIII. sat from 29th May, 1724, until 21st February, 1730.
- 242. CLEMENT XII. sat from 12th July, 1730, until 6th February, 1740.
- 243. BENEDICT XIV. sat from 17th August, 1740, until 3d May, 1758.
- 244. CLEMENT XIII. sat from 6th July, 1758, until 2d February, 1769.
- 245. CLEMENT XIV. sat from 19th May, 1769, until 22d September, 1774.
- 246. PIUS VI. sat from 15th February, 1775, until 29th August, 1799.

## NINETEENTH CENTURY.

- 247. PIUS VII. sat from 14th March, 1800, until 23d August, 1823.
- 248. LEO XII. sat from 28th September, 1823, until 10th February, 1829.
- 249. PIUS VIII. sat from 31st March, 1829, until 30th November, 1830.
- 250.\* GREGORY XVI. elected 2d February, 1831, and happily reigning.

\* The number varies according as certain individuals are considered intruders, or lawful Popes. This is a matter for critical inquiry, and does not affect the succession.



